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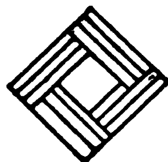
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IN QUEST OF LOVE
by Nandalal Bose
After a colour woodcut by R. N. Chakrabarty

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BACK HOME

By PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

It is good to come back home after six weeks of continuous wandering, good to see familiar sights, familiar faces, to rest for more than a day or two in the same place. Some have the *wanderlust*, and I have it myself in some measure, and I love to get out of the old rut and cross mountains and seas and make acquaintance with new countries, new people. And when one may not do this, as alas too often I may not, I give rein to my imagination and we take long and improbable journeys and seek adventure in distant countries. But the old rut calls us back and we return to the day's routine.

So I was back from Burma and Malaya. There were numerous formidable files awaiting me, and a crowd of letters to answer, and questions and problems which a great organization has continually to face. Pressmen surrounded me—what had I say to this or that? Had I seen some statement or other? Was Congress going to form ministries? And so on interminably. Fortunately I knew little about these various statements and pronouncements and I felt some difficulty in re-adjusting myself to the old world which I had left but six weeks before. Before my eyes floated still the Shwe Dagon pagoda glistening in the morning sunlight, and the palm trees swaying in the pleasant land of Malaya.

Back to the files and the letters. A summer school has been raided and the lathi has felled down many people. The Jute strike is over but the grievances of the jute workers continue. The workers in a match factory of the Swedish trust have been long on strike and are being ill-treated. The problem of the detenus. A Congress committee has been suspended and protest and counter-protest have poured in. Appeals from district committees against certain orders of their provincial committees. There is an interruption and fifty kisans appear on the scene full of their troubles. They cannot be ignored.

Back again to the files. Should kisan organizations be started or should we concentrate on making kisans members of Congress committees? What should be the relation between the Congress Committee and the Kisan Sabha? Am I in favour of functional representation? Telegrams pour in protesting against the choice of a candidate to contest a by-election. A long distance trunk call on the telephone comes from South India. Visitors, visitors with nothing worth-while to say, wasting time. An occasional visitor who is interesting taking up more time. And all the while the Shwe Dagon pagoda floating in the air and the gem palace of Mandalay and laughing men and women in gay attire wandering by.

Back to work. Financial matters, confusing and troublesome. Cases of disciplinary action. Some hard ones but discipline has to be maintained in an organization. Mass contacts, what progress is being made in the villages? What with Muslims in towns and villages? Letters in approval of our new activities, letters in criticism. Are the Congress members of the legislatures working in their constituencies carrying the message of the Congress?

How hot it is and the paper one writes on sticks to the hand! And how pleasant it was by the sea-side in Malaya with the tide lapping the beach and the palm trees and the graceful areca-nuts fringing the shore.

A conference with colleagues in the office. Cablegrams from abroad. Discussion on foreign affairs. Zanzibar-Indians overseas. Visitors, visitors—hell! Why will so many people come when there is so much to be done? But some are old colleagues and though what they say may be unimportant, they are valued comrades and may not be ignored. Strangers come and who knows whether their business is important or not? Peasants come and who can turn these helpless ones away without a word of cheer?

The situation on the Frontier—air-bombing and kidnappings, a curious mixture, and the larger question being somewhat hidden by communal feelings on either side. When will people behave like grown-ups? How childish all this is and religion, as of old, warps the mind and confuses the issue.

A note on Congress work in the Punjab, a complaint from Bombay which takes up time. Visitors asking me to visit their districts or attend conferences.

Will the Congress accept ministries? When will the Working Committee meet to consider this question? Wise people, knowing far more than I do, announce that the Committee is meeting within a few days. Evidently they imagine that our main pre-occupation is to think about and discuss this question of ministries. They would be surprised to find how little this has to do with our work and how many other activities claim our attention. And those who question may be still further surprised if they had a glimpse into my mind.

For my mind goes back over the heads of the visitors and questioners and across the files to these six weeks that are gone past recall, days full of wandering in strange places, old world and new, crowded days. And pictures of the past come up before me when the beautiful palace at Mandalay hummed with play and laughter, and behind this hid many an intrigue and cruelty, and the rapid decay of an order that had lived its time. That gem palace is empty today, shorn of its gems, and only ghosts and memories fill its deserted halls. The teak roofs and pillars stand as of old, but they are dead wood and no more. The past they represent is gone for ever.

But the Shwe Dagon pagoda still towers in all its strength and beauty over the city of Rangoon and gives its ageless message to all who come under its spell. It shines in the morning sunlight and glimmers as the evening shadows fall, and we creep away from Burma reverently with this image of the soul of a people impressed on our minds and hearts.

Allahabad,
June 19, 1937.

THEODORE PARKER, THE GREAT AMERICAN REFORMER

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

At the middle of last century, that is, from the year 1852 to 1858, Theodore Parker was preaching every Sunday in the Boston Music Hall to the largest congregation in America. The room, capable of holding from 2,500 to 3,000 persons, was regularly filled and often crowded by a somewhat motley throng of rich and poor, educated and uneducated, many blacks with the whites—residents of Boston and strangers visiting the city—but on the whole a company of as earnest and thoughtful men and women as perhaps ever assembled for religious service, drawn together by a preacher whose sermons, measured by their breadth of thought, their enormous learning, their iron logic, their power of terse pointed statement, their lightning wit and sarcasm, their fervor, their moral grasp, their spiritual elevation, their marvellous warmth of human sympathy, their handling from the side of eternal justice and right all the great questions of the time, theological, religious, ethical, social, philanthropic, political, were probably as powerful—as powerful both in awakening thought and in stirring men to righteousness—as any sermons ever preached in this country.

Nor did these sermons stop with the delivery. Caught up by the papers of Boston and the whole land, printed in pamphlet form by the ten thousand, many of them put into books that found a large sale, they were probably more widely published than the utterances of any other living preacher.

Furthermore, the preacher was also a popular lyceum lecturer and was giving each winter from 50 to 100 lyceum lectures in as many of the principal cities and larger towns of the north. At that time he was between 40 and 50 years old—just in the early natural prime of life. What a throne of power was his!

Let us go back over his past and see whence and by what path he had reached his great influence. One of the biographers of Parker tells this story. Some years ago a stranger exploring a neighborhood a little way from the historic village of Lexington, Massachusetts, on a fair Spring day, asked a man who was mending the road, where Theodore Parker was born. The man leaned on his spade, stared at the traveller, looked puzzled and replied, "Dunno." "Are you a newcomer here?" inquired the traveller. "No, sir; lived here man and boy nigh on to 40 year." "But are there no Parkers about here?" "Yes, tew lots on 'em." "I wish to find the *old* Parker place," said the stranger. "Older'n creation both on 'em," was the reply. "The *Captain* Parker place is the one I want," insisted the traveller. "They run to cap'ns," was the exasperating rejoinder; "but I guess you had better take that 'ar road to the left, and go about a mile; then turn down a lane and at the end there's a monnerment that must be set up for Cappen Parker." The traveller obeyed the direction and found the monument that marks the spot where the great preacher was born, August 24, 1810, and where until manhood he had his home.

Theodore's grandfather was the Captain John Parker, who commanded that company of 70 men that fired the first volley in the war of the Revolution. Bidding his men load with powder and ball, he ordered them not to fire unless fired upon, but added, "If they mean to have a war, let it begin here." And it did begin there. In the battle, Captain Parker took from a British grenadier a musket which, with the grandfather's own fowling piece, the great Boston preacher always kept standing beside his study door while he lived. The two now hang, I believe, in the Massachusetts Senate Chamber.

The father was a man of as much strength of character as the famous grandfather, but nothing occurred to give him a name beyond his neighbourhood and circle of friends. He was a farmer, mill wright, pump maker, general mechanic—an intelligent man, a great reader, possessed of sound and independent judgment, a man of sterling integrity. With a family of eleven children of whom Theodore was the youngest, and with no property but his small farm, shop and tools, he was held down to a life of hard toil. The mother was a gentle loving woman, less of a reader and thinker than her husband, but with more of sentiment and tenderness in her nature. Theodore inherited the head of one and the heart of the other.

His boyhood and youth were on the whole sunny, but into the warp of happiness and joy were woven the woof of toil, and, as most today would think, of severe privation. He went to school two or three winters and summers when very young, but after his eighth year only winters, and only for three months each winter at that. But no sooner had he learned to read than he began that career of devouring books and mastering everything, that was such a marvel to all who knew him in after years. Every book in the house was very soon read through and through again. Books were borrowed from the neighbors and read. His father drew volumes for his own use from the little village library. The boy would get them read before the father. He would read before school and after, and by the evening fire, and at recess. At summer noons when he was working on the farm, others would take a siesta under the trees, but not Theodore. He was at a book. Before he was eight, he had read Homer and Plutarch (in translations, of course), Rollin's Ancient History, and all the other books of history and poetry that he could obtain. Nor was his reading slipshod : his parents made him give an account of every book he read before he could get another—a wonderfully good training for a boy! At 16 he went a term to an academy. Here he mastered Colburn's Algebra in three weeks.

Nor was he interested alone in books. He early began to study the stars, the plants, trees, shrubs, stones, birds that he saw around him; the foreign fruits he chanced to see in the markets, the husks and leaves that came wrapped about bales of merchandise and packages from other lands. His memory, inherited from his mother, was extraordinary. He could commit a song by once reading it, or a hymn by hearing it once read by the minister.

Yet with all his fondness for reading he loved play : he could laugh as loudly as any and when there was no book to tempt, join in sports as heartily as any. He was modest, pure, frank, manly, true, conscientious, unselfish.

When he was twelve, he picked whortle-

berries enough to buy him a Latin dictionary —a book he always kept, and to which in after years he gave an honorable place in his Boston library. At seventeen he began to teach, taking charge of winter schools successively in three or four different towns. In one place a young woman wanted to learn French. He knew nothing of the language, but procuring the necessary books soon had the rudiments so thoroughly mastered as to go forward as teacher.

One day in the summer of 1830, just before his twentieth birthday, having obtained his father's permission to be absent from his regular work on the farm until night, he set out nobody knew where. When he returned it was found out that he had walked to Cambridge, been examined, entered Harvard College and walked home. When he told his father what he had done, the old man replied, "But, Theodore, I cannot afford it." "Father, it shall not cost you anything. I will stay at home and work and keep up with my class." And this he did, simply going to the college to pass his examinations.

These glimpses at his boyhood and young manhood give us an idea of what kind of stuff was in him. By the time he was 26, he had worked his way through Harvard College and Divinity School, and was ready for his chosen life vocation, that of the ministry. But alas, the hardships he had undergone, laboring on the farm or teaching all day and then studying a large part of the night, and in the Divinity School living upon the scantiest and most inadequate fare to avoid expense, had laid the foundation, as he saw when it was too late, for an early breakdown of his strong frame. After some months of preaching as a supply or a candidate in different parishes, he settles in West Roxbury—over a small society paying a small salary, but what he cares much for—near enough Boston and Cambridge so that he will be within reach of libraries.

Here he soon marries and finds a delightful home. The people around him are intelligent and earnest. He puts his whole heart into his work; he prepares conscientiously for his pulpit; he labors heartily in the Sunday School; he becomes acquainted with all classes of persons in his parish and strives to make himself the friend and helper of all. Nor does he neglect systematic, severe study outside of his mere pulpit preparation. He believes that all the valuable knowledge he can get will enable him so much the more effectively to do his work as a preacher and religious teacher.

The range of his studies is enormous. He is delving into the literature of the Bible; Egyptian and Phœnecian Alphabets and inscriptions; ancient monuments and coins, Carpathian and Persian; the Ophic poems; Hume, Gibbon, Robertson, Schleiermacher, Bauer, Paulus, Hegel, Laplace, Leibnitz, Bopp's "Vergleichende Grammatik," Karcher's "Analects," Meiner's "History of Religions," Rimmanus' "History of Atheism" (Latin). The books that he cannot find in this country, as for example Abelard and Averroes, he seeks from afar. As soon as his purse will allow, he begins importing books in different languages from Europe, a practice kept up on an extensive scale always after.

Almost invariably he reads with pen in hand. His journal all his life is crowded with mentions of books, not only the great and well known books in all departments of thought, but books of rare and curious learning, and always with some account of their contents, and with critical remarks, showing that he has not only looked at them but read them. His memory is marvellously retentive. Seemingly he never loses a fact.

Thus happy in his books, happy in his religious ministrations, happy in his people, happy in his home, the months glide into years.

Longfellow in his "Divine Tragedy" well portrays the Parker of the West Roxbury period :—

"A theologian, from the school
Of Cambridge on the Charles, was there;
Skilled alike with tongue and pen,
To preach to all men everywhere
The gospel of the Golden Rule,
The New Commandment given to men,
Thinking the deed and not the creed,
Would help us in our utmost need.
With reverent foot the earth he trod,
Nor banished Nature from his plan:
But studied still with deep research
To build the Universal Church,
Lofty as is the love of God
And ample as the wants of Man."

Ere long Parker becomes aware that he is slowly changing his belief upon certain important theological matters. When he began his work, at West Roxbury, in 1837, he believed in miracles,—believed that Christianity rests upon miracles as an indispensable foundation. By 1840 or 1841 he has grown away from care for miracles, and has come to regard Christianity and all true religion as standing equally firm without them. Moreover he has become settled in his belief in the spiritual or idealistic philosophy sometimes called "Transcendentalism." Always inclined that

way, his study of the great German idealists, Schleiermacher, Richter, Goethe, Herder, Ammon, Gaber, De Witte, the English Coleridge and Carlyle, and the French Cousin had firmly established him. Not a little influence in the same direction too came to him from his intimate friend George Ripley, whose splendid library of German philosophical works was always open to Parker, and whose translations of valuable books into English did so much to introduce "transcendental" thought into this country.

Parker was beginning, too, to feel the power of Emerson. In August, 1837, Emerson delivered his famous Oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Cambridge, which was the first clear far sounding bugle note of the larger spiritual philosophy in America. In July, 1838, the Concord seer delivered his scarcely less famous address before the Senior Class in the Harvard Divinity School. These made a great outcry—especially the latter. Parker heard it, and, while one was shouting, "The Philistines be upon us" and another "We be all dead men," and the majority called out "Atheism," Parker wrote to a friend,

"It (the address) was the best of all Emerson's performances, a little exaggerated, with some philosophical untruths, it seemed to me; but the noblest, the most inspiring strain I ever listened to."

Steadily his admiration of his Concord friend grew. Later he wrote,

"The brilliant genius of Emerson rose in the winter nights and hung over Boston, drawing the eyes of ingenuous young people to look up to that new star, 'a beauty and a mystery,' which charmed for the moment, while it gave also perennial inspiration, as it led them forward along new paths and towards new hopes."

Nor was Emerson's admiration for Parker less as soon as he came to know Parker. Thus the two were drawing together and joining hands, and for that long, strong work of religious and social reform which they were afterward to do side by side in a common cause—Emerson as the seer, the poet, the prophet of the new thought, and Parker as its greatest preacher.

Thus the years of the West Roxbury parson went on. But the quiet of his present life was not to last. There were ominous whisperings here and there, particularly among brother ministers, that the young West Roxbury preacher was growing unsound in some of his religious views. His own people were fed, satisfied, delighted with his preaching. But here and there a brother minister began to debate in his own mind whether he had better longer exchange with one who read German philosophy, and openly took his stand with Emerson.

In 1841 the crisis came. Parker was invited to preach the ordination sermon of Rev. C. C. Sheckford in South Boston. He chose as his subject, "The Permanent and the Transient in Christianity." It was an able sermon, and has since taken its place as historic, beside the great sermon preached by Channing in Baltimore in 1819. It was the turning point in Parker's life. From this time he was a marked man, and the one to whom all eyes turned as the leader of progressive Unitarianism. Emerson on the lyceum platform was now to have a co-laborer in the pulpit—a co-laborer with far larger learning than his own and with popular powers as an orator of the very highest order.

The first effect of the South Boston sermon was almost completely to alienate the conservative brethren from Parker, and to shut most (not all) of the Boston pulpits against him:—so hard is it for even liberal people to be liberal.[1] The next effect was to cause a company of earnest young men in Boston to band themselves together and resolve that Theodore Parker should "have a chance to be heard" in that city. As a result of that resolve a hall was opened the following winter in Boston, and he gave a series of lectures, setting forth somewhat systematically and completely his views of Christianity regarded as the religion of nature, or a rational and universal religion. The lectures were soon published in book form, and more widely circulated than any other of the Parker books.

For eighteen months or so longer, he continues his work at West Roxbury, then in September, 1843, sails for Europe where he spends a year in travel and study. In the autumn of 1844 he is back, and in a few weeks his friends in Boston organize a new society and call him to take charge of it. He accepts, and enters at once upon his 14 years of prodigious labor and ever growing influence in that city.

For six years he preaches in the Melodeon Hall, but that grows too small to hold the crowds that gather to hear him. Then his society removes into the great Music Hall, and here from 1852 to 1859 we see Parker at his

1. It should not be overlooked that he was not in any way persecuted or ostracised by the American Unitarian Association, the most authoritative Unitarian body in the country.

best. I have already described his Music Hall congregation and the great power he wielded not only through his own pulpit direct, but through the press and the lyceum during these years.

At the very acme of his activity and influence, he is suddenly stricken down by a fatal disease. With his strong frame, everything promised him a life carried on to old age, if only he had been content to do one man's work instead of three. But with so much pressing to be done, he could not content himself within the limits of prudence. Away on a flying lecture tour in New York State, where he was speaking evenings, traveling nights, and by day devouring the books with which his traveling bag was always full, he caught a severe cold which with his overwork and exhausted strength he could not shake off. This was in 1857. For two years he wrestled with the cough that set in. His anxious society insisted that he must rest. He did take brief intervals of attempted rest. Once he went with a friend by carriage in the beautiful summer time from Boston to the Connecticut River, up to the mountains of Vermont, out across to New York State and the Adirondacks, and back again to Boston,—700 miles of delightful travel in the open air. This did him good, but no permanent relief from the cough came. As the winter of 1858-59 approached, he grew worse. On the first Sunday in January, 1859, he preached his last sermon in Music Hall, *feeling* that it *was* his last. And now there was only one thing to be done; he must go away to a more sunny land. The doctors said there was one chance in ten for him. "One chance in ten?" replied the stout soldier, and laughed at the odds. "If that is all, I'll conquer. I have fought 99 to one—yes, 999 against one and conquered, Please God, I will again—*sursum corda*."

But it was not so to be. In a few weeks in company with wife and a few dear friends he was off for the West Indies, thence to sail for the old world. We need not follow him. It is the old pathetic story of a dying man, journeying eagerly from clime to clime in search of that which he shall never find till he finds it in that country where "death shall be no more; neither sorrow nor crying, neither shall pain be any more."

A few weeks in Santa Cruz, then as the hot tropical summer shows signs of approach, the voyage to Europe with brief stays in London where loving friends and admirers flock to see him,—Paris, the mountains of Switzerland, Geneva, a winter in Rome, and then a grave, made when the Spring flowers are blooming, in the little Protestant Cemetery just outside the Pinti Gate of the beautiful city of Florence; and here is the end. No, *not* the end! While the sick man lay on his bed, as the last hour drew near, "I want to tell you something," he said earnestly to his friend, Frances Power Cobbe, who had come from London to visit him, bringing lilies of the valley. "I want to tell you something: there are two Theodore Parkers now; one is dying here in Italy; the other I have planted in America. He will live there and finish my work." It was the thought of a mind that wandered. But what a truth there was in it. "He is not dead, but sleepeth." Nay, he does not even sleep, the Theodore Parker of Boston Music Hall, who for 14 years so grandly led the liberal religious thought of America. In the ever accelerating progress and the ever growing influence of the principles for which he lived and wrought, he lives today more gloriously than ever before.

Having now run rapidly over Parker's life, let us look a little more closely at his work and character.

I have spoken of Parker's scholarship. The range of his study was simply astounding. He was at home in many languages, the authorities say from twelve to twenty. He was not less at home in history, ancient and modern, in many branches of science, in literature in its widest range, in art, in philosophy; and his knowledge was singularly accurate as well as vast and singularly under command and available to use at all times and in all places. It was not mere ornament or useless lumber; it was tools, it was materials with which to do all the more effectively his work as a preacher, a reformer, a public teacher. He never used his knowledge as a pedant; but he used it constantly, and his power was vastly increased by it.

His conscientiousness in literary work was very great. Mr. Frothingham tells us that one time

"as a member of the Oriental Society (a company of eight or ten persons who met in a parlor on Anniversary week) he was to read an essay on Mohammed. By way of preparation for the task, he renewed his acquaintance with the Arabic and Spanish languages in order to obtain original data. Then he collected all the materials from all sources he could find, relating to Mohammed, till standing with their titles up, side by side, the books he had gathered, folios, 12mos, and all. covered a length of twelve feet on his library floor. From all these books one by one he extracted the pith, and then felt qualified to write the essay."

His preparation made for many of his

sermons was scarcely less thorough. Before writing that most masterly of all his biographical discourses, the sermon or oration on Daniel Webster, Parker "gleaned from all credible sources information in regard to Mr. Webster's character and life; probed the secrets of his ancestry; read the principal works of distinguished orators, jurists and statesmen in England, studied again the orations of Demosthenes and Cicero in order to settle precisely in his mind the rank of the great American as lawyer, statesman, orator and man." This illustrates the laborious and conscientious thoroughness of Parker's work.

Of the volumes that Parker gave to the world, the most learned and the one that cost him by far the most labor was his translation of DeWette's "Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament." DeWette was one of the most able, scholarly and fair minded of the German Biblical critics of the first half of the 19th century. Parker's translation became before it left his hands almost a new work, so much valuable new matter did he add to it in the form of notes, analyses, essays, discussions of important points of interpretation and criticism. In the onward progress of biblical scholarship, this work has long been passed by, but at the time of its publication in 1843, no more learned or valuable work on the Bible had appeared in this country than this translation and enlargement of DeWette by Parker.

Besides all the rest of his work Parker was an extensive contributor to periodicals. Of one of these, The Massachusetts Quarterly, he was for a time joint Editor,—aiming to make it

"an organ for the manly and courageous discussion of momentous questions in politics, science, philosophy, morals and theology, a journal that would, first strike a salutary terror into all the ultramontanists, and make them see that they did not live in the middle ages; that they are not to be let alone, dreaming of the Garden of Eden, but are to buckle up and work; and, second, a journal that would spread abroad the ideas which now wait to be organized, some in letters, some in art, some in institutions and practical life."

The question has often been asked—In what lay Parker's great power as a public speaker? Powerful and popular as he was as preacher, lyceum lecturer and extemporaneous platform orator, he was not what would generally be called eloquent or a finished orator according to the pattern of the schools. That is to say, if one was looking for the artistic externalities and superficial graces of oratory in the man, they would be sorely disappointed. But if one went to Music Hall expecting to hear a man full of the soul of eloquence—a man who had great thoughts and knew how to express them with the greatest possible popular effectiveness, he would not be disappointed.

Parker's face was strong, but far from handsome and only attractive when you knew the man or saw his countenance lighted up with the spirit behind it. His eyes, which had much power in their glance, were under the disadvantage in his later years of being obscured by spectacles; his voice was not musical; his elocution was not according to the rules; his attitude and gestures were both awkward. But after all, these drawbacks only reveal the better, the real ability of the man, who in five minutes' time made his hearers forget all these things, and capturing by main strength all classes, the reluctant as well as the willing, the critic as well as the admirer, carried all along with him, irresistibly and triumphantly.

Parker was a man of prodigious learning. Yet with all his scholarship, nobody could speak better the homely language of the people. He had singular ability to popularize and make clear the most abstruse thought. His public speech was usually easy, natural, conversational, but on occasion when he was stirred over some great public wrong, it rose to a swift and mighty Niagara torrent. He had a fine sense of humor which often manifested itself both in speech and sermon in keen and ready wit and terrible power of sarcasm as well as at times in deep and tender pathos.

He abounded in familiar yet striking illustrations; yet not more than in short carefully worded, pithy sentences which crowded a whole sermon into a dozen strong words—sentences which once heard, fastened themselves in the mind and could not be forgotten. A good illustration of this is seen in that sentence descriptive of a republican government with which Lincoln closed his Gettysburg Oration, and since Lincoln's use of it, famous—**"Government of the people, for the people, by the people."** This sentence, unsurpassed for condensation and felicity of wording, is generally supposed to have been original with Lincoln. But it was not; it came from Theodore Parker and was often on his lips in his political orations and sermons.

Great as was Theodore Parker as a scholar and as a preacher, the real significance of his life does not lie here. It lies in his greatness as a *reformer*. For this his memory will be kept green when all else about him is forgotten. He was a reformer in two directions: first, in the direction of theology and religion, and second,

in that of sociology and public life. In theology, the aim of his reform was to get a basis of faith which cannot be shaken. He saw religion everywhere standing on a foundation of ipse dixits—of ipse dixits of men long since dead, of supposed sacred books written in far off ages and lands, of miracles which we are asked to accept on the smallest modicum of evidence or none at all. These things, he said, are not the real foundations of religion. These foundations are artificial, can be disturbed, are being disturbed more and more by modern inquiry and modern knowledge. Religion should rest upon a foundation which nothing can disturb. And he found for it such an indestructible and eternal foundation in the soul of man, in man's reason and conscience and affections, in the divine manifest in the human, in the God that forever reveals himself in humanity. "The religion that I preach," he said, "will be the religion of enlightened men for the next thousand years." Everything indicates that he was right. All the best religious thinking of our time is pushing aside the supposed miraculous and the supposed supernatural revelations and infallibilities of the past, as no longer credible to the modern mind, and is finding an unassailable basis for religion just where Parker found it, in the eternal revelation of God in the human soul.

Here I think we discover an answer to the question often asked, Was Parker a great thinker? Dr. Samuel Crothers in an address in New York on Parker as a thinker, claimed without hesitation that as a religious thinker he was great, one of the very greatest that the modern world has produced. I cannot but believe that Dr. Crothers was right.

What is the test of greatness in a religious thinker? Not subtlety in dialectics, not refinement in metaphysical and theological speculation. Shallow men, and men whose thinking has been of little value to the world have often been acute and skillful in dialectics, in speculation, in metaphysical refinements. The great thinker, the profound thinker, is he who is able to think down into the heart of reality and from complexity bring simplicity, from heterogeneity and diversity and confusion bring unity and harmony. This Parker did with marvellous success. A great religious thinker is one who is able to interpret the moral universe so as to make it luminous. Has any thinker of modern times, unless it be Emerson, done more to make the moral universe luminous than has Parker?

Parker lived too early to get the full help of the doctrine of evolution in his thinking. Yet it is remarkable how fundamentally at one he was with the Evolutionary philosophy. Like Goethe and Hegel and so many other great thinkers, he was an evolutionist before Darwin. If he could have had the full benefit of Darwin's thought, he would undoubtedly have worded his statements somewhat differently in some rather important respects, but would his fundamental thought, his fundamental conclusions, his fundamental philosophy of God and man and the moral universe and religion have been essentially different? I think not.

Parker and Emerson were the first prophets of God in America great enough as thinkers to rest everything in religion on the soul. Do you say that Channing did the same? The answer is, Yes and no! Throughout much of his life, while making the Human Soul supreme, Channing reserved a place, (subordinate), for miracles; however, he grew in his thought to the last, and there is strong evidence that in his later years he came to realize how unproved, unreasonable and unnecessary the whole miracle idea is, and abandoned it, resting everything for religion, on the Soul; thus taking his place beside Parker and Emerson.

It was believed by many who knew Parker best that during the years of his Boston ministry he was doing more than any other living man, to rescue his age on the one hand from superstition and on the other from skepticism and unbelief. He was spoken of often as a mere denyer—an overthrower of faiths—a man who with ruthless hand tore down edifices over men's heads, but erected no others in their places. It is true that he was a denyer—a mighty denyer. No woodsman ever laid about him right and left with mightier stroke of axe, than Parker with stroke of word and argument, among the dogmas of a theology which he believed to be false. But mightier than his denials were his affirmations. If he toiled early and late to fell the forest, more arduous still was his toil to sow the ground he had cleared with wheat and plant it with orchards of precious fruit. He battled against the orthodox theology, because he believed it was a chain upon human reason, a fetter upon progress. It had a thousand times hampered science and free thought. He said, "Let us have a theology that will hamper neither science nor free thought." Its face had ever been to the past and the outgrown. "Let us," he said, "have a theology that will set its face to the future and welcome new light." It had ever stoned the prophets of the present age and then in the next age built sepulchers and monuments

to them. "Let us have a religion that recognizes, or at least tries to recognize, the prophesy, the truth, the life, the inspiration of now."

Parker's enemies charged that his theology was nothing but anti-orthodoxy. No charge could be farther from the truth. It was primarily and fundamentally pro-humanity, pro-reform, pro-progress, pro-rational religion as taught in the sermon on the mount, pro-reason, pro-unfettered truth. For every axe stroke aiming to cut down the old, he struck ten, nay a hundred, hammer blows in stout labour to erect the edifice of a new gospel of reason, of the divine in the human, of the living God forever revealing himself in living men. He was branded as profane, infidel, skeptic, blasphemer, but in truth there was no more reverent soul in America than he, none to whom religion was more a daily benediction, none to whom prayer was a sweeter joy, none whose belief in God, immortality and the moral law was more intense and real, none who was a more earnest or eloquent pleader before his fellow men for everything that Jesus taught.

The evangelical circles of Boston, not able to argue him down, or preach him down, set to work to pray him down. All men and women who had power at a throne of grace were requested to join in prayer simultaneously at one o'clock of each day that the great infidel might be removed out of the way of the Lord's chariot. Here are some of the prayers put up for him, or against him in various public gatherings :

"O Lord ! Send confusion and distraction into his study this afternoon and prevent his finishing his labours for tomorrow ! Or if he shall attempt to desecrate thy holy day by attempting to speak to the people, meet him there, Lord, and confound him so that he shall not be able to speak." "O Lord ! Put a hook in this man's jaws so that he may not be able to speak. O Lord ! If this man will still persist in speaking in public, induce the people to leave him and to come up and fill this house instead of that." "Lord, we know we cannot argue him down; and the more we say against him, the more the people will flock after him, and the more will they love and revere him. O Lord, what shall be done for Boston if Thou dost not take this and some other matters in hand ?"

But alas! the prayers somehow did not get answered. No hook was discovered in his jaws. Confusion and distraction did not visit him in his study, or if so nobody found it out. People continued to flock after him, and to love and revere him more and more. At all these exhibitions of Nineteenth Century superstition and bigotry Parker smiled, good naturedly, and went on preaching only the more earnestly his Gospel of reason, light, humanity, freedom to the slave, knowledge for the ignorant, succour for the tempted, hope for the sorrowing, help for the helpless, rest for every suffering aching heart in the great love of God.

Mr. Weiss in his Biography of Parker, tells of a pious Boston woman who had never seen Parker, but had heard of all the terrible heresies he preached, and was greatly exercised in mind over him. Nothing pleased her so much as any sign of adversity to his cause, or any sharp argument in answer to his heresies, or any refutation of his doctrines. One day she went to church, and heard a stranger preach. Who it was, she had no means of knowing. She only knew that he preached a wonderful sermon, so convincing, so earnest, so truly Christian, so comforting, and withal such an answer to the shallow pretensions of infidelity! As she came out her lips were full of praise of what she had heard. "Oh," she said, "how I wish that infidel, Parker, could have heard that sermon!" It was Parker that had preached.

This is the way Parker conquered, and won his place in Boston and the world. "Strike, but hear me," he said to men. If he could only get them really to hear him, they were not likely to strike.

But if Parker was a reformer in theology he was no less a reformer in society and the state. He labored for temperance, for prison reform, for the abolition of capital punishment, for peace and disarmament among nations, for education, for a larger sphere for woman, for the purification of politics. Every great subject that touched the moral well being of the nation or the community found his pulpit open to it. He watched public men, he watched events, he watched the tides of public opinion; he spoke upon all with no uncertain sound. Believing not that there is one set of morals for common men and women and another for the wealthy and powerful; knowing no distinction of persons when truth or right was at stake, he publicly summoned the most eminent men of Boston, of New England, of the nation, before the judgment seat of conscience and of Jesus Christ,—openly arraigning them for private and public deeds of wrong,—hesitating not to point the finger of warning or condemnation at a Winthrop, an Everett, a Webster, a Choate, a great manufacturer like Lawrence, or a great capitalist like Thayer. He believed that religion ought to concern itself with the things of the life to come in their place, but first and foremost with the things of this world and today. We want the kingdom of heaven set up on earth, he insisted,

and we shall have it just so fast and so far as we do away with crime, cruelty, injustice, hate, ignorance, corruption in high places, wrong between man and man. If we do not carry religion into politics, into business, into everything, we sin against both man and God.

Especially did Parker make himself felt in the cause of anti-slavery. Garrison and Phillips had no braver or more efficient helper than he. During all the Fugitive Slave Law days Parker's voice was a trumpet. Oh, what times those were! When slave hunters came up from Virginia and Georgia to the city of Hancock, the Adamses, and the old "Cradle of Liberty," to drag away to bondage worse than death, peaceable men and women guilty of no crime except that of being born with a black skin and under a slave driver's lash! All Boston rocked with excitement, as well it might—an excitement that heaved and swelled until the whole nation felt its throes. When the first Boston kidnapping case, that of the fugitive Anthony Burns, occurred in May, 1854, a Vigilance Committee of 250 chosen from among the most active and influential men of Boston was appointed, whose duty it was to leave no stone unturned to defeat the slave hunters, and save their victims. Parker's was the first name on the Executive section of the Committee, as he was the leading spirit in much of its most vigorous action. The whole committee, with Parker at its head, waited on the kidnappers at their hotel and warned them to leave the city. Posters were put up all over Boston describing the kidnappers, that everybody might be on guard against them. Proclamation after proclamation, to the number of not less than seven, written by the trenchant pen of Parker, were issued, to rouse the people.

The first announces in short, sharp words the arrest of the slave. The second calls on the citizens of Boston to see to it that no free citizen is dragged into slavery without trial by jury. A third summons the 'yeomanry of New England' to come and lend the moral weight of their presence, and the aid of their counsel, to the friends of justice and humanity in the city. A fourth brands the insult of employing murderers, prize fighters, thieves and black legs to aid in enforcing the atrocious law. A fifth warns the citizens to be on their guard against any attempt to carry off Burns by the kidnappers after the commissioners had declared him free. A sixth warns to be on the alert against lies and deceit,—a story being afloat that Burns had been ransomed. The last, when it was seen that the case was going against the fugitive, calls on all true Americans to be prepared for the worst: "Let there be no armed resistance," it urged, (for Parker all the while warned against the shedding of blood); "but let the whole people turn out and line the streets, and look upon the *shame* and *disgrace* of Boston, and then go away and take measures to elect men to office who will better guard the honor of the state and the Capitol."

During the process of the trial, a great meeting was held in Fanuiel Hall, the old "Cradle of Liberty," where powerful speeches were made by Wendell Phillips, Parker and others. Phillips' speech was one of his best, but Parker's was nothing less than tremendous, carrying the ardour of the crowd to the highest point.

"Fellow Citizens of Virginia," he began, (the kidnappers were from Alexandria, Virginia) "Fellow Citizens of Virginia: There *was* a *Boston* once. *Now* there is a north suburb to the city of Alexandria. The South goes up to the Canada line. You and I are fellow subjects of the State of Virginia; she reaches out her arm over the graves of our mothers and kidnaps men in the city of the Puritans."

The whole speech was well nigh as powerful as this opening passage. Yet he counselled earnestly against any violence that should involve the taking of life.

"I am a clergyman and a man of peace," he said. "I love peace. But there is a means and there is an end. Liberty is the end; and sometimes peace is not the means toward it. Now I want to ask what you are going to do?" (A voice cried "Shoot?") "No," answered Parker. "There are ways of managing this matter without shooting anybody. Be sure that these men who have kidnapped a man in Boston are cowards every mother's son of them; and if we stand up to them resolutely, and declare that this man shall not go out of the city of Boston, without shooting a gun, then he won't go back. Now, I am going to propose that when you adjourn, it be to meet at the Court House Square (the place of the trial) tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock. As many as are in favour of that motion will raise their hands. It is a vote. We shall meet at the Court House Square at 9 o'clock tomorrow morning."

And they did.

That Parker's action in resisting the Fugitive Slave Law, and trying to save the slaves that fell within its cruel grasp, was not a mere fanaticism, or grounded on political partisanship, will appear if we read a portion of a letter written by him to President Millard Fillmore, after the rescue of William and Ellen Craft from the slave hunters in November, 1850. Both the fugitives had been two years in Boston, and were members of Parker's church.

"I wish to inform you," he writes to President Fillmore, "of the difficulty which we (the church and

myself) are placed in by the new Fugitive Slave Law. There are several fugitive slaves in the church. They have committed no wrong; they have the same 'inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness' that you have. They naturally look to me for advice in their affliction. They are strangers and ask me to take them in; hungry and beg me to feed them; naked and look to me for clothing; sick and wish me to visit them; yes, they are ready to perish and ask their life at my hands. . . . But your law will punish me with a fine of a thousand dollars, and imprisonment for six months, if I take in one of these strangers, visit them when they are sick, come unto them when they are in prison, or help them 'directly or indirectly' when they are ready to perish. Suppose I should refuse to do for them what Christianity demands! I will not say what I should think of myself, but what would you say? You would say I was a scoundrel; that I was an infidel (not a Christian); that I deserved a jail for six years: you would say right. But if I do as you must know that I ought, then your law strips me of my property, tears me from my wife, and shuts me in jail . . . I must say I would rather lie all my life in a jail, and starve there, than refuse to protect one of these parishioners of mine. Do not call me a fanatic; I am a cool and sober man; but I must reverence the laws of God, come of that what will come. I must be true to my religion."

That the fugitives William and Ellen Craft, and Shadrack, were rescued from kidnappers in Boston, and sent on, the former to England, and the latter to Canada, where they could be free, and that the most energetic efforts were made to save the arrested fugitives Anthony Burns, and Thomas Sims, was due probably more to Parker than to any other man, not even excepting Garrison.

Parker's anti-slavery work was not confined to Boston. Besides preaching and lecturing on the subject all over the North, he made his influence felt against the annexation of Texas, and against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, as well as against the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill and the execution of the law when it had become a law. He was one of the leading spirits in organizing Emigration Societies for the purpose of settling Kansas with northern men who would hold the soil for freedom. He was a personal friend of John Brown, and one of the men to whom Brown looked for most trusted advice, and for material aid. The day fixed for Brown's execution at Harper's Ferry found Parker languishing in Rome. He wrote in his Journal,

"This is the day appointed to hang Captain Brown. It is now 6 p.m. and I suppose it is all over with my friends at Charlestown, Virginia, and, that six corpses lie there, ghastly, stiff, dead. How the heart of the slave-holder rejoices! But there is a day after today . . . Thunder and lightnings will come out of this . . . we are coming upon a great crisis in American history, and a civil war seems at no great distance, if these things go on."

How speedily did his prophesy come true! A little after Brown's execution, he wrote:

"No man has died in this century whose chance of earthly immortality is worth half so much as John Brown's."

The colored people of Boston, whether fugitives or freemen, found early in his ministry that they had a true friend in Parker. And more and more they came to him for counsel, and hung on his lips as a preacher and pleader for freedom for their brethren. The slaves of the South too learned his name, and carried it secretly in their hearts as a sacred treasure. When the word came over the sea saying Theodore Parker is dead, not only were there tears in hundreds of humble homes in Boston and throughout the North and Canada where dark skinned free children played, but in many and many a slave cabin on Virginia and Carolina plantations a still small voice was heard saying:

"O dusky mothers and daughters,
Vigils of mourning keep for him!
Up in the mountains and down by the waters,
Lift up your voices and weep for him.

He forgot his own soul for others,
Himself to oppressed ones lending;
He found the Lord in his suffering brothers,
And not in the cloud descending.

He has done the work of a true man,
Crown him, honour him, love him,
Weep over him tears of woman,
Stoop manliest brows above him."

Parker's deep sympathy with suffering in every form, his tremendous indignation against wrong and injustice wherever seen, especially in high places, and his sincere and fervid dedication of all his powers and of his very life to human service, has nowhere been better told than by himself with a pen dipped in the ink of his own tears, almost his own blood.

"The saddening sense of human woe is deep
Within my heart, and deepens daily there.
I see the want, despair and wretchedness
Of smarting men, who bear, close pent in towns,
The galling load of life: the rich, the poor,
The drunkard, criminal, and they that make
Him so, and fatten on his tears and blood.
I bear their sorrows, and I weep their sins:
Would I could end them! No: I see before
My race an age or so; and I am sent
For the stern work, to hew a path among
The thorns—I take them in my flesh—to tread
With naked feet the road, and smooth it o'er
With blood, and fainting, I shall lay my bones
In some sharp crevice of the broken way.
Men shall in better times stand where I fell,
And journey singing on in pefect bands,
Where I have trod alone, no arm but God's,
No voice but his. Enough! His voice, his arm."

In what consisted the greatness of Theodore Parker? He was brave. Heroism shone

through every act of his life. He was sincere. Only sincere men fight battles against such odds as he confronted. He was earnest. None but earnest men ever become reformers. Frivolous and shallow natures, men without convictions, float with the popular currents, stay in popular churches, vote with the popular parties, never become champions of the poor and the friendless, or leaders of thought outside of the beaten and safe paths. Theodore Parker was a conspicuously generous and chivalric enemy. Plain spoken and severe in controversy sometimes, he always strove to be fair and just. He was singularly patient under misrepresentation and abuse. He never retaliated. There was nothing vindictive in his nature. While he hated with passionate hatred all evil deeds, he did not hate evil men, but labored earnestly for their reformation.

He was a friend to the poor and suffering. The number of persons in Boston, of all classes and conditions, who came to regard him as a friend and comforter in sorrow, and as an advisor in difficulty is astonishing.

Great as was his brain, great as was his learning, his conscience and his heart were greater. His chief power as a speaker was after all rather moral than intellectual. It was not logic or telling statement, so much as it was sympathy, love of humanity, love of justice, hatred of wrong, moral earnestness.

He loved nature. For flowers he had a tender and almost passionate love. He wrote best when a bouquet of flowers or a single rose smiled before him on his writing desk. In the opening Spring he always went to Lexington to gather, as peculiarly precious, the earliest violets that grew on his mother's grave.

He loved children,—though to his great sorrow, no children of his own ever gladdened his home. Essentially a serious man, he was at the same time full of sunshine. No one was a more delightful companion for a ride, or a stroll in the woods. Few men were brighter in conversation, or more charming correspondents. He loved congenial society. The stir and excitement of business and crowds had a fascination for him; yet after all he loved best to be at home, quiet, among his dear ones, doing his regular work, and delving into his precious books.

"Walking his round of duty
Serenely day by day,
With the strong man's hand of labour
And childhood's heart of play."

Finally and most fundamental of all, he was deeply religious; otherwise he could not have done the courageous and mighty work he did. The religion he preached to others was a source of untold comfort, inspiration and strength to himself. Strange as it may seem to the mere on-looker, those who knew him best tell us that when we get down to what was deepest in the man, below Parker the thinker, below Parker the scholar, below Parker the theologian, even below Parker the reformer, prophet, and mighty fighter against every form of wrong, we find Parker the saint, Parker the devout and humble worshipper. Enshrined in the very holy of holies of his being was religion. The hidden fountain from which flowed all that was noblest in his character and most heroic in his life, was faith, hope, duty, love, prayer, God.

SEARCH THE HEART

By EVA WILLES WANGSGARD

It's strange that we, though centuries have passed
And should have taught us wisdom, somehow hold
Our faith in useless verdicts often cast
By glib majorities. Such counsel rolled
The dungeon doors where saints were burned and racked
And hurled the stones upon the prophet's head,
Because their poor contemporaries lacked
Acumen, disbelieving what they said.

New worlds are found by men who walk alone,
The heretics who challenge old belief.
Upon their backs are wings of progress grown.
We pay for them in coins of scorn and grief.
We walk erect in safe majorities,
But they must search the heart on bended knees.

MORE MUSINGS FROM LONDON

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

What is the most essential of human qualities? Surely it is that of being capable of gratitude. Anyway the greatest poets have always thought so. Shakespeare never lost sight of that basic truth neither in the golden age which produced *As You Like It* nor in the most tragic when he was writing *King Lear*. These thoughts are prompted by the aftermath of the Coronation, by thinking of the Duke of Windsor in his exile preparing for a wedding to which no one of any standing has the courage to come. Well, when people act thus, it is their tragedy not anyone else's . . . The poet W. B. Yeats once, when he was speaking at Oxford during the Irish troubles, said that it was not the tragedy of Ireland that lay so heavy on his heart but that it was the tragedy of *England*.

So many inadequate letters have appeared in the Press ever since the Abdication. It is a relief, at long last, to find one which is both short and to the point. Such a one appears in the current issue of *Time and Tide*. It deals in particular with that last meanness—the withholding of an allowance to the Duke—of which English people, in their heart of hearts, must feel the most ashamed. Says the writer :

> "It does not seem to have occurred to those who are responsible for the campaign of scandal and insinuation against a man who has no opportunity to retaliate, that such an attitude, besides being most inappropriate at a time of recall to religion, must be exceedingly hurtful both to the present King and to Queen Mary. (The Archbishop, for instance, did not seem to realize that the latter might not wish to be held up as a model of virtue at the expense of her son). Perhaps one day it will be explained why the Cabinet should have found it possible to double its own salaries and to provide itself with substantial pensions, but impossible to make any provision, however nominal, for England's most popular, most devoted, and most tragic Prince of Wales."

The writer is Mr. E. W. F. Tomlin and, when so many people are thanking God for Mr. Baldwin and the way he handled the Abdication, thank God, say I, for Mr. Tomlin's last sentence.

Mr. Baldwin gave up office last week and Mr. Neville Chamberlain is now the new Prime Minister. (At the time of the Abdication Mr. Baldwin said in the House of Commons that in future he would not be less the friend of the Duke but that their relationship was cemented. Or words to that effect. If only he would cement it by attending that lonely wedding . . .) The times are full of irony and it is not the least of ironies that this should be the moment when Mr. Chamberlain is chosen to take over. He stands pre-eminently for Protection. When in 1932 the National Government clamped the tariffs upon England's trade, Mr. Chamberlain felt that at last the ideals for which his father had stood were to be put into practice. The Dominions set the seal on this business and drove the Liberals out of the National Government (following on Ottawa) which hasn't been National since except in its own eyes. But today everyone is seeing that tariffs and armaments have got to be reduced. Countries like England, which have access to raw materials, want to reduce tariffs because they know that a boom cannot last for ever. The present one must end in a matter of three years at most and nothing then can avert a slump except an expansion of overseas trade. Countries like Germany and Italy, who are short of raw materials, are already making war (in Spain) or consolidating spheres of influence (Albania) in order to get them. Tariffs, armaments, self-sufficiency, *War*—the declension is by now familiar.

How in such a context can Mr. Chamberlain take office? Even the Dominions, assembled now at the Imperial Conference in London, are beginning to see things differently. Tariffs, like anything else, must be put to the test of time. And the Ottawa Agreements have not stood the test of time. Economists have been examining them after five years of working and their conclusion is this. The effect of them was "to stabilize intra-imperial trade and to shut out foreign traders from the Commonwealth, rather than to *increase* intra-imperial trade to any significant extent."

Apart from such domestic considerations, however, one fact must certainly impress itself upon any one who begins to think of trade and booms and slumps and depressions. Now-a-days they are world-wide. Not much then presumably can be done by tackling the problem locally. And it isn't as if there were not evidence that action, taken by the world at large, can have the most salutary results. What is the most useful thing that has happened in the past year? The

Tripartite Currency and Trade Agreement (U. S. A., France and Britain) of last September.

Of all the people whom one might pity, Mr. Chamberlain has always in the past seemed to be the least likely! He has such an unsympathetic personality. One remembers his titanic battles with Miss Susan Lawrence at the time of his De-Rating Act. Miss Lawrence fought with all the rugged vigour of an English yeoman. Mr. Chamberlain even when he smiles looks a solitary opossum. He hasn't the gift of merging with his audience—the gift which Mr. Baldwin has in excelsis but somehow remains apart. One thing which always commended him to the Conservatives was his popularity with the City. I remember hearing a Stockbroker at a dinner party once asserting loudly that he had "led the recovery" (by converting War Loan). But now, when his great moment has come and he becomes Prime Minister, the City detests him. Nothing whatever that he can do to his new tax, the National Defence Contribution, except withdraw it altogether, can make them pleased with him.

Well it is a platitude that the greatest men have often had to overcome the greatest personal drawbacks. (President Roosevelt is a case in point who had to overcome infantile paralysis. So is Mr. Winston Churchill who might never have become so great a speaker had he not first *overcome* an impediment in his speech). So Mr. Chamberlain may as Prime Minister be moved to such expansive ideas and policies as seemed undreamed-of. Though the reception of N.D.C. cannot be very encouraging! He may even be capable of that most difficult thing of all, that of admitting that he was mistaken. But of course it need not be as drastic as that. Lots of exponents of tariffs, though they always seem disingenuous, insist that they hate tariffs. If only other people would get rid of theirs, they say, they would get rid of them too. Mr. Chamberlain could catch on to that and take advantage of the times to join in a world-wide attempt to reduce trade barriers.

But if he does not . . . Then perhaps the Deluge. Or perhaps only a General Election and the return to power in this country of a Popular Front Government. But that is another story.

Last week not only saw Mr. Chamberlain become Prime Minister. It saw the end of the London 'bus strike. A small matter in comparison no doubt but one which, I dare swear, means far more to the average Londoner! Now that it is all over, and all the foreigners who came to London for the Coronation have gone home relating how strange it is that we cannot get our 'buses on the streets at the time of the greatest national occasion, it is worth while reflecting upon one thing. The busmen had been negotiating for just on *two years*.

Last but not least, last week has seen an event which it is to be hoped will have no counterpart again in history—the arrival of a ship-load of child refugees. It seems impossible to imagine what the war in Spain can be like. To go on living in cities which are bombed from the air any day and any time. How in such circumstances do people go about their business? How can wives let their husbands go off to work and their children go off to school? It is a new idea to evacuate the children and leave the civilian population behind. But I suppose part of the cruelties of civil war is that every civilian is a combatant, actual or potential. Anyway, thank God we have the Basque children here. (If the film of their arrival here were shown in Dictatorship countries, would the audiences be quite so sure of Herr Hitler's and Signor Mussolini's heaven-sent mission to save Spain from Bolshevism?) What is going to happen to these children if most of the parents are killed—as they may be if Bilbao is treated in the same ghastly fashion as Guernica? Suppose General Franco, with the aid of these foreign Italian and German troops, not forgetting the imported Moors, makes a desert of Spain and calls it peace. Makes himself the *de facto* ruler. Are we going to send these children back to the men who murdered their parents?

One would like to think they could stay in this country. But if it ever came to that I suppose the Press which supports General Franco —and it is the popular Press however much we few, we happy few, deplore its senseless passions —would raise such an outcry that they would have to go. It would be no unusual thing though if they stayed in this country. We have absorbed Danes and Saxons and Normans and Huguenots (not to mention the Celtic infiltrations) and so we could absorb these. It would be one way of filling up the gaps in our population. All the population experts are telling us now that we are in a parlous state. "In the absence of a striking rise in births," says the ***Economist***, "it will be only a matter of time before the natural increase of the population is reduced to zero." In thirty years time, said a man to me yesterday, nobody will be talking about anything else! Then let us not be too hasty in getting rid of other children.

MORE MUSINGS FROM LONDON

Poor Basque children. At the moment of writing the war might stop at any time or at no time. It is said that Signor Mussolini will not go out of Spain until his troops have wiped out the memory of Guedelaraja when they ran away. In spite of this there is a feeling abroad that foreign intervention can be ended in Spain. It is alas all an unprincipled diplomatic game, a game in which it is hoped to end intervention by buying off Germany and leaving Italy in the soup! In other words the Great Powers are afraid of Germany, who is only at the beginning of what she can do, while rightly or wrongly they imagine that Italy is a spent force. (Her war debt is said to be some £130,000,000). So the more dangerous is to be placated.

It must be very bitter to the Spaniards, after everything they have suffered, to realise that their salvation if it comes may not come through their own efforts. That it may come as a move in the game which France and Britain are playing with Germany. And they themselves have got to play that game . . . It is very hard to believe, but so it is said at the time of writing, that Spain has decided that Italy is to be accused at Geneva but not Germany. The Spanish Government has produced a dossier proving up to the hilt the completeness of Italian intervention. Even orders issued by the Italians reproving their "legionaries" for their lack of morale (or morals I forget which) are to be produced. But nothing is to be said about Germany, nothing about the crime of Guernica—when German 'planes flew low and machine-gunned men and women as they fled. Nothing must be done to criticise Germany. (Germany, of course, may not wait for criticism but may act after the bombing of their warship by Spanish Government 'planes).

It is fashionable now to argue that any silence, any compromise, any betrayal is to be commended if it is a step towards putting an end to a war and its possibilities of spreading. But can Germany be bought off, any more than Italy was bought off last year over Abyssinia? We hummed and haaed at Geneva, and put on every sanction except the vital one—with just exactly no result. Probably we shall not buy anything from Germany except time—if that. She is organized from end to end on a war basis. She is resolved to bring every German-speaking minority into the Reich. She wants her Colonies back. As if she could be bought off! Nothing can buy her off now except an attempt to meet her just claims (with a hope that the bitter spirit thereby released may make it easier for her to relinquish the unjust ones.)

Italy certainly seems to be reaping what she has sown. The Duce's speeches grow more and more flamboyant, but everyone has at last discovered that they are hysterical. It is no longer the case that the peace of Central Europe and of the Balkans has a Roman axis. At first it seemed to have a Roman axis. Then as the Nazis grew more powerful it began to have a Berlin-Roman axis. Now please Heaven it is not going to have such an axis at all. It is going to make one attempt to be unfettered. Italy has estranged Hungary and Austria by making a trade agreement with Jugoslavia. And both Hungary and Austria, for all their timid vacillations, are afraid of Germany. So now is the time for them to return to the idea of a Danube Federation. And as for the Balkans, Turkey is sending enthusiastic telegrams to Greece that the cause of Balkan independence is one and indivisible.

Are they all, at the end, to come under the German yoke? Or is there some way of harmonising Germany's idea of herself with an idea for the peace of the whole of Europe.

And now I would like for a moment to look back to an earlier *London Letter* and some comments which it has aroused. In the May issue of *the Modern Review* I see that Mr. K. L. Kudva states that I greatly exaggerate the sins of our National Government. He also thinks that any Government in this country would have deemed it imprudent to contemplate expenditure on defence of less than £1,500 millions. But that is exactly what I stated in my article. I pointed out, however, that it is because our present Government never really believed in the League of Nations, because they killed the Disarmament Conference, and because of their shilly-shallying foreign policy that this expenditure is now necessary.

It seems to me scarcely worth while replying to statements such as "English labour is well paid" or "the labourer is a small capitalist. He has never felt the pinch of poverty." With well over a million workers unemployed, with many of the unemployed pawning their household goods to get food, it seems unnecessary to deal with such statements. Still here are a few considerations. They are taken from a broadcast lecture given by Sir John Orr, the authority on Malnutrition, on May 17th. The children of the poorest class of 14 years of age are two or three inches shorter than the children of the well-to-do classes. In the wealthier classes infant mortality is only about 30 per 1,000.

Amongst the poorest five million it is over 100 per 1,000 and in the worst slums nearly 150. (In Oslo, where free breakfasts are available for every school-child, the infant mortality rate, which was 46 in 1931, is now 30 compared with 67 in London, 84 in Newcastle and 102 in Glasgow). Then do not forget that the cost of living is rising all the time. It is now 52% above the level of July 1914. The cost of food alone is 36% above the 1914 level.

Let no one imagine that the Trade Unions are so strong that they can exact high wages. According to the *Economist* "there are roughly 19 millions covered by National Health Insurance, and some 13 millions insured against unemployment." But the membership of unions affiliated to the Trades Union Congress in 1936 was only 3,615,000. It follows that there are many unorganized industries.

I am aware, of course, of Mr. Kudva's further points with regard to the flow of wealth from India to England. But this I have exposed time and again during the last thirty years both inside and outside of the House of Commons. For twenty-one years now I have run an organization in this country, the British Committee on Indian and Burman Affairs, working for the freedom of India and trying to educate the British people as to the actual facts and conditions in India—and this with practically no help from India and practically no financial assistance here.

British Labour has been in office and has formed a Government here but only as a minority Government. I certainly think they could have done more than they did, but one of our chief stumbling blocks was Mr. Ramsay MacDonald who, before he was in office, was most lavish in his statements as to India's claims and rights. Witness his statement as far back as 2nd July, 1928 when he said :

"I hope that, within a period of months rather than years, there will be a new Dominion added to the Commonwealth of our nations, a Dominion of another race, a Dominion that will find self-respect as an equal within this Commonwealth. I refer to India."

Mr. MacDonald's policy was to put at the India Office men who knew nothing about India so that he himself would have more control and so prevent anything being done.

My simple position with regard to India was well summed up in the words used by our Chairman, Mr. George Lansbury, in an Indian debate in the House of Commons. I have not got the exact words before me but the gist of them was : "I do not believe that God ever made any country that was fit to rule over another."

If Mr. Kudva and those who think like him will help us financially or otherwise to make the claims of India better known in this country, no one will be more thankful than I.

31st May, 1937.

True love, love not merely in words but in deeds, cannot be stupid—it is the one thing giving true perception and wisdom.

And, therefore, a man penetrated by love will not make a mistake, but will be sure to do first what love of man first requires : he will do what maintains the life of the hungry, the cold, and the heavy-laden, and *that* is all done by a direct struggle with Nature.

Only he who wishes to deceive himself and others, can, while men are in danger, struggling against want, stand aside from helping them, and, while he adds to their burden, assure himself and those who perish before his eyes, that he is occupied, or is devising means to save them.

—*Leo Tolstoy*

OF JAPANESE GIRL AND WOMEN STUDENTS

By Srimati SANTA DEVI

The late Emperor Meiji dreamt of a great Japan and spent his life in the great work of Restoration. He did not hesitate to give up old-world superstitions and follow in the footsteps of other great nations, whenever necessary. He was the father of Modern Japan. In an Imperial Rescript issued in Meiji days we find the following words :—

"Henceforward education shall be so diffused that there shall be no ignorant family in the land, and no family with an ignorant member . . . If a child, male or female, does not attend an elementary school, the guardian shall be held responsible for the neglect."

In less than seventy years the Emperor's dream has come true. Now there is not a single village in Japan where people do not read and write and 'even among the poorest class there are very few who cannot express their thoughts in writing.'

In March, 1933, Japan had 45,793 educational institutions and the total number of students was 13,408,971. The entire population of Japan was not even seven times as much. All children from six to fourteen years of age are known there as school-age children. Children who have any physical or mental defect are exempted from compulsory education, if for those reasons they are totally unfit for study. Some times very poor people are pardoned for not sending their children to school. But employers of school-age children are requested by the State to see that these children are not hindered from going to school for their work, and sometimes children of very poor parents are admitted free. So in 1933 the percentage of school-age children attending schools came up to 99.57. Of these children 5,453,114 were boys and 5,301,848 were girls. Here we see that from the very beginning of their life, the girls get equal opportunities with the boys for becoming useful and worthy members of society and the State.

In ancient Japan women were in no way inferior to their menfolk. Historians say that Chinese and Korean influence helped in bringing about the social and political degradation of women in comparatively recent times.

Mr. Akimoto of Japan says :

"History shows that in ancient Japan, especially during the Nara period, women enjoyed perfect social and political equality with men. Between 592 and 770 A.D., during which sixteen Emperors reigned, no less than eight were Empresses, all of whom were celebrated more or less for religious piety and literary and artistic accomplishments. The government under the female rulers had an epochal influence on the development of arts, literature and especially religion. In fact, the phenomenal progress made by Buddhism in the 7th and 8th centuries was due in a great measure to the pious hearts of many women like Koken Tenno and her illustrious mother, Komyo Kogo or the consort of the Emperor Shomu."

At the end of the Heian period women lost their ancient glory and became perfect slaves of their fathers, husbands and other male guardians.



Primary school children being taught the use of Chinese characters

Mr. Akimoto writes :

"In consummating this complete moral serfdom of women the exponents of Buddhism and Confucianism played not an unimportant part . . . ."

"Politically disabled, they took to the arts, poetry and other spheres of 'womanly' accomplishments. Of such women the most representative were Ono no Otsu, the originator of the Joruri music, and Inju mo no Okuni, the founder of the Kabuki, world-famed Japanese dramatic art."

With such a great past it is no wonder that in the transitional period Japanese women did not waste their time in making up their mind. They seized opportunity by the forelock and made a record in the history of Feminism. In twenty-five years Japanese women brought about a marvellous change in their position for which European women had to strive hard for five hundred years. Men like Dr. Allan K. Faust believe it to be true.

The far-sighted Emperor Meiji wanted to introduce the good points of European and American education in the educational system of Japan. So the Education Department decided to send a batch of students to America. Probably with the first batch of students, in "1871 five Japanese girls were sent over to America to grow up in American ways and bring back whatever good they might find for the rising generation of Japanese women," says Mr. Chamanlal. The youngest of these girls was only seven at that time. When she came back to Japan after finishing her education in America, Ume Tsuda founded in Tokyo the Women's College of English.

"Before leaving home the five girls were summoned to Tokyo and in testimony of the good will of the Mikado and according to an ancient custom, they were each presented, by the attendants of the court, with beautiful specimens of crimson crepe, and an order was issued that their expenses while in America should be paid by the government."

Many of the pioneers of women's education in Japan founded their institutions in the beginning of the twentieth century and women of Japan speak with pride of institutions which are thirty or thirty-two years old. Sometimes I wanted to tell these ladies that in Bengal some women graduated more than fifty years ago and there are women's educational institutions with sixty-five years' history behind them. But I had to keep silent, because I felt ashamed to utter in the same breath the deplorable truth about India's illiteracy. Though I tried to console myself with the excuse that we are not wholly to blame for this wretched condition



Mrs. Motoko Hani, principal of the Jiyu Gakuen

of India, yet in a country where everybody holds his or her head erect in the nation's pride, I could not speak of our fetters.

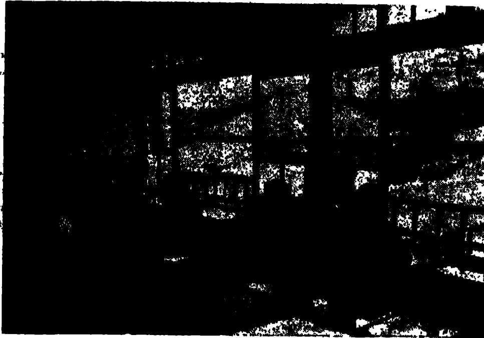
My friend Dr. Mrs. Kora took me to some of the Educationists of Japan. One of them is Mrs. Y. Motoko Hani. In Japan she is famous for her school "the Jiyu Gakuen." It was founded in 1921. But now it is no longer a solitary school. It is a big educational organization which runs a school for boys, a school for girls and the Post-Graduate Course with Industrial Classes for girls. Mrs. Hani's home is very close to the Industrial School. Only a narrow lane runs between the two. As soon as we entered her compound she herself, accompanied by some other ladies, came out of her wooden cottage and welcomed us. She spoke mostly in Japanese, but greeted me in English. She saluted in Japanese style and was dressed in kimonoes. She is a gentle-looking lady.. As a devout Christian, she believes in plain living and high thinking, and I did not find any ostentation about her.

Mrs. Hani was born in 1873. After graduating she spent a few years in a Christian school. The social conditions of Japan were far from satisfactory at that time, and from her girlhood she was determined to improve the status of her sisters. After leaving school she became a social worker and also obtained a position in a newspaper office as a proof reader. Soon she became the assistant editor. She was the first woman journalist of Japan and published a magazine with the help of her husband about thirty-two years ago. This magazine won fame for both of them. The problem of her daughters' education brought her into the field of education. She with her husband believed that in an ideal school pupils must enjoy liberty in its true sense. With this idea before them they started this "School of Freedom," dedicating their entire private fortune to this cause. Many sympathisers came forward to help them. A beautiful building was constructed at Mejiro, a suburb of Tokyo, with the help of an American architect. Mejiro was far from the noise and dust of the city at that time. Only 26 girls were taken as students on the first day; but now the number is over three hundred; and more than five hundred have already graduated. In 1935 the Boys' Department was opened with twenty-three boys on the roll.

When we entered the school I was surprised to see that there were no servants or clerks or guides near the building. We discovered some little children practising music in a big room with their teacher. Mrs. Kora took us to another room where a few girls were busy with some sort of handicraft. They received

us cordially and helped us to see everything. They spoke in English.

One of these students, Miss Naoko Sakurai, is a friend of Indians, because her father had visited India several times and always helped Indian students in Japan. Miss Sakurai took special interest in us and saluted us with folded hands in Indian fashion.

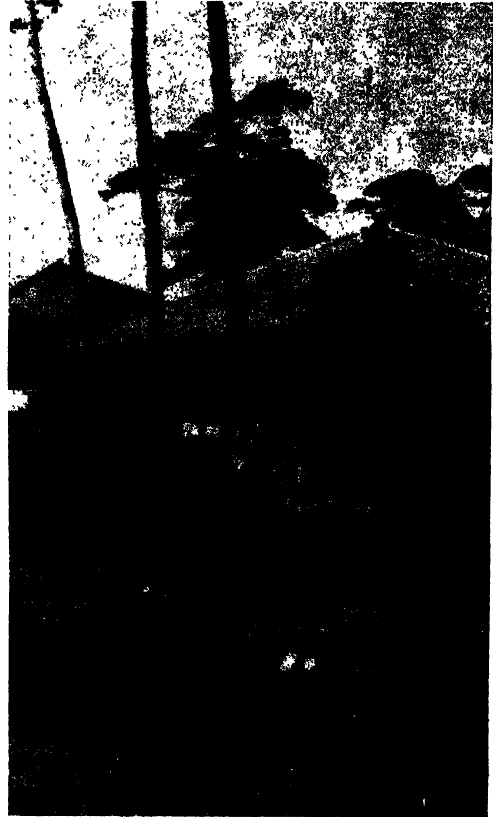


Japanese-style rooms in the girls' dormitory of the Jiyu Gakuen

We came to know later on that it is a principle of the school to go without clerks and servants. The teachers and students do everything. The students take charge of the cash and "all the income and expenditure attendant upon their daily life are entirely dealt with by the students. The cleaning and care of the school buildings and play-ground, daily lunch for the whole school, and so forth, are also all attended to by them. The management of this work takes the place of lessons in housekeeping." Every class has one lesson a week with Mrs. Hani. She does not teach the three "R's." but spends the time in intimate talk with the students. The students speak to her about what they feel and think in their everyday life. They also speak about their hopes and ideals.

Mr. Hani also helps in the students' general education. He speaks to them about current history and discusses many problems of the modern world with them, giving his own opinion n every case.

The Industrial department of the school is divided into seven different sections: dying, weaving, wood-carving, plaster modelling, embroidery, Japanese painting and European painting. I found the students working in all these departments. Some of them were drawing original designs for parasols, hand-bags carpets, mats and handkerchiefs. Toys, wooden forks and spoons, handspun thread, mat, bamboo and paper bags, painted leather bags and household furniture were shown in the show-room. These things are for sale. The students are really skilful carpenters. They make artistic and highly finished furniture.



The girls' dormitories of the Jiyu Gakuen

There are beautiful mottos written on the walls of the work-rooms and I felt the presence of a religious atmosphere everywhere. The students do not come here to acquire knowledge only, they must strive after high ideals and find themselves making inward progress everyday. Self-help and endeavour after great ideals in life seem to be the two most important key-notes of the institution. It is the only school in Japan managed entirely on a basis of self-government by the students. Student self-government is supplemented by the complete exclusion of paid employees. A student committee of thirty-members serve for a term of two months. "Every Friday the teachers and

the student committee meet to talk over various important affairs of the whole school. All school supplies are sold by a students' co-operative store, which also runs the school lunch room."

My friends told me that students buy provisions and other necessary things from this co-operative store for their homes also. Thus the store makes profit from the students and their guardians at the same time and spends that money for the welfare of the institution.

My friend Mrs. Majumdar of Tokyo told me that students of this school prepare their school-lunch everyday. All the classes have a cooking hour once a week. About thirty girls prepare the meal in two hours. Mrs. Majumdar says that even the mothers of the younger children have their turns in the cooking department. They come at the appointed time and cook instead of their very young children.



Girl students receiving instruction in the use of sewing machines

It was lunch time when we had finished going round the work-rooms. The students very kindly asked us to take lunch with them. Generally they ask foreign visitors to take lunch with them. Boiled rice was brought in big wooden tubs like barrels, and the girls served it in small china bowls. With it was served a dish of meat and cabbage curry. Some other vegetable side-dishes and beans coated with sugar were also served. The students said grace before lunch and were all dressed in European style. After the lunch Mrs. Kora introduced me in the Japanese language and spoke for a few minutes. Though I am not a speaker yet I thought it my duty to thank the girls for their kind courtesy. Moreover I was very much impressed to see their happy and ever-smiling faces. It was a very neat and simple dining hall. About eight girls sat at each table. We were four in our party. So four girls had to wait and leave their seats to us.

Students read out newspaper cuttings after lunch time everyday. Then they discuss their pecuniary problems and try to find out some more ways of earning money and economising. With very serious faces they rise from their seats and read long papers. Some of them speak extempore. We listened to them for a time, but I did not understand a single word, because everything was in the Japanese language.

Washing and cleaning is also done by the girls. I found some of the girls cleaning the floors with big brushes.

Next day I went to see the Japan Women's University. My kind hostess Mrs. Majumdar was my guide. This was her first visit to the University. But she was not afraid of losing her way. We boarded a local train for Mejiro. Fortunately, a girl passenger was discovered who was going to the same locality. She very kindly helped us to find out the main road leading to the University.

It was about twelve o'clock in the noon. Little girls with bags hanging by their sides were marching along the streets. The road in front of the gate was being repaired, and at places the mud was ankle-deep. With difficulty we went inside. It was a very big compound with gardens and arrangements for different kinds of outdoor games. The girls were all in holiday mood. Some were riding on the merry-go-rounds, some were running about. They were not little children, they looked about seventeen or eighteen. There were hammocks hanging from the trees and girls were swinging in them. Under the bare cherry trees and near the green fir trees were some girls riding on see-saws. The white and pink plum blossoms were heralding the advent of spring.

In the office they wanted our cards and asked us to take our seats near the fire. A girl brought a freshly lighted "hibachi" and placed it near my feet. Then came a college student who took us to the college department. She showed us round the rooms where experiments are carried on with the little children. With innumerable fitness-machines they test the eye sight, hearing, intelligence, colour-blindness, quickness of movement and everything that comes within the range of these machines. The students tell all sorts of stories to the little children and ask them to re-tell the stories in pictures. The walls are covered with these in-



A modern primary school building. School children at their physical exercise class



Danish gymnastics are included in the school curriculum



Kindergarten classes under the Cherry Tree



Japanese women having a practice in Archery



The Art of Flower Arrangement



Cha-no-yu (tea ceremony); one of the aesthetic arts of Japan



Student-cooks at work in the kitchen
of the school lunch-room



Lunch-time in a Kindergarten school



Instructions in correct manners and deportment
are included in the course at primary schools
in Japan



A number of primary schools in Japan are
equipped with artificial sun ray generators
for the benefit of the under-developed
children

CHILD EDUCATION IN ENGLAND



A school: No books and no sums



Tiny tots learn how to water their gardens



Learning to be "hostess"

teresting drawings. Some of them help to rouse one's imaginaion, some are artistic. After the periodical examinations the college girls were enjoying their holidays. So we could not meet many of them.



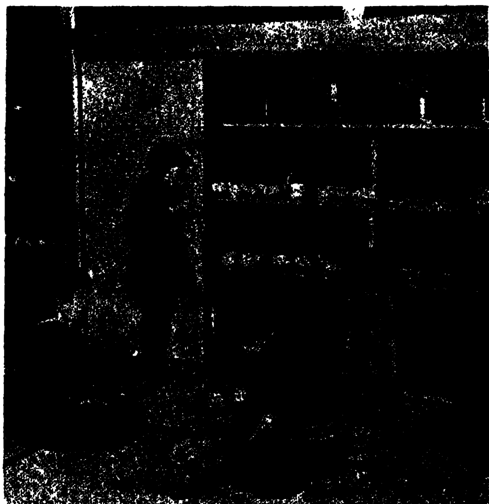
During intervals of school hours

We crossed the street again and went a long way off to the Kindergarten department. It was lunch time. Some of the tiny tots were having their lunch, some were playing about and some were getting ready for going home. The building is on the top of a hill. There are gardens outside. Some teachers were helping the children with their lunch. Some of them were serving and some were feeding the children with spoons. In preparing the school-lunch special attention is given to the vitamins needed by these children.

Every child brings a pair of light shoes in her knapsack. Before entering the school building she takes off her walking shoes and puts on the light pair. Before going home I saw them packing those school-shoes again and putting on the walking ones. Some of them tried to make friends with my daughter. The desks and chairs of the kindergarten department are so low that they look like toy furniture. The rooms are decorated with dolls and other interesting toys and pictures. The children attend from the age of four to six.

Next we came to the Primary or Elementary School. It is for girls of six to twelve. The course is for six years. We had to wait in the office-room for some time, and had to take tea. The children were playing in the school grounds with their balls. As soon as they saw us enter the office room, they forgot everything and crowded round the room. From every corner four or five inquisitive children were peeping. It was great fun to them.

Japan is a land of festivals. There are boys' festivals, girls' festivals and mothers' festivals also. The next day was the mothers' day. So the children were busy preparing presents for their mothers. A teacher dressed in European fashion came and took us to the first year class. About fifty children were making roundish paper boxes for packing gifts to their mothers. Everyone of them had scissors, set-squares and other necessary implements. We saluted the children, but they only giggled and did not salute us in return. They must have thought us some strange creatures. The second year students also were making some sort of presents ready for their mothers. The third year children were listening to their teacher. She was dressed in kimonoes, and standing on a platform, was addressing the children in



Instruction in correct manners and deportment are included in the course at primary schools in Japan

Japanese. After her opening address the children had their reading lessons. The teacher asked questions and in answer the children raised their hands. The children who did not know the answers did not raise their hands. We entered all the six class rooms. Everywhere the children were dressed in school uniforms of European fashion. Most of them had rosy cheeks and all of them bobbed hair.

The Japan Women's University was founded in 1901. Its present President is Mrs. Hide Inoue. Among the members of the Board of Trustees are both men and women. The collegiate courses are for girls of 17 years of age and upwards.

There is an Institute for the study of

children (Paedological Research) "to which under-graduates as well as graduates interested are allowed to refer for individual research." We visited this Institute before coming to the attached schools.

The number of students in the five collegiate Departments and in Graduate Courses is about 1,200. The number of Pupils in the Higher Girls' School is about 500 There are about 300 children in the Homei Elementary School and 100 children in the Homei Kindergarten. During the past 30 years about 5,000 students have graduated from this University. There are 75 men teachers and 75 women teachers.

The area of the compound is over six acres, but owing to the great earthquake of 1923 the buildings in the compound were seriously damaged. Most of them look shaky, some are wood-houses and look very old, but I liked the picturesqueness of the compound. A new site for the institution has been selected and it will be removed there within a few years. The new spacious well-equipped buildings will have a compound of sixty acres.

In the present compound of the University there are about twenty dormitories. About 600 girls from all parts of Japan spend their college days here. In this University also self-government of the students has been introduced to some extent.

In March, 1933, there were 963 girls' high schools in Japan and there were 361,739 girls studying in them.

The Japanese-Government is determined to drive away illiteracy from their country. So even defective children are admitted to schools if they can follow the school lessons to some extent. Those who cannot follow the ordinary methods are encouraged to enter schools for the blind or schools for the deaf and dumb. About 21.43 per cent of the blind children and 27.19 of the deaf children attended schools on March 1st, 1933

"Among the bourgeois class a school diploma has become an almost indispensable requisite for an advantageous marriage." It is a part of the bride's dowry. The first girl's school of Japan, which was a missionary enterprise, was opened in 1870. Within 20 years 43 other mission schools for girls were started and the first government school was started in 1872.

Calligraphy, flower arrangement and tea-ceremony are ancient Japanese arts Modern women have not forgotten them. Afternoon and evening classes are held in the Japan Women's University for outsiders to give and take lessons in flower arrangement, calligraphy and sewing, etc, In many schools and colleges of Japan tea-ceremony is studied. Such lessons are given to waitresses also.

CHILD EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

By DHARAM YASH DEV

More than five million (fifty lacs) children have just gone back to schools in this country. Let us have a look round and see the sort of places these schools are and the kind of work these children do.

The ordinary school of today is as different from what it was twenty-five years ago as anything could well be. And if we go back another twenty-five years, it was customary fifty years ago, for the whole school to be housed in one large room in which all the classes worked. The children were packed like sardines in long desks on galleries. Imagine the condition of teaching! Teachers and pupils forced to talk one against the other. Incessant hubbub. No space for free movement or exercise.

In any school today every class has its own room opening into a covered verandah. This le[illegible] to a playground, There is a central hall Rooms are fully equipped to practise arts and crafts Children learn things of daily life. And above all the children are well conditioned and are happy and eager to work.

Education in this country is compulsory for all children between the ages of five and fourteen, although unlike several foreign countries, parents are not forced to send their children to State schools.

Public elementary education consists normally of three stages, namely, the Infant School, for ages 5 to 7; the Junior School, for ages 7 to 11; and the Senior Schools, for ages 11 to 14. Sometimes all these "schools" are taught in one building, under one Head Teacher; sometimes each "school" has its own building and its own Head Teacher. Each has its own time table of lessons and its own curriculum suited to the particular age-group.



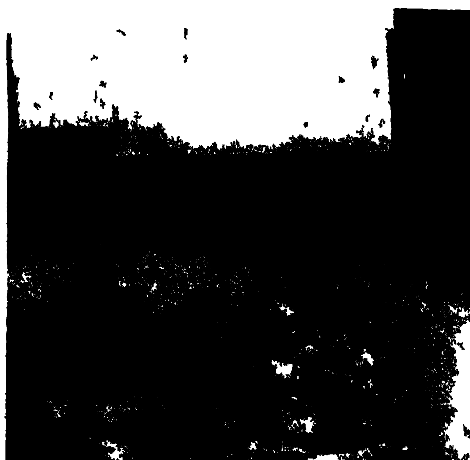
A little girl learning to bathe the baby by practising it with her dolly



Senior girls demonstrating wicker basket making at the London County Council Silver Jubilee Exhibition



Students of Felcourt School learning mathematics without tears in the advanced Montessory method



School boys having their afternoon nap on a London roof top

Nursery Schools

In addition to the above, schools of a "permissive" character, called Nursery Schools, exist in the various parts of the country. The Nursery School takes babies under five years of age, from street and slum, into a healthy environment. This Nursery School has been the most wonderful development of the post-war period. The school is usually an open shelter, with a garden attached. The establishment of these schools was due to the extensive infant-mortality (revealed by the reports of the Medical Officers of Health), and to the degree of preventible diseases, much of which was the result of parental ignorance and neglect in early childhood.



The children of St. Bride's School enjoying their ration of milk at lunch time

In t[illegible]hools, babies learn through play. They do[illegible] the desks. They are too young. Instead they sit on clean, polished, and disinfected floors. Groups of tinies squat and listen spell-bound to stories. Children from poorer homes are bathed, cleaned and dressed. Each child has its own bed and in the afternoon they all sleep—because many babies in poor families get hardly any rest at home.

In school each baby has a definite period of two to three hours' rest during school time, whatever happens to him the rest of the day. There is "Tooth-Brush Drill," and "Nose-blowing Drill." Class-rooms look very much like a big toy store.

The actual number of these schools is as yet very small. The total number of babies looked after in this manner is about 160,000, but it is growing.

These schools have performed an invaluable function in setting a standard for the training and treatment of the very young children. In many cases where there are no separate Nursery Schools, there are nursery classes attached to the Infant School.

The Infant School

The first compulsory stage of elementary education is the Infant School for the 5 to 7 age-group. Here the children learn the first great lessons of life . . . "Manners Makyth Man," Health, Cleanliness, and the three R.'s

Here things are not in the old fashioned way. Hours of desk sitting do not stunt and deform the children of England. Each child has its own table and a little arm-chair. Things have been arranged in such a way that no child of five to seven in a newly built school will ever sit at a desk again. And no child sits still for more than twenty minutes at a time.

Not very long ago, I had an opportunity of seeing a number of Infant and Junior Schools. I saw a class of thirty, happily at work in the open air, comfortably seated in small chairs at small tables. Then I was shown a number of pictures of the same school taken some thirty years ago. Children were half asleep. They sat crowded at uncomfortable desks. Their appearance was miserable. Their physique was poor.

Today the same school is changed beyond any recognition. I looked at my friend who was showing me round, and said: "You are doing wonderful things." With joy and pride in his eyes he said to me: "A nation cannot allow the major part of its citizens to be reared under any condition except the best."

Every day new ways are tried and new



An open air class in a Summer School Camp



Children in the outdoor school



Lesson in "Safety First"
School children taking lessons in traffic rules through play with their cars and cycles. The tiny policeman waiting on the pavement to help some pedestrians to cross the road



A Helping Hand for the Babies
Dinner time at the Waifs & Strays London Babies' Home, Clapham, S. W.

experiments are carried out. They do not teach things in a way which children find dull. Arithmetic is no longer a bugbear. It has become a game. The children play with blocks and put two and two together and make four. No longer have they have to cram, " twice two four," not knowing what it means.

Another part of the curriculum is the teaching of rhythm. Children have their own " percussion bands." Each child beats his drum in unison with his fellows under the conductorship of the school mistress. There is no actual music, only rhythm. Tunes come later on.

There are no more " duffers " and " dunces." In old days there were ' bright children ' and dunces. The brightest boys were encouraged and the less bright neglected. In many cases this was carried too far and instead of helping the dull child, this shameful neglect ruined him for the rest of his life. Now there is an occasional reshuffle at or about the age of eleven, and the pupils are divided so that the dull ones go to special schools where they will really learn, because they are only taught things within their capacity.

The problem of grouping the children according to age and ability is one of the greatest problems presented by the elementary schools. The fundamental principle on which this is done is that the " backward pupil must not be allowed to slow down the class, the forward pupil must not set too fast a pace." Much effort has been spent on this problem. Most of the Elementary Schools in London are organized on the basis of the Hadow Report's recommendations. After ten years of experimental work, already there is evidence that children are receiving a fuller and more practical education.

The School Medical Service

The School Medical Service as it exists today in this country can certainly be called the best organized and most complete service of its kind in the world.

It was not until the dawn of the present century that for the first time, in some of the greater areas, doctors and nurses became associated with the local education authorities, and the conviction began to grow that the education of minds was as important as education of bodies, and that both were inter-dependant.

Since then there has been a steady growth. In 1902 the London School Board appointed a Medical Sub-Committee and gathered up uncoordinated medical units into a medical department. During the next five years a number of medical officers and nurses were added to the staff and regular inspection of school children and schools began to take place.

At the present time, the school doctors, working under the direction of the school medical officers, and in conjuction with all the other health services of the district, examine on an average every school child at least once a year.

Teachers can readily obtain advise upon any children who give them anxiety either on mental or physical grounds. Specialist doctors are employed who advise on children referred to them for deafness, defective vision, or any other kind of physical or mental defect.

In many cases voluntary care committees have been formed whose duty it is to aid the medical and teaching staff in the care of the children, and great enthusiasm is shown by the voluntary workers in this great and worthy cause.

A big place like London has its special problems. Here we have what are known as School Care Committees. This is a band of five thousand voluntary workers. They concern themselves with health and hygiene, environment, recreation, and when children leave schools they concern themselves with providing work or further education. Their aim is to ensure that each child is given the opportunities of taking full advantage of the education provided.

London County Council has recently purchased an instrument called the " Audiometer." It is used for testing the hearing of the children. By the use of this instrument it has been found possible to detect minor defects of hearing at a stage when in most cases they are curable. The consequent improvement of hearing and arrest of conditions and defects which might otherwise lead to permanent and progressive deafness is worth the money spent. This instrument will enable some 30,000 children to be tested annually.

At all the schools of the L. C. C., all children upto the age of twelve are systemetically weighed and measured twice a year. This ascertains the growth of individuals and keeps a check on their nutrition.

Under a scheme of the Milk Marketing Board, about 360,000 children get one free pint of milk every day. A very large number of poorer children are given a free meal besides this pint of milk. Then there is a very large number of children who can get milk at very reduced rates. About 100,000 receive it at 1d per pint (the retail price to the general public is more than 3d. per pint).

Such are the things that are being done in schools of England. A new and happier generation is growing up. No wonder the foreign observers look at England with an eye of envy.

Sir Frederick Menzies, K.B.E., Chief Medical Officer, L. C. C., in one of his recent pronouncements summed up the achievements of the School Medical Service in the following words:

"Formerly teachers struggled in despair with children suffering from all imaginable evils for which nothing could be done. It was not possible to feed the hungry and ill-nourished, to teach the semi-blind and semi-deaf; and parasitic disease was rife to such an extent that teachers rarely left schools at the end of the day without themselves conveying back to their homes parasites which had strayed to them from their charges. Children attended schools with untreated soars, and eyes and ears streaming with septic disease.

"This is all now changed. Whereas body vermin formerly affected a large number of children, they are now, as a result of the school nurses' ministrations, almost impossible to find. The gain in self-respect and material comfort which this alone has brought cannot be estimated. The hungry are fed, the sick are healed, and the defects of the senses of sight and hearing which are the chief avenues of approach to the child's mind, are detected at an early age and corrected."

POPULATION OF BENGAL—AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ENQUIRY

By BHUPENDRA NATH DATTA, A.M. (Brown), DR. PHIL. (Hamburg)

It is generally supposed that Bengal is comparatively a new country and that her people have remained unknown in the older periods of the history of India. But a reference to the Vedic literature will make us see that North-Eastern India was not unknown to the Vedic people. As early as in the Samhita period, the Rig Veda speaks of the eastern sea (X 136, 5). Again the Kikata[1] country was mentioned in the Rig Veda, and the Upanishads spoke of the court of the Raja Janaka of Mithila, where the learned Brahmans used to hold their religious discourses. These news give us information about the province now called Behar. But as regards Bengal proper, we have definite news about it from the post-Samhita periods of the Vedic literature. In the Brahmana period, the Aitareya Brahmana (VII, 6) speaks of the Pundra country, and in still later age in the Aranyaka period we hear in the Aitareya Aranyaka (II, 1, 1, 5) that the people of Bengal along with the other peoples of eastern India are contemptuously called as "birds" (*vayansi*). But the name of Vanga (Bengal) is clearly mentioned along with Behar in the same Aitareya Aranyaka (II. 1. 1.) as Vanga Vagadhah, *i.e.*, Bengal and Magadha.

Thus it is clear that Bengal was known to the Vedic people, and the people of Bengal were contemporaneous with the same. Of course we are not clear about the civilization of the people of Bengal of that period. In the post-Vedic period Rarh (Western Bengal) is mentioned in the Jaina books as the place where Mahabira Vardhamana preached his religion.[2] Still later in the time of Alexander's invasion,[3] the Greek writers spoke of the name of the Gangaridae, a powerful nation living on the banks of the southern part of the Ganges. Afterwards Bengal became a part of the Maurya Empire, as attested by the recent discovery of a copper-plate at Paharpur in Bogra. The same plate[4] also speaks of the Samvangiyas, who were Vratya-Kshatriyas like the Licchavis, and, like them, lived under an oligarchical form of republic.

All these mean that the people of Bengal along with the other Prachya (Eastern) peoples did not take kindly to Vedic sacerdotalism. This is attested by the penances prescribed in the post-Vedic age (4-5 B.C.) by Baudhayana (I. i. 32, 33) for the Vedic Brahmans who visited Pundra, Vanga and other lands. Thus, it is clear that Bengal along with the other parts of eastern India was the seat of heterodoxy. It is in Bengal that we hear of the Asrama of Kapila, the enunciator of the Samkhya Philosophy, it is in Bengal and Magadha that the Jaina leader Mahabira preached his teachings

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[1] Indian Literature identifies it with Magadha, modern Southern Behar; *viz.*, Bhagabadpur—1, 3, 24; 7, 10, 13, Trik. Sesha 2 11, Hemac 4, 26. Zimmer holds the same view *Alt Indisches Leben* p. 31. But Vedic Index says that the identification is uncertain—Vol. I, p. 159.

[2] *Ohunasugam* (I. 8) translated by Jacobi in SBE Vol. 22, p. 79ff.

[3] Mccrindle, *Ancient India.*

[4] *Vide* K. P. Jayaswal's presidential speech at Indian Oriental Congress held at Baroda.

and it is in Magadha that the great Buddha preached his new religion. It is thus evident that for these reasons, orthodox Brahmanism, *i.e.*, *Varnasrama* polity, never took root in Bengal in ancient times; hence we find Jainism, Buddhism[5] with its various ramifications, besides other heterodox sects, flourishing in Bengal in pre-Mohamedan days.

As regards the racial affinity of the people of Bengal with the Vedic people of the Punjab and the upper Gangetic valley, we have no data in our hands to say anything about it. But we know that, as according to the philologists, the Bengal language is Ardhamagadhi, and its civilization had been Indo-Aryan, Bengal has been from time immemorial a part of the Indo-Aryan cultural circle. Streams of immigrants from the Punjab and the upper Gangetic valley have been coming to the lower Gangetic land, bringing their language and institutions along with them and settling in the province.[6] As a result, Bengal like other portions of northern India, is an integral part of Aryavarta. It is included in Manu's definition of Aryavarta, as he said :

"The country situated in the east by the sea, in the west by the sea, in the north by the Himalayas and in south by the Vindhyas, is called Aryavarta by the learned" (2.22).

Again the Brahman minister of the Varman Rajas of East Bengal, Bhavadeva Bhatta, gloried in the 10th century A.D. that his native village at Rarh was a part of Aryavarta.[7]

To know further about the racial affinities of the inhabitants of Bengal, we will have to take the help of physical anthropology. Somatological test is the final test of racial identity, hence we will have to take the help of anthropometry in this matter. As the people of Bengal speak an Aryan language, we will have to enquire first about the original carriers of this language in India. The accredited home-land of the original Aryan or Indo-European-speaking people of India is the land of five rivers and the valley of the Cabul river.[8] Here, the recent archæological excavations have discovered skulls of diverse origins. Sir John Marshall, writing about the authors, of the "Mohenjo-daro and Indus civilization," says :

"As far back as the history can be traced the population of Sind and the Punjab had been a blend of many diverse elements and there is no reason for assuming that it was other than heterogenous in the earlier age with which we are now concerned."[9]

Thus the cronological examinations discover various biotypes to be existing in the land of the five rivers from time immemorial. But this does not solve the question about the origin of the carriers of the Indo-European language to India. Here we must be careful about the identity of the language and the race of men who speak it. Since the days of the philologist Frederick Muller[10] every attempt to identity race with language has proved a failure. Hence any attempt to identify those vedic tribes who spoke a branch of the satem group of Indo-European language, with a particular race or biotype would be to hit beyond the mark. The attempt of the Pan-Germanists to identity Indo-European speaking people with a particular biotype of North-Europe has led to national chauvinism, which has been derided as "Germanism."[11] This attempt has been renamed nowadays as "Nordicism." But dispassionate scholars know that such-like hypotheses, however clothed in scientific garb, are to be found in their last analyses to have political bases. These are bound up with national or sectarian chauvinism. In Europe, the "Aryan controversy" long ago has entered its political phase. Truly, an English writer, V. Gordon Childe, says :

"The apotheosis of the Nordic had been linked with policies of imperialism and world domination : the word

[5] N. N. Vasu, *The Modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa. Introduction* by H. P. Sastri. Pp. 1-28.

[6] Rajanikanta Chakravarty, *Gaurer Itihasa,* Pt. I, Ch. V, quotes from the Sanskrit text of Dhruvananda Misra that the Sur dynasty of Bengal came from Darada (modern Dardistan) country. This dynasty ruled in West Bengal in the 10th Century A. D. It was a Brahmanical dynasty. Though Manu has cited the Dards as Vratyas who not seeing the Brahmans have become degraded to Sudrahood (10.44), yet the Brahmans accepted this family as an orthodox Kshatriya one. And perhaps the myth about Adisur who is alleged to have imported the Vedic Brahmans in Bengal has centered around this family. The Varman dynasty ruling in East Bengal about the same time hailed from West Punjab; *Vide* R. D. Banerjee, *Banglar Itihasa,* Pt. I. The Chandra dynasty also ruling in East Bengal came from Behar; *Vide* N. G. Mazumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal,* Vol. III. The Senas came from Karnatak (South India); *Vide* N. G. Mazumdar—*Ibid,* Vol. III. Many castes trace their origin from the North and West India, as well as some castes from Orissa. Again, many families trace their descent from South India.

[7] *Vide* N. G. Mazumdar—*Ibid,* p. 36—Bhubanessur inscription of Bhabadeva Bhatta (Verse 3), "The only one that is famous in this world and has advanced the country of Aryavarta is the village of Siddhala, the foremost of all, and the ornament of the fortune-goddess of Radha."

[8] Zimmer—*Alt Indisches Leben.*

[9] Sir John Marshall, *Mahenjo-daro and Indus Valley Civilization* Vol. I, p. 109.

[10] F. Muller, *Grundriss der Spaachwissmschaft.*

[11] G. Sergi—*The Mediterranean Race,* p. 81.

He says, "I mean by Germanism the theory which attempts to prove that the Germans are the primitive Aryans."

"Aryan" has become the watchword of dangerous factions and especially of the more brutal and blatant forms of anti-semitism. Indeed the neglect and discredit into which the study of Indo-European philology has fallen in England are very largely attributable to a legitimate reaction against the extravagancies of Houston S. Chamberlain and his ilk, and the gravest objection to the word Aryan is its association with pogroms."[12]

Hence, to wean our mind away from this national chauvinism of some people of North Europe who maintain that the tall long-skulled narrow-nosed blue-eyed and light-haired racial type of men came all the way from Scandinavia or North Germany or the Baltic coast to India and founded the Indo-Aryan civilization, and in their migration to the east changed their centum dialect to the Sanskrit branch of the satem-group of the Indo-European languages, we must know the other hypotheses and facts connected with the problem. The student of this question knows that the majority of the opinion regarding this problem is in favour of the oriental origin of the Indo-European speaking peoples. On this account, Dr. Koppers has said :

"Ziehen wir die Schluss bilanz, so Zeigt sich, dass die von den Ethnologen in der indogermanenfrage vertretene ostthese nach wie vor unerschuttert dasteht." (In drawing the concluding balance, it is to be seen that the Eastern thesis advanced by the ethnologists regarding the Indo-German question lies unshaken as before).[13]

But a new hypothetic race from the steppes of South-West Siberia and Central Asia has been created by some of the post-war anthropologists, and it has been named as the "Proto-nordic,"[14] or the "Caspian"[15] race. Of course, this race is supposed to be blonde and has got the characteristics of the Nordics, while the supposed "Caspian race" contains the long-skulled element in them. It seems, in order to get over the difficulties with which the hypothesis of the nordic origin of the Indo-Europeans is beset, the new hypothesis of the "Proto-nordics" from Asia has been set up. And the cradle of the blonde racial element which has so long been supposed by the protagonists of "Germanism" to have been in North-Europe only has now been sifted to South-West Siberia and Central Asia by the representatives of "Proto-nordicism." Jochelson's[16] discovery of blue and grey eyes, and light-haired persons in West Siberia, and the previous discoveries of the same characteristics in the central Asiatic tribes[17] the Glatschas, the Tajiks etc., by Ujfalvy, Aurel Stein, Schwartz, etc., have given the anthropometric basis of the same hypothesis. But these Central Asiatic tribes are not dominantly long-skulled.[18] The broad-skulled, narrow-nosed tribes speaking satem dialects (Iranian) of the Indo-European language are said to have also the abovementioned characteristics combined with a regular facial feature. Hence the Indo-European Aryan problem has got another orientation in physical anthropology.

The Aryan controversy is mentioned here, because it has become the fashion with some to identify the Vedic tribes with the Nordics of North Europe and to evaluate the people of Bengal from that standpoint. But it has been found out that since the Azilian epoch (a period linking up Palaeolithic with Neolithic times) the long-skulled and broad-skulled men were living in Europe, as evinced by the discovery at Ofnet[19] in 1925, and in a palaeolithic deposit at Solutre a brachycephalic skull has been found out.[19]

Hence the theory of the long-skulled narrow-nosed (dolichocephal-leptorrhin) biotype as the only original race of North Europe since the Palaeolithic age, falls to the ground. Then another argument advanced by the upholders of Nordicism—blondness of eye and hair-colour—also falls to the ground, since the discovery of Jochelson of this trait with some of the Tartar tribes in South-West Siberia. Hence, any trace of blue and grey eyes and blonde hair with the Indians or the Hindus in particular, is not to be accounted for from the influence of the Nordic strain from North Europe, but it may be traced from the element nearer home, *i.e.*, from Central Asia. Patanjali's description of the physical characteristics of a Brahman in the *Mahabhashya* of Panini (II, 26) as *gaura succhachara pingala kapilakesa* does not warrant us in taking him as of Viking type. According to Halayudha's *Abhidhana-ratnamala* (a Sanskrit vocabulary translated by Th. Aufrecht 1861) *pingala* is brown, or tawny and *kapila* is tawny;

[12] V. Gordon Childe, *The Aryan*, p. 164. Childe complains that L. Stoddard in *Racial Realities in Europe* imports this false principle into American politics (*Vide* footnote p. 164): But what about India from the standpoint of this Aryanism?

[13] W. Koppers—"Die Indo-Germanenfrage in Lichte der historischen volkerkunde" in Anthropos Band XXX 1935.

[14] E. Von Eickstedt, *Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit* p. 265f; Haddon, *Races of Man*.

[15] R. D. Dixon—*The Racial History of Man*. Pp. 28-30.

[16] Jochelson—Peoples of Asiatic Russia in Publication of American Museum of Natural History 1928; also quoted by Eickstedt and V. Guiffrida-Ruggeri.

[17] Ujfalvy, *Le Kohistan, Le Ferghannah & Kouldja;* Aurel Stein data worked out by Joyce—Jour. Anth. Inst. BK 16, F. O. Schwartz. Turkestan p. 23.

[18] Ripley, *Races of Europe*.

[19] Sir A. Keith, *Antiquity of Man*, Vol. I, p. 110; 139f also *L'Anthropologie*, XXXV p. 189.

and *gaura* is generally fair. According to the Indian standard *gaura* is brunette and not florid-white. Taking the meanings together, we see that Patanjali's Brahman is a fair-skinned, brown-eyed and tawny-haired man of pure habit. Thus, there is nothing of North-European Teutonic traits in him. Rather he can be taken as a fair-skinned man of India that is to be met with even today. On the contrary Sabara in his Bhashya on Jaimini[20] (I. 3.3) quotes a Vedic text which speaks of the dark hair of the Brahmans. Again, Manu's prohibition of marrying a girl with *pingala, i.e.*, brown or tawny hair (3.5) may not give us somatologic proof of nordic strain. People of India have aversion to "cat's eye" and there may be similar aversion to tawny hair due to its extra-ordinary character. On the other hand, the Baka Rakshasa, in Mahabharata (Adiparva—168 ch.) is described as having eyes, hair and beard of red-colour. Also, the Ramayana (Sundarakanda—17 ch.) describes the Rakshasis as having *pingala* eyes. Further, the Bhattikavya speaks of the Rakshasas having *pinga* (tawny or brown) hair and *pingala eyes* (II.30). Will these descriptions signify the daemonic Rakshasas to have been of Nordic affinities? On the other hand, *Garga-samhita* speaks of Kalayavana having red beard (Golakakhanda—18).

Thus it is clear that the enemies of the Indo-Aryans are also described as having light-coloured eyes and hair. Hence to suppose nordic strain only with the Brahmans will be a misinterpretation of history.[21]

Brown eyes and tawny haired men we have got in India in galore. Further, the Vedic description of the "Arya" does not also give us the impression of his being a nordic. Rather we have seen before that the Vedas speak of their having black hair (*vide* Atharva Veda BK. VI. 137). Indeed, the Vedic saying that the Gods (*devas*) are white and the Dasyus are black (Rig. 2.20.8) does not lead us far into the knowledge of the somatology of the Vedic tribes. Rather in white Yajurveda in Satarudriya Litany the god Rudra is called as "golden-armed" (16.1f) and god Sabita as "golden-handed" (1.20,34,35). Again, the saying that "Indra by killing the Dasyus has specially protected the Arya-colour" (3.38.9) does not give us further clue to the much-vexed problem. Regarding the colour of four different classes of the society which are known as the *varnas*, it may be said that these are the metaphorical representations of the different professions in which the peoples were engaged. There cannot be any anthropological meaning attached to these descriptions as the four *varnas* (colours), certainly were not the four racial types of men described by Blumenbach. Here we must remember that the *Rigsthule* or the *Heimsdall Saga*[22] of the ancient Teutons speaks of the creation of three classes of peoples with different kinds of physical traits and colours by the God Rig. But no one has yet made any racial discoveries in them. If the latter be an allegory, the former must be likewise. Further, the other Indo-European peoples like the Persians,[23] the Ionian Greeks[24] had also traditions of the division of society into four tribes or classes. According to Vincent Smith:

> "Varna, once a common name for all classes, perhaps taken from the colour and the garments that differed with different classes, come to mean caste in post-Vedic litrature."[25]

Hence *varna* is not to be taken in the colloquial sense that it is the colour of the skin, but as Sanskrit literature testifies it mean characteristics. The Bhagavad Gita says: "I have created four *Varnas* according to quality and work" (4.13). The Mahabharata likewise says that the *varnas* have originated from work (Santiparva, Ch. 184).

Examining the modern peoples of the home-lands of the ancient Vedic tribes Dr. Von Eickstedt says:

> "The Aryans can scarcely have been darker than the Pathans measured (No. 3). The Dasyus cannot have been fairer than our present plains-dwellers."[26]

And those who have personal knowledge of the Pushtu-speaking and the Swati-speaking peoples of the frontier, know it well that brown-skinned and dark-brown-skinned peoples are to be met with amongst them in preponderant numbers. Further, Dr. B. S. Guha in his *Ethnographical Report of the Census of 1931* speaks of "a distinctly dark element present

[20] This sloka has also been quoted in *Baudhayana Sruti*, V. 2-3-5.

[21] We must be careful about Patanjali's dscription of the Brahmans. Perhaps he, like Panini, hailed from Gandhara, as he was an admirer of the Atharva-Veda. We had a vague idea of the East and the North, and good idea of Surastra and Kamboja; *vide Mahabhashya* (Benares Ed. p. 20, Introduction 1).

[22] Bluntchli, *Allgemeine Staatslehre*. Pp. 120-130; J. A. Macculloch, *The Mythology of all Races*. Eddic: p. 153.

[23] E. Senart, *Caste in India*.

[24] Sir W. Ramsay, *Asianic Elements in Greek Civilization*, Pp. 243-244.

[25] V. A. Smith—*Ancient and Hindu India*, Pt. I. p. 36.

[26] E. Von Eickstedt, "A Comparative Anthropometry of 144 Panjabee" in "*Man in India*" Vol. III. 1923.

in varying degrees" in the N.-W. Frontier Province.[27] Thus a dark racial element is to be met with in the homeland of the ancient Vedic people.

Finally, it is to be emphasized here that people confuse race with language in the case of the Vedic tribes. The problem of the people who spoke the original Indo-European language and the problem of the racial origin of the Vedic tribes who called themselves "Aryas" are two different things. The problem of the original Indo-European being either central European 'Wiros' or German 'Nordic' or Hindukush 'Alpine' (Armenoid) or South-West Siberian 'Protonordic,' is extraneous to the question of the racial identity of the Vedic people. The Indo-European-speaking peoples are nowadays to be found amongst the so-called Nordic, Alpine and Mediterranean races.

Leaving the eternal riddle of the Indo-European question as matter of intellectual gymnastics with the national and racial chauvinists, we apply ourselves to the present-day anthropology of India. Regarding the present-day Indian castes, by referring to a biometric analysis[28] made by the writer of this paper, of the data of some of the castes from the Punjab to Bengal furnished by Risley, it is to be found that, if in the Punjab the Jat-Sikhs have dolichoid-leptorrhin element in majority, the Khatris have the dolichoid-messorrhin element in majority. Again, brachycephal-mesorrhiny exists in a very small percentage with the Khatris and the Churas, while dolichoid-chamoerrhin element is to be found with these castes in a small percentage. Again, with the exception of the Jat-Sikhs, dolichoid-mesorrhin element is preponderant with the various castes of the Punjab, U. P., Behar and Bengal; while the brachycephal-mesorrhin element is to be found in a very small percentage with the Brahman, Chhatri, Bania, Kayastha, Goala, and Kurmi of the U. P. Of these castes, the Chhatris show the largest percentage of the same element in them. As regards dolichoid-chamoerrhiny, all the castes analysed show the percentage in various proportions, ranging from 11 to 37. As regards Bihar, we find the phenomenon of brachycephaly increasing from this part of North India and reaching its maximum in Bengal. But dolichoid-chamoerrhiny is found in maximum percentage with the Musahars of Behar, a so-called untouchable caste, than with the Bagdis of Bengal, who are of the same social status. Finally, coming to Bengal, the analysis shows that the Kayasthas show more of brachycephal leptorrhiny in them than the Brahmans, while the reverse is the case in the matter of dolichoid-leptorrhiny. Again, the Kaibartas show the largest percentage of brachycephal-mesorrhiny in them.

In this analysis we find that the same kinds of racial elements are to be found all over North India. Here, we must say that Risley's old theories regarding the racial analysis of India is no longer regarded as tenable. Finally coming to the latest Ethnographical report of the Census of India we find that as regards interrelations of racial likeness between the peoples of different provinces, it says :

"The closest relationship of the N. W. Himalayan region is with U. P., followed closely by Bengal and Central India. Taken as a whole, there does not appear to be much relationship between Bengal and Tamil Nadu and Central India--affinities are also shown by the Nair of Malabar and the Pathan of N. W. India with the Bengali Brahman and by the Nagar Brahman, the Tadjik, the Kathi and the Bania Jain with the Bengali Kayastha . . . The Pods (a so-called depressed agricultural caste of Bengal) however show much wider relationships being connected with the Oriya, Malve Brahmans, the Rajput, the Audich Chitpavan and Desastha Brahman, the Mahratha, the Illuva and Kanada and Telugu Brahman. On the other hand, no relationship is shown with the Khasi of Assam, either collectively or individually as indicated by the high values of the C. R. L. This should dispose of finally the hypothesis of the Mongolian origin of the Bengali people."[29]

This is the latest opinion of the Government ethnographical report. All these clearly demonstrate that the people of Bengal racially are not different from the rest of Aryavarta. Those who following the theory of Risley have led themselves to believe that the people of Bengal are different from the rest of North India, that her peoples have been taken to Brahmanical polity after the performance of the 'Vratya-stoma,' need change their opinion in the matter of anthropology of Bengal. Rather, these somatological reports show that Bengal has got the same racial elements in her as in the homeland of the Vedic tribes. And the latter place has not made a speciality of conserving the "Aryan" element in it, be it Nordic or Proto-Nordic or the Alpine (Armenoid) or anything else.

Coming directly to the somatology of the people of Bengal, it is to be found that the Bengalees are on the average mesocephal-mesorrhin-mediumsized persons. As regards eye-

[27] B. S. Guha, *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I India Pt. III, Ethnographical part XIX.

[28] B. N. Datta, *Das Indische Kasten System in Anthropos* BK. XXI 1927.

[29] B. S. Guha, in *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, India, Pt. III, Ethnographical, p. I, VII.

colour, Dr. Guha[30] reports that the majority of the Bengalees examined by him have got dark-brown eyes (Nos. 2-3 of Martin), the "Pods have either black or dark-brown eyes and there is a small percentage of light clear brown (Nos. 6-7) among both the Brahmans and the Kayasthas." But in a note sent to the Science Congress held at Indore the writer of this paper has submitted data that light-coloured eyes varying from Nos. 8 to 13 of Martin's nomenclature, are to be found in Bengal among the orthodox Hindus. In the data submitted there is a subject with light-grey (No. 13) eye-colour which Martin for practical purposes counts along with blue eye-colour. Thus the light eye-colour found by Dr. Guha in N.-W. F. Province and with the Chitpavans can also be found with the Bengal Hindus, though these characteristics are rare.

Thus, as regards physical anthropology of Bengal, it can be said finally, that there are different biotypes in this province as elsewhere, and that Bengal is not outside the anthropological circle of North India. This fact corroborates our statement that streams of immigrants have come to the lower Gangetic plain from the northern part of India from time immemorial, and Bengal has been always an integral part of Aryavarta; ethnically, socially, culturally and politically.

[30] B. S. Guha, *op. cit*:

Regarding the physical Anthropology of Bengal, the following data are to be consulted.

Bernard Davis, *Thesaurus Craniorum;* Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal;* R. C. Chanda *Indo-Aryans;* B. S. Guha and his colleagues in the *Census Report of* 1931; B. N. Datta, Anthropological Notes on some West Bengal Castes in "*Man in India*" Vol. XIV Nos. 3 & 4; "An Enquiry for traces of 'Darwin's Tubercles' in the Ears of the People of Bengal"—*Ibid,* vol. XII, Nos. 2 & 3; "Craniometric examinations of some West Bengal Skulls" in the Report of the Bangiya Sahitya Sammilan held in Calcutta 1929; "An Enquiry into foot and Stature correlation of people of Bengal," a paper submitted to the I. S. Congress 1935; "A Note on the presence of light-coloured eyes in the population of North-East India," a paper submitted to the I. S. Congress 1936. I. K. Gan.—"Craniometric studies of some Bengal Skulls," a paper submitted to the I. S. Congress 1936. T. C. Rai Chaudhuri "The Varendra Brahmans of Bengal" in "*Man in India*" Vol. XIII Nos. 2 & 3 H. C. Chakladar—Measurements on the Rahri, Varendra and Maithil Brahman and the Muchis of Bengal. A. N. Chatterjee, "Reports of Students' Welfare Committee of the Calcutta University."

MORE NOTES ON JAIL PSYCHOLOGY

By P. SPRATT

JAIL is in some respects an admirable forcing-house for religion, as religious institutions seem, by imitating it, to admit; and the urge towards religion is often strong. Lukewarm devotion is usually much strengthened, if the sentence is long, and conversions are not unknown. I had myself no religious belief, and had been very critical of religion, but I felt the force of its appeal. About 4½ years after my arrest, following upon exhausting sickness, I passed through a period of acute distress, and some two years later in internment I had a similar experience. I suffered from very great depression, with suicidal impulses, while at times, on the former occasion, I could hardly refrain from tears, and on the latter I had fits of almost uncontrollable anger. In both periods, in cooler moments, I felt a definite attraction towards religion. I considered conversion in a way which I can call half-serious. I read religious books, the writings and lives of saints and the like, with an interest and tolerance of which, I confess, I am normally incapable. But though I am neither a complete sceptic nor a dogmatic opponent, I remained always aware that I could never sincerely profess belief.

During the former period I found the open air, and especially looking at the empty sky—it was the period after the monsoon—most refreshing and soothing. Pandit Jawaharlal, I may recall, notes his liking for the sky in jail. While looking at the sky one day I experienced a feeling which can best be described by Freud's term "oceanic." It was sudden, a revelation of the community between myself and the world—it seemed then easy to comprehend that the universe is one and I am it. The feeling was intense, but again I was not completely carried away, and a spark of critical consciousness persisted. It was also very pleasant, and for a few days after it a faint, exhilarating echo of it remained with me.

I attribute this occurrence to physical weakness together with the urge towards religion promoted by jail. I have to admit however that this is not the first event of the kind in my life. Once during puberty I had a very similar experience, again when looking at the sky. But at that time I held religious beliefs, and interpreted it as a religious revelation. I do not think that such a thing could now occur, in whatever physical state I might be, except in jail, and under the influence of the religious urge.

I have said that religion is probably the most common help in repression. That is an exaggeration. The most common resort is undoubtedly tobacco. I am myself a strongly prejudiced opponent of smoking, and have never been able to understand its popularity. It may therefore be that I am unable to judge in this matter. My guess however is that the extraordinary passion for tobacco shown by prisoners is due not so much to its intrinsic attractiveness as to its use as a help in repression. Smoking is usually said to "soothe the nerves." I take this to mean that it assists in the repression of anxiety and generally unwelcome ideas and feelings, giving a pleasantly empty state of mind, or facilitating concentration upon one subject. Some claim that it is useful in this way to students. The fatuously self-satisfied expression of most smokers also confirms it. The otherwise inexplicable spread of the tobacco-craze in our impecunious but nerve-racked age is also rendered less incomprehensible, as is the excessive smoking of soldiers on active service. If this is true, the usefulness of smoking in jail will be obvious.

My idea that it is valued mainly for its use in this respect and only less for its immediate pleasantness is confirmed by several facts. Prisoners lack other commodities. In the United Provinces the normal jail diet contains no fat, butter, ghee, or milk, no sugar or sweet constituent, and normally no fruit or fresh vegetable. Prisoners greatly miss these articles and grumble at their absence. But they take no particular trouble to get them, certainly not one-hundredth of the trouble they take to get tobacco, and do not spend one-hundredth part of the money on them. Certain privileged prisoners get a ration of butter. I have known many prisoners who regularly sold this very nutritious and tasteful item, at a heavy loss, in order to buy tobacco. In many jails it would not be much more difficult to get alchohol than to get tobacco. But even habitual drinkers very seldom trouble to do so. Only drug addicts are as pertinacious as smokers in their efforts to satisfy their craving. Further the tobacco obtained in jail is almost always of the foulest quality, which even on the most liberal assumptions about the perverted tastes of the smoking fraternity we can hardly imagine to be consumed for pleasure. Finally, where conditions permit it, smokers consume more tobacco in jail; and I have even known a few cases of imprisoned non-smokers taking to smoking, in spite of the expense, risk, and other obvious disadvantages. My conscience revolts at saying it, but I cannot deny, that the concession which would be valued above all others by the jail population is permission to smoke, and if I were a minister in charge of the subject I should probably regard it as my duty to make that concession.

Self-discipline, though it is promoted especially by religion, is however an essential part of any culture. The question therefore suggests itself whether any general differences in this matter are to be observed among national and religious communities, since the various cultures cherished by them are likely to involve appreciably different degrees and kinds of self-control. My material is scanty, but so far as it goes it does confirm the suppositions, which one would be inclined a priori to make, of differences in this respect among Muslims, Hindus and Europeans. One would expect Europeans, and especially English people, to be more careful to preserve the external conventions, and their personal dignity, and so to display what I have called regression less than Indians; while also being less thoroughly self-disciplined and so less able to tolerate jail life. The two tendencies contradict each other to some extent, but I think both guesses are supported by my facts. I have seen in jail men from a number of European countries and America, and all, except a German, grumbled and fretted more than Indians, especially Hindus, usually do. Englishmen, as is their habit, conceal their discomfort with humour, but the concealment is often thin. Except for the element of humour, Anglo-Indians generally resemble Englishmen.

Similarly one would expect Hindus to be more self-suppressed and self-disciplined than Muslims, except of course the markedly pious and ascetic. My observations also happen to support this idea. Among those whom I knew, the proportion of Muslims to undergo more or less serious breakdown, mental or physical, is strikingly larger than the proportion of Hindus. But I am really not entitled to regard any of

these results as more than coincidences, since the numbers in question are small, and individual circumstances suffice to explain many cases.

My facts are no more ample, but one can perhaps speak with more confidence of such differences, in relation to psychological types. Accepting the popular classification into extroverts and introverts, one would of course expect extroverts to be more, and introverts less, distressed by jail life; and broadly my observations confirm this. So far as introverts tend to lead less active and varied lives, this result will follow, but I doubt whether that tendency is very marked. The two of my fellow-prisoners who had led perhaps the most adventurous lives, I should judge to be of this mental type. Nevertheless it is probable that in most cases introverts would be less dependent upon external stimulus and variety, and consequently less bored by monotony, than extroverts. But the great advantage of the introvert is that he is generally more accustomed to and more capable of self-control and self-suppression, and is hence more adaptable. I am myself rather pronouncedly introverted, and I remember that shortly after my first arrest, when I did not in any way appreciate the importance of that fact in this regard, I wrote from jail that I should be a good prisoner. I meant that I could live a satisfactory life in a world of my own, derived from the jail-world of course, but transformed into some degree of independence of it.

I believe further that the reaction of introverts generally to external discipline is appreciably different, and is such as to render jail in this respect somewhat less irksome to them than to others. The discipline of jail is of course very trying. It was one of the most curious and disagreeable experiences of my life to hear the gate of the cell clang upon me for the first time. But it was not really the gate or the cell that oppressed me. It was the feeling that I was absolutely in the power of others that was disturbing. The discipline of jail is the expression of that absolute power, but it is so rigid and mechanical that it soon comes to appear impersonal. It is not the warder but the gate which shuts one in; even the warder is not a person, he is part of the machie. Now, it is in the nature of an introvert, I think, that he feels less acutely than others the compulsion of material conditions, and perhaps more acutely the compulsion exercised by persons. He will be the least disciplined member of a group—not in the external, immediate sense, but in the long-period sense, that he will not sacrifice so easily as others his independence of mind; but he will accommodate himself more easily to the mechanical and external compulsion exercised by the jail. He will resent the arbitrary measures of the superior jail officials, but he will not readily quarrel with the warders, who are usually mere instruments of others' will.

I believe this fits in very well with my observations generally, but I am reminded most strongly of two prisoners who might have been selected to illustrate it. Their histories and circumstances were strikingly parallel: they lived together in the same barrack, they were of similar education and social extraction, both religious, both with strong political sympathies, both innocent of their alleged crimes, both had passed long periods in jail, and were due to remain there for indefinite periods longer, both suffered from persistent ill-health. But they were clear cases of different psychological types. The one, though older by a few years, and younger by three years in jail, was in a state of perpetual irritation and conflict with the jail authorities and other prisoners, varied by fits of good humour and loud laughter. For no apparent reason, he would refuse to enter his cell at lock-up time, and would quarrel with the warders whose duty it was to see him in. He would do practically no work, and be punished therefore. He would complain about books, clothing, food, and indeed all subjects on which it was possible to complain, and would threaten, and from time to time undertake hunger-strikes. He was quite indifferent to "remission," most of his days having been forfeited as punishment.

The other man was on good terms with almost all prisoners, including even the Europeans, and with all the jail staff, except the Superintendent, whom he suspected of having done him a serious wrong, and he waged against that official a silent and dignified quarrel. Towards the few others with whom he had irreconcilable differences, he preserved the same attitude, of silence and aloofness. He would break no rule if he was likely to be discovered, but worked out means of evading most of the rules which irked him. He took every opportunity of increasing his remission, and with that object became a convict official. The other was debarred by the rules from doing so, but in any case would probably have refused. Both, I ought to add, were exceptionally honest and amiable men.

This case illustrates very well, indeed almost in an exaggerated way (my account is not

exaggerated) the differences between the two typical reactions. It is evident that the immediate suffering of the extrovert will usually be more severe than that of the introvert. This however does not conclude the matter. I believe, though my material is not enough to warrant a general statement, that this may be true only for a limited period of imprisonment: after a time the suffering of the introvert may become as great as that of the extrovert, or greater. In the case which I have just cited, I am not sure which of the two was more unhappy. The dramatically obvious suffering of the one was in some sense, one felt, superficial, as was the placid acquiescence of the other. My extroverted friend could at times throw off his worries, could talk cheerfully and laugh, and read. The other seemed, even when talking on indifferent matters, to be overshadowed by jail; his whole personality seemed to be infected and saddened by it, and when I knew him he had almost ceased to be able to read. The introvert, if his jail life is for a time easier and pleasanter, is laying up trouble for the future.

The matter may perhaps be crudely represented thus. It is as if the extrovert deals with each situation as it arises. If it is unpleasant, he reacts against it, and his suffering is dissipated in his immediate outburst of irritation, fighting, anger, stream of improper language, or even punishment. The introvert is no less oppressed, but in his cautious, reserved way he refrains from immediate expression of his feeling, suppresses it, and stores it up within him. But this is well-known to be a dangerous proceeding, which may have subsequent ill-effects.

A minor instance of this type of effect occurred so early as the first year of my own imprisonment. I surprised others, and even more myself, by a sudden and apparently quite unprovoked fit of violent anger, which I was totally unable to explain. On two or three occasions later, on some small provocation, which would normally have left me unaffected, I gave vent to disproportionate outbursts of wrath; and for some time I concentrated, not always silently, upon an unoffending friend, the animosity which I felt, but did not express, against others, and no doubt some of which I was not aware against people and things in general. My normal attitude on the other hand is, and even then remained, one of friendliness and politeness. Those others whom I judge to be of the introverted type were also well-known for the incalculable variations of their tempers.

Others however displayed such phenomena also in a less degree. The two types are said to be not sharply distinguished, and most of the distinctive results of jail life are to be noticed, with differences of degree, in both. Both for example dream the characteristic jail-dreams, and I have no data which would lead me to think that there is any difference in this matter. I have mentioned the universal escape-dream, which in its most common form seems to be a simple case of wish-fulfilment. My own escape-dreams were always strongly tinged with anxiety, the result of repression, but others had similar dreams.

Several people, for some weeks before the delivery of judgment in the Sessions Court, had typical examination-dreams. In my own case, these usually took the form of an examination held in the court-room, sometimes with the Judge as supervisor or examiner, in which I could make no progress, and became desperate with anxiety. The usual outcome was that I should awake and congratulate myself that, in contrast to real examinations, the outcome did not depend in any way upon my own efforts. This appealed especially, I suppose, to one to whom responsibility and effort are unusually distasteful. Others however had similar dreams.

It is remarkable that, so far as I know, no such dreams occurred before the delivery of judgment in the High Court, upon which even more serious issues depended. In my own case at least, the interval of some months between the two was a period of great, but very thoroughly repressed, anxiety, which probably affected my health, but was revealed at the time only in dreams. The significant difference between the two seems to be that in the later case we already knew the worst. To this extent our experience may fit in with Freud's explanation of the examination dream as a means of assuring oneself about a forthcoming test, but other facts seem to remain unexplained.

I must refer to another dream, apparently a product of repressed fear, which was of constant occurrence throughout our period of remand. This was the dream of death, either one's own, or others'. It was usually emotionally toned, and sometimes of the intensity of the nightmare. Some were apparently occasioned by the execution of Bhagat Singh and his comrades, and these may possibly have been due in part to unacknowledged envy of the success which Bhagat Singh had achieved as a propagandist. These dreams remind us of what we read of the traumatic neuroses, in which the disastrous occurrence, the battle-scene or what not, occurs

repeatedly in dreams, though it is kept out of the waking consciousness. There was for us nothing directly comparable to a disastrous event, and it may be that death served as a dramatic representation of the loss of some years of life through imprisonment. These dreams seem in any case to show that the unconscious was taking our predicament more seriously than the conscious mind.

A simpler and more direct expression of fear occurred on a few occasions, in my own case immediately after arrest, and immediately after conviction. At neither period was I consciously much affected—to my own surprise—but in these dreams I felt that I should die in jail, a prospect which appalled me, and I awoke horrified.

The nature of the dreams changed with the decision of the High Court, which brought release unexpectedly near. Only one escape-dream, so far as I know, occurred after this. My own dreams now more clearly than before expressed anxiety at the prospect of release and the resumption of the responsibilities of ordinary life, and especially at the prospect of unemployment. Like the anxiety-nightmares and the death-dreams just mentioned, these dreams illustrate the proposition that the unconscious is in some respects more realistic than the conscious mind.

This is not a complete account of the results of repression of desire and anger. In some way, I believe, a man who represses instead of expressing these urges may weaken his powers of resistance, or accumulate so much explosive material, that what may be called a mental breakdown occurs, and serious symptoms develop.

I write here with much hesitation. It is a technical matter which should be dealt with by specialists. I venture however to give my observations and ideas, as necessary to render more nearly complete the picture of what happens to men in jail.

In considering the cases of jail-breakdown of which I happen to have most knowledge, we can I believe derive much help from the accounts of the war-neuroses given by Abrahams, Jones and others. (There are no doubt other types of jail breakdown which have to be considered differently). These authors first stress a point of wider reference in jail psychology, which I have hitherto hardly mentioned. This is the importance of the attitude with which jail is approached. Nobody desires imprisonment, but even so attitudes differ considerably. Normal criminals who have committed their deeds with full deliberation and have been caught, may be likened in their attitude to volunteers for the army, or mercenaries, among whom, we read, war-neuroses seldom if ever occur. The criminal enters the thing with his eyes open, and feels that he has no right to complain, unless he is treated with what he considers excessive severity. This is the attitude which would be expected, and my experience is that it is in fact the feeling of most criminal prisoners. Those who have committed an unpremeditated crime, or have offended deliberately but through overwhelming temptation or the like, do not adopt this matter-of-course attitude, or the air of bravado of the regular criminal. But they admit their guilt, and do not usually feel ill-used. (For some time after their conviction at least, they usually remain in a repentant mood, and if released or otherwise suitably treated at this time they would probably in most cases never transgress again. Unfortunately they are often punished so severely—I speak of the United Provinces—that the reforming mood lapses and they become resentful, and so material for the formation of regular criminals).

Those who are falsely convicted are in a different category. Their attitude towards jail is comparable to that of conscript soliders, among whom alone serious psychological trouble is said to occur. They brood over their hard fate, the self-centredness and introversion which develops to some degree in most prisoners is often very marked, and if they are originally ill-adjusted psychologically, the typical situation for mental illness is present.

Political prisoners vary somewhat in their attitudes. Satyagrahis are, or ought to be, well prepared for jail, and men who followed the Gandhian principles wholeheartedly would probably suffer as little as anybody even from prolonged imprisonment. Other political prisoners however, though they may have "asked for it," tend to resent their imprisonment, and fall into the same category as the falsely convicted. This is the case especially because of the ill-defined character of most political offences, and the arbitrary way in which the police select some for punishment and spare others.

The conditions of war-service which give rise to neurosis are sufficiently similar to the conditions of imprisonment to render a comparison instructive, though there are important differences. Jail, like war-service, in some ways more, but in other ways less completely, enforces sacrifice of the self. If the sacrifice is

less complete than death in battle it is more inexorable. A conflict is set up between reality, the conscious, and the unconscious, or as I have put it for other purposes, between the normal and the jail personality; while at the same time, owing to the very conditions of jail, the libido is directed more than usual inward upon the self. There is in both cases, but in jail more completely, a deprivation of direct sexual satisfaction, and generally of libidinal satisfaction through social contact. This circumstance will promote the narcissistic concentration of the libido upon the self.

There is a narrowing of the personality, more severe perhaps in jail. The prisoner like the soldier is subjected to a discipline, which if usually less rigorous, is more effective in discouraging self-respect and the preservation of a distinct personality. Arrest by the police is undoubtedly a humiliating experience, a demonstration of one's impotence and destructive of security, and so productive of anxiety. I have myself been especially exasperated at these calm, cynically smiling officers throwing my books about the room, and ruthlessly bearing off all my papers—poor things, no doubt, but my own. And the destruction of these possessions, this extension of my personality, is felt, with a tinge of fear, as a hint of what they would like to do, and very easily could do, to me. Again, the training afforded by the Gandhist method is probably ideal for minimising these effects.

SPIRITUAL IDEOLOGY IN THE CONGRESS

By S. D.

Quack doctors, when they manage to give a name to a disease, think they have diagonsed it. Psuedo-scientists likewise think they have explained a phenomenon when they have given it a name. There are some political individuals and parties who indulge in similar uncritical attitude when passing judgment upon political and economic policies and programmes. Instead of proving or disproving the utility and practicability of a particular policy or programme they use certain adjectives and feel they have effectively disposed of the question. Call a policy revolutionary and you have proved it to be scientific, based upon undisputed facts, dictated by the inevitable historical necessity and therefore bound to succeed, if not immediately in the near future, if you have only the necessary faith. Call the policy of your opponents as reformatory, you have no further need for proof or analysis. Straightway you have demonstrated that the policy is neither based upon facts nor is scientific; nor dictated by historical necessity. It is therefore bound to fail. If it appears to succeed, that is only a delusion and a snare.

Often the official Congress policies and programmes have been dubbed by those not in agreement with them as reformatory. The critics have described their own policies or even the absence of them, as revolutionary. Something like this was done recently by Comrade Roy in his presidential speech to the Youth Conference at Sitapur. The word 'reformatory' having perhaps by now lost its freshness and charm, the new word that found favour with him is 'spiritual.' The Congress ideology is 'spiritual'. No further analysis is necessary. The speaker thinks he has effectively disposed of the question. It is difficult to know the exact implication of the word "spiritual", For the fanatic Hindu or Muslim it may mean music before mosque, cow worship and cow slaughter. For the ignorant it may stand for any conception, however rude, crude or material. For the savant and the mystic it may be a body of psychic truths.

One is therefore at a loss to understand a critic, who thinks he has effectively demolished a theory or a programme by calling it spiritual. Does the critic mean by the word spiritual, unpractical and unscientific? But spirituality is not always unpractical. Sometimes it is and has been very disastrously practical. Nor has religion been ever unscientific. There was a time when the priest was the repository of all the Science that there was in the world. Therefore, it is always best to use terms of more or less exact connotations,

when criticising plans and policies of a responsible organization claiming the allegiance of masses of people. Even if the term spiritual were not vague, a policy could be called spiritual without being economically and politically bad. At least so it was in the past. Therefore, not for a moment admitting that spiritual policies are necessarily bad politically, we may examine how much of pure spirituality there is in Congress aims, methods, programmes and personalities.

The Congress goal broadening with time has ever remained political and economic. In the beginning the Congress specifically excluded religious and social reform from its purview. Today, the Purna Swaraj that the Congress wants has little to do with any spiritual or individual self-control or self-mastery. It merely lays down the political aim of India as an independent national entity.

The means also have been changing and broadening. The Congress began with protest and constitutional agitation. Today, without abandoning these, it has added a new weapon to its armoury—the weapon of satyagraha or non-co-operation. Again, the satyagraha that it has accepted is neither individual nor spiritual, but political, economic and collective. The word satyagraha, as the word swaraj, has a spiritual derivation, but as accepted by the Congress for the Indian nation it is not a weapon of spiritual salvation or self-realisation. It is direct action of a non-violent type for the redress of political and economic wrongs and injustice. It eschews violence in politics on practical grounds. Personal non-violence is more a psychological than a physical concept. Group non-violence does not exclude individual non-violence. But the two do not always coincide. In individual conduct the essence of human action lies in the psychic motive and the spring of action and not merely in the physical manifestation or its results in time and space. In group conduct, while motive is important, the main emphasis is upon external action, creative of external consequences. Individual non-violence takes many and various forms differing from individual to individual, religion to religion and community to community. The average Muslim and Christian does not think non-vegetarian diet as inconsistent with non-violence. The average Hindu considers it otherwise. A Jain goes still further. All such various types and expressions of non-violence find no place in satyagraha as accepted by the Congress. All that it expects is that Congressmen use no external violence for the achievement of their political and economic goal. If sometimes emphasis has been laid on the psychological side, it is on practical grounds. The supposition is that those observing non-violence in thought are less likely to fail at critical moments in fulfilling their external and group obligations. Whatever may have been the historical origin of non-violence, the Congress has accepted only the external physical and collective aspect of it. Efforts to make the Congress accept any other have ever failed. Rightly or wrongly the Congress has refused to substitute "non-violent" for "peaceful," because it has rightly felt that the former has a wider connotation than the latter. The word "non-violent" has also a more individual and spiritual implication. Another element of satyagraha as conceived by Gandhi is truth. But the Congress has refused to accept or use this word. It has contented itself with the more modest and less ambitious expression "legitimate". So the means, by which the Congress has ever proposed to achieve its ends, whether constitutional or legitimate and non-violent, are all political. They have very little to do with any spiritual, religious or individual effort or idea. Of course, the weapons have ever been such that they can be used by individuals morally and spiritually inclined. This, instead of taking away from their efficiency, adds to it. The world as it is today has not discarded everything that smacks of spiritual values. Much less is it so in India. The general human mind, with the exception of a few groups here and there, does not discard a political weapon simply because it is also a spiritual weapon useful for personal aims. That the Congress creed, with its insistence on "peaceful" methods, is accepted by even groups of Indian socialists, clearly proves that the non-violence to which the Congress is pledged is of a political variety. Its "legitimate" means exclude only narrow diplomacy and opportunist and Machiavellian tactics. These are excluded from any wise far-seeing fundamental statesmanship. History records of no instance where major problems of a nation have been solved by diplomacy and opportunism. For a slave nation any use of such methods would instead of raising the morale and character of the people, depress it. Therefore apart from any spiritual considerations, on purely political and practical grounds these methods are rightly eschewed by the Congress. In a country suffering from slavery for centuries every political and economic programme inevitably raises the moral backbone

of the nation and the individuals. But that does not make the programme spiritual in any narrow sectarian or formal sense. Congress also does not believe in the convenient theory, "The end justifies the means." But this can scarcely make it spiritual. Many spiritual sects have held and do hold such doctrines. But the Congress, not on any spiritual but on moral, practical and utilitarian grounds, has rejected the convenient theory productive of fanaticism, cruelty, bloodshed and destruction in the world. Congress methods of work are not anti-moral. When they are not a-moral, they are ethical. Ethics is mainly concerned with just, right and brotherly conduct between neighbours. "Neighbour" includes the opponent and the criminal. Ethics even as law accords these latter a definite place in its scheme and sees to it that they are spared unnecessary hardship and avoidable cruelty. But ethics and law must be distinguished from spirituality in any scientific discussion.

The concrete programme of the Congress consists of village work, village industries, labour and kisan organization, Khadi, Hindu-Muslim unity, removal of untouchability, spread of Hindustani and the parliamentary activity. With the exception of the removal of untouchability none of these can be considered non-political and spiritual. For individuals they may be means of spiritual and moral advancement. But the Congress has accepted them for their political, economic and practical value and utility. Untouchability as it exists in India today is not a purely religious question. It is a political, economic and above all a humanitarian problem. Without its removal the nation will be divided against itself and its demand for independence will sound unreal and hollow.

The leadership of the Congress neither in the past nor at present has laid any claim to spirituality. If, however, devotion to a cause that is not personal, sacrifice and suffering, constitute any claim to spirituality, the leaders have possessed these qualities in an ample measure. Beyond this all of them with the exception of Gandhiji have been and are hard-headed practical patriots and politicians. Gandhi no doubt combines politics with spirituality. But nobody has ever suspected that he lacks practical and political ability. Lloyd George, once said of him that he is the shrewdest politician going. Sometimes his opponents have found his policies so intriguing and shrewd that they have charged him with Machiavellian methods. But to friends and impartial observers he is transparently honest and means what he says and ever lays his cards on the table.

So neither the aims, methods, programmes or personalities of the Congress lay any particular pretentions to spirituality. How then is it that this charge is made by well-informed and responsible persons? There are two main causes for this. One is that by a school of socialists every thing that does not square with materialism and socialism is medieval and therefore spiritual, for the motive force in the middle ages is considered to be primarily spiritual rather than political. How far this view of the middle ages is correct and based upon facts may not be discussed here. The second reason that makes for confusion is the use of words and phrases that are old and have some association with spiritual ideas. There is such a thing as the fallacy of words. Thinking and analytical capacity is very often paralysed and goes astray owing to the confusion caused by language. Only with great care can one escape from this. Words like Purna Swaraj, Satyagraha, Ram Raj, Hartal, Village Industries, Khadi raise in the modern mind ideas that appear mediaeval and therefore spiritual. If in place of these are substituted words like complete independence, non-co-operation, democratic rule, general strike, decentralization of industry, the same ideas become modern, up-to-date and purely political and economic. Whether the new words, very often in foreign tongue, will be understood and appreciated by the masses is a question which the critics of the Congress do not seem to bother about. India must line up with the language and thought of the West, otherwise there is political isolation and stagnation.



RE-ORIENTATION AND RE-ORGANISATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN BENGAL

By Professor NRIPENDRA CHANDRA BANERJI, M.A.

You have honoured me greatly indeed by requesting me to speak before you today on topics bearing on higher education in the country. I have put down a few thoughts on paper as to how higher education in Bengal might be re-oriented and re-organized on a more realistic basis and how such a process might help in the wider problem of national reconstruction; I make no claim to stark originality. Some of my ideals might appear to many or some of you as utopian but let us not forget that the utopia of today becomes the reality of tomorrow. I have one advantage, that, situated as I am, living the life more of a detached student of human affairs than of an active participant, I see possibly more of the game. Vested interests have no claim on me, for I no longer serve any College, nor the University and if I have perforce any loyalties, they are claimed by the nation.

A hundred years have well-nigh elapsed since the anglicists scored their historic victory over the orientalists in this country; since then Universities have come into being and the racial spirits of East and West have jostled in them. We have turned out graduates by the thousands, learned Doctors of Literature and Science by the score, mechanical gramophones and reproducers of the hall-marked culture, efficient servants of the alien government, brilliant and active members of the learned professions and a few patriots burning with the zeal of country-love and burning themselves out by the internal combustion of their over-charged spiritual dynamos. But the average, let us put it candidly, has been a rather unedifying average; routine men, grinding at the office-desks or in the college or school classes, without much of grit or backbone, timid, supine, bending low before the tyranny of the 'higher-ups,' lost to creative thought or vitalizing joy, untouched by the freshening gales of the world's movement, unresponsive to the stimulus of stirring impulses and enthusiasms. The immediate problems of bread and butter have engrossed them almost hundred per cent and they have had no surplus energy left over for social duties and national uplift. They have sat at the Feast of Life as beggars, spoiling for the crumbs and missed "the walnuts and the wine." They have been mannikins, hardly men, persons, hardly personalities. This has been due firstly to domination by an alien power, which however beneficent might have been its intentions, has mostly had no understanding of our racial problems and springs of action and has acted efficiently as a policing and administrative agency but very lamely in other directions and killed all our power and opportunity of initiative; and secondly, as a corollary, to the imposition on us of a system of education which was at the outset divorced from the fountains of national culture and needs and modelled on a third-hand imitation of British teaching and examining agencies of the first quarter of the 19th century. To seek to transplant London and Cambridge or worse still, British county-council schools on the soil of Varendra, Nuddea, Bhattapalli and Vikrampur was at the start an impossible proposition; and the result has been shrivelled growths lost to the country's idioms and hardly racy of the soil, puny tricksters playing at the game of educating an ancient and civilised people to pigmy apings of a full-blooded westernism, to a self-hypnotisation crushing out all national and racial consciousness and glorying in the role of the acquiescent serf airing the graces and manners of the Englishman, with few, if any, of his saving virtues of race-pride and self-respect and capacity for grilling work. And today we have the spectacle, after many decades of protest, agitation and fever-heats of unrest, of a University where the signs of national recovery, recovery of racial self-respect, recovery of the lost heritage of our age-long language and culture, recovery of the simple dignity of the *Dhooti* and the *Chudder* are at long last making themselves visible. And it is this sign of recovery that heartens humble workers in the vine-yard of nation-building like the present speaker that opens out more hopeful and roseate vistas of effort and struggle, that makes it easy and practicable for us to lure you on with visions and rain-bow fancies of the Bigger yet-to-be.

And for this let us be thankful to the genius of the race that gave us in this generation

princely benefactors of education like Rash Behary Ghosh, Tarak Nath Palit and Haji Muhammad Moshin, builders of the University machine like Ashutosh Mukherji, teachers like Jagadis Bose and Prafulla Chandra Roy and Percival, Brojendranath Seal and Ramendra Sundar Trivedi, martyrs like Chittaranjan Das and Jatindra Mohan Sen Gupta and Subhas Chandra Bose—and last but not least—possibly the biggest of them all poet and savant, nationalist and culturist, thinker and worker—Rabindranath Tagore, who represents to my mind the symbol, carried to perfection, of the synthetic culture of the new Renascence of Bengal, the puzzling nationalist internationalist outlook with which modern, virile Bengal gazes at the world seething with rabid nationalisms and lurid with the fires of hostile Fascism and Communism, sown with the seeds of hate, manured with the fertilisers of arrogance and marching towards the rocks of destruction.

Here let me pause, for I am fast digressing into controversial regions; and let me indulge in a bit of stock-taking before proceeding further.

The year 1937 finds Bengal with the incipient workings of a new Constitution, with a majority of our Mussalman brethern in the Cabinet, (which is expected to initiate new policies in nation-building) with two Universities at Calcutta and Dacca both for the time-being controlled by two brilliant educationists, Syamaprasad Mookerji and Rames Chandra Majumdar, with a net-work of about 50 colleges, big and middling and small, and of secondary schools (over 1,000), some really good and many really very bad (I mean ill-housed, ill-equipped and ill-staffed), with the national finances not over-sound and therefore with prospects of extra taxation for nation-building (education, irrigation and health) activities, with commodity-prices very low and the peasant tax-cum-debt-riddled, with a vast army of educated and semi-educated and non-educated unemployed in the fore-ground and back-ground of the picture, not to mention about two thousand, mostly college-educated young men and some women, behind the prison-bars, doing penance for what some consider to be dangerous ideas of patriotism.

The country in short is not only faced with an educational problem which is as urgent as ever—but with a political problem (how to tackle the new liberties supposed to have been conferred on us and to tide over the restrictive laws and reservations and safe-guards about the import of which there is no doubt)—and what is worse, a communal problem (the so-called strained relations between the two major communities, of which personally speaking, I have found very little evidence in the country-side, and which, even in the towns, is confined to very small sections of both communities, mostly fighting for jobs). And the educational problem cannot be solved by stuffing our ears with cotton-wool and by behaving as if the political and the communal problem did not exist; these two problems will have to be faced by the aspiring educational reformer. And then there is the capital invested in educational agencies—college and school and there are ring-fences of vested interest—which also will have to be strenuously fought.

And let us not flatter ourselves that our lives as teachers are going to be the same unruffled pools of placid teaching and examining that they have been hitherto, in a majority of cases; there will be inroads on our leisured and cultured lives by the ministry with their new policies and by the opposition with their counter-measures; there is likelihood of assault and battery (in a metaphorical sense) on our cherished convictions about the contours and idioms of our dear mother-tongue by the protagonists of *Mussalmani Bangla* (a mostly uninstructed but none the less enthusiastic band of holy crusaders); the possibilities of foisting new agencies for controlling schools and gradually colleges, of new communal ratios in the distribution of seats of power and fellowships and memberships of the University Senate and Syndicate are not remote and unlikely; there is already a movement on foot for controlling students' welfare (in the big sense) by Governmental or semi-State agencies; there are inter-school associations led by Magistrates of District centres and their henchmen of the Police and Executive already, precursors possibly of intra-college associations financed by secret service money and controlled from a distance at least by Lord Sinha Road; there is a chance of University assistance funds being cut down and diverted to pay for, say, a new secondary Education Board (which is already being mooted); there is hardly any chance for private colleges getting any State doles (unless on "conditions," in special cases). We as individuals or as organizations might sit still or bide our time—but the world around us will refuse to emulate us and mark time. The hosts are joined and the battle is set and woe to those that gird not up their loins and refuse the encounter.

This organization has done some useful work and might do more—but for that,

—you will kindly pardon me for plain speaking—it must more and more organize itself as a thoroughly independent body, wedded to lofty educational aims and look askance at any move, however remote or hidden, to make it follow the lines of trade-unions. For teaching is a vocation and not a trade and the teacher should always not only be worthy of his hire but much more worthy than his hire—like Congress ministers who will refuse to accept more than Rs. 500|- a month as salaries. You should fall into line with the progressive forces in the country and exert your pure and disinterested influence in all spheres—education, social reform, health reclamation, mass uplift, economics and sound politics. The time has come for you to rally to the side of the Bengal Education League started about two and a half years ago with Acharya Prafulla Chandra Roy as President and throw your weight into the combined scale against police domination and communal catalepsy in Education.

I would like as one of the Secretaries to the Bengal Educational League to commend the League and its principles to your acceptance.

If, gentlemen, I had the power, I would begin the work of educational reconstruction in Bengal by a radical process of cutting it up into "smaller" and more "manageable" units. I would dismember even my *alma mater*, the highly centralised mammoth University of Calcutta catering for 50,000 students into smaller regional units, with a re-stressing of regional needs and opportunities. There would then possibly spring into being (by necessary legislative action) a *University of Varendra*, with the spacious colleges at Rajshahi, Rangpur, Mymensingh and the smaller ones at Pabna and Tangail as units and this University might specialise in Archaeology and History on the one hand and researches into mango-fruit, and jute and tobacco on the other; *a University of Chittagong* with the colleges of Chittagong, Comilla and Feni as units and this University might well turn its talent towards stimulating the *sea-sense* of its people and framing *nautical and marine engineering* courses; it might also speacialise in *Buddhist Literature and Philosophy*, then a *University of Nuddea and Murshidabad* (two names coupled in historic reminiscence) which would be a nursery of the *study of the Bengali* and *Urdu tongues* and stimulate health researches specially in *malaria;* the beautiful colleges in Barisal, Daulatpur, Faridpur and there (in Bagerhat) might by themselves be the centre of a small university which will concentrate on *rural and riverine* studies : the colleges in West Bengal, the college at Hughli and Bankura and Serampur and the other smaller colleges might well join the Nuddea-Murshidabad group and strengthen it; the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca will then become dynamos of active teaching and research and concentrate more and more on post-graduate courses; they will control and supervise the colleges within their respective city-limits and they will be the meeting-points of the cultures and sciences of Asia and Euro-America.

With regard to the colleges, if I had the authority, I would rule that all the higher colleges should be cut up into smaller units (possibly under the same supervision where practicable) catering for between 500 and 1,000 students—at present most of them are buzzing, noisy student-hives, where the noise and indiscipline are more in evidence than the gathering of honey and where it is not possible to foster human relations between teacher and pupil. My old college, the Presidency College might well, under a new regime, cease to cater to undergraduates and specialise only in post-graduate and honours courses in a very efficient manner—otherwise it might be abolished and the money realised, made over to the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca for research studies.

Each college should specialise in honours studies in two or three subjects only; this would make for efficient study and reduce over-lapping and unhealthy rivalry and competitive boostings in the press by rival colleges. Each college should have a well-equipped *Social Service Section*, the members of which under proper guidance should go out into cities and villages, study town and village planning, visit ancient sites and industrial plants, study the production, distribution and marketing of food and industrial crops, go into health problems; and each college student should be made to take a vow of educating at least five of his fellow-countrymen in the rudiments of the three R's and be compelled to take courses in first-aid and nursing (practical and theoretical); physical exercise and training in the arts of self-defence should be made *obligatory;* the University training Corps should extend its boundaries and open branches in every college (this should be a fundamental demand of every educationist on the new Legislatures), so that a *military platoon* will form an integral adjunct to every college in the province.

As for the medium of instruction and examination, the time has come for insisting on the

Bengali medium in collegiate studies and if proper effort is made, a series of text-books might well be made ready on, say, a five-year plan which would supplement and even supplant the English text-books. I have, in the course of my long experience as teacher, used Bengali with penetrative and stimulating effect in interpreting English literary classics, *e.g.*, Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth and Shelley in my classes —and there is no reason why Economics, Politics, Philosophy, History, Physics and Chemistry and the Sciences generally could not be very successfully taught in our dear mother tongue.

There ought to be a re-shuffling of our courses and combinations of study; ridiculous combinations like Economics and Sanskrit in the B.A. and Science without mathematics in the B.Sc. should be ruled out; allied subjects like Economics and History or Sanskrit, Pali and Bengali, Persian Arabic and Urdu should be allowed. The Pass and Honours courses should be entirely separated. For the honours courses specially, honours studies should concentrate on subjects with natural affinity—thus a course of honours in English Literature should include also a course of parallel study in ancient and modern Bengali or Urdu Language and Literature; a course of honours in Philosophy should include study of systems of Indian Philosophy including the Philosophy of Vaishnavism; advanced course in History should be linked with Epigraphy, Archaeology and Numismatics; Economics, Politics, Currency and Banking and Statistical Science should go together.

The University post-graduate and research courses should be related to problems bearing on the country's intellectual, moral and industrial traditions and needs—at present we have mechanics and artisans at one end and high-grade academic researchers at the other—but those who could turn their knowledge of science into practical tackling of the country's needs are almost nowhere; and this can only be made possible by very close co-operation between up-to-date industrial production centres (Textile and Sugar mills, Iron and Steel factories, etc., Engineering and Electrical plants, etc.) and University studies.

It is this method of study and research *in vacuum* without sensible relation to the country's needs that is responsible for so much of intellectual wastage and appalling unemployment and the sooner the problem is faced, the better for all concerned and the country at large.

There should also be a *Viva Voce* test at every stage of the University course; this would insist on a minimum standard of information and knowledge of civil rights and duties in every case. While I say all this, I am not blind to the rapid stride made by the University of Calcutta to adjust itself to progressive needs—its provision for study and research, its provision of a new University seal and a new University flag, its attempt to popularise military training of a sort, its efforts in the domains of physical culture and student welfare and lastly its latest effort to tackle in its own limited manner, the problem of unemployment and I take my hat or Gandhi cap off to the new and energetic Vice-Chancellor, Syama Prasad Mukherji. *But I must make it clear that I do not believe in over-centralised, stupendous organizations specially in education.*

I am a believer in the human touch in education; I am a believer in small educational units which make this human touch possible and easy; I am a believer in the mother-tongue being made the medium of instruction and examination in all stages; I am a believer in the vocation of the teacher as a missionary venture and thus no believer in high and super-high grades of remuneration for teachers nor for any one else, Cabinet-Minister, District officer, Judge or Industrial organizer. I am a believer in the speedy removal of mass ignorance and illiteracy in the country by a planned five-or-ten-year campaign financed by the State and actively helped by college and school teachers; I am a believer in the tackling of unemployment for the young by switching them on to nation-building activities in thousands on a modest monthly allowance in keeping with the country's economy. And I have faith in you all as sharing this faith or these faiths with me in whole or in part. To this faith in the possibility of the country's recovery by our joint efforts I call you; to the service of struggling and aspiring youth I call you; to the resistance to all illegal proceedings by whomsoever resorted to, by all lawful means, I do call you.

And my call here to you is a call as from one educationist to another; a call conceived in the disinterested service of our revitalised people and not a call conceived in the paltry interests of the pettifogging political wire-puller. I have been and still am in politics : but the first and last string in my bow however lamely aimed and lowly shafted, has been that of the teacher and educationist.*

* A paper read before a public meeting organized by the All-Bengal College and University Teachers' Conference at Bagerhat on 27th March, 1937.

THE AHMEDABAD MILL WORKER

By S. G. WARTY, M.A.

THE Royal Commission on Indian Labour, in their chapter on "Indebtedness," initiate the discussion of the question with the pregnant remark that "among the causes responsible for the low standard of living of the worker, indebtedness must be given a high place." They observed however that while there was general agreement as to the fact that the majority of industrial workers are in debt for the greater part of their working lives, there was an absence of reliable statistics.

Since this observation was made, statistics of indebtedness in certain centres have been made available by well-conducted detailed enquiries, the most recent enquiry in this respect being the one carried out by the Bombay Labour Office into the indebtedness of the Ahmedabad cotton mill workers. The results of this enquiry are now available and throw a great deal of light on the position of the industrial worker in Ahmedabad.

The belief had hitherto been held that, Bombay being a highly industrialised centre, with a higher cost of living than Ahmedabad, the Ahmedabad worker was on the whole better off than the Bombay worker, so far at least as indebtedness was concerned. The statistics now in hand, however reveal the fact that far from this being the case, the indebted family's liability in Ahmedabad is twice as much as that of the indebted family in Bombay, considered in relation to the monthly income.

Worse Than Bombay

It may be that in Bombay 75 per cent of the working class families are in debt as compared with 69 per cent in Ahmedabad. But the average debt for indebted families in Bombay works out at about Rs. 175 per family, which is 3½ times the monthly income of the family. In Ahmedabad, the average debt for indebted families works out at Rs. 322 per indebted family having a monthly income of Rs. 46. In other words, the average indebted family in Ahmedabad owes nearly seven times its monthly income, *i.e.*, is twice as much in debt as the family in Bombay in proportion to its income.

When the Labour Commission investigated the question of indebtedness, they expressed great concern at the fact then disclosed that, "in the great majority of cases, the amount of debt exceeds three months' wages, and now we find that in the case of Ahmedabad, the average indebtedness amounts to seven times the monthly wages.

Even this is in regard only to families having a monthly income of about Rs. 46. The indebtedness of families with monthly incomes "below Rs. 20," "Rs. 20 and below Rs. 30," and "Rs. 30 and below Rs. 40," works out to about 14, 10, and 8 times respectively of the monthly income. The position is really grave and calls for immediate action.

High Rates of Interest

A debt of even one-quarter of a year's wages, said the Labour Commission, is a heavy burden, particularly to a man whose income is little more than sufficient for bare necessities. But the burden is aggravated out of all proportion by the rate of interest which has to be paid. The Ahmedabad worker is required to pay interest at the rate of one pice, two pice or even one anna per rupee "as he is considered as unsound proposition from the lenders' point of view because of his mobility and also his inability to offer good security for the amount borrowed."

It may be mentioned here, that nearly two-thirds of the cotton textile workers in Ahmedabad are what are known as *haptadars*, *i.e.*, fortnightly workers. While at other centres, the industrial workers are charged interest rates on a monthly basis, the *haptadars* have to pay at the same rates for part of the *hapta* (fortnight) up to next pay-day.

The creditors of the Ahmedabad worker may be classed into three categories, *viz.*, the jobbers and hotel-keepers in the mills, the *bania*, and the mill-management itself which makes advances. The jobbers and the hotel-keepers are reported to be charging interest to the *haptadars* at one anna to one and half annas per rupee either for a *hapta* (fortnight) or part of *hapta*.

The *bania*'s system is to add to the debt 25 per cent more for the year's interest, and he takes the agreement besides, that capital and interest shall be repaid in instalments within a

year. This compels the worker to pay a much higher rate. If, as usually happens, the amount is not repaid within the stipulated time, the worker is charged compound interest which transforms the liability into a heavy debt in a few years.

Advances by Mills

The third creditor is the mill-management itself. In about 25 out of 73 mills, they have some sort of a regular system of granting loans or *Kharchi, i.e.*, petty advances for day-to-day expenses, to their workers, up to 50 per cent of the wages due. The rates of interest on these advances range from one pice per rupee to one anna per rupee, and the interest has to be paid for the period from the granting of the *Kharchi* to the next pay-day, *i.e.* the same rates are charged even for six to eight days of a *hapta* (fortnight).

As most of the *Kharchi* advances are given to fortnightly workers whose pay-day falls in about a week after taking the advances, the interest charges work out to and range between 80 per cent and 325 per cent per annum. What is worse, they deduct the full amount of the advance and the interest from the worker's wages on the very next pay-day, and as the worker has to pay a portion of the balance received by him to his other creditors like the hotel-keeper within the mill compound and the *bania* who stands outside the mill compound on the pay-day, the worker reaches his home with a greatly depleted purse, and is again compelled to borrow at high interest to meet the ordinary expenses.

It is yet too early to state precisely how far and in what respect the rules framed by the Bombay Government under the Payment of Wages Act will be helpful to the workers, by regulating the deductions for the recovery of such advances.

No Incentive to Effort

It will be seen from the above that every form of evil connected with indebtedness gets highly intensified in the case of the Ahmedabad worker. The result of such an abnormal degree of indebtedness is not confined to the hardship involved in the loss of money. The tyranny of the debt degrades the employee and impairs his efficiency.

The Labour Commission was emphatic in its opinion that "debt was one of the principal obstacles to efficiency, because it destroys the incentive to effort." The indebted worker who makes an extra effort has little hope of securing a proportionate reward. In many cases the only result may be to enrich the money-lender. The most powerful incentive to good work with the great majority of mankind is the prospect of securing a better livelihood. For the large majority of the industrial workers in Ahmedabad, there can be no such prospect.

It deserves to be noted here that the late Sir John Whitley, the President of the Labour Commission, was keenly interested in this aspect of the Indian worker's welfare, and valued highly the recommendations of the Commission in this connection. If I may be allowed to strike a personal note, I may mention it here that soon after the Labour Commission's report was published, I took a comprehensive review of the same in the columns of the Indian Textile Journal, and the same being separately published in a pamphlet form, I sent a copy to Sir John Whitley which he gracefully acknowledged, with the special remark that, of the many things regarding the Indian worker, his indebtedness concerned him most, and he hoped that the Commission's recommendations would bring effective relief.

Ameliorative Measures

Attempts to bring the situation under control by ameliorative measures were made by the Textile Labour Association, Ahmedabad, but without success. The Association had been granting cheap loans to its members since about the year 1923 at 6¼ per cent interest per annum. In 1928 it raised its interest to 9 per cent "in order to make better provision for meeting losses arising out of bad debts." But by the year 1930, it was found that a substantial portion of the amounts available for the purpose had got locked up because of irregularities by the members in the matter of repayments.

Co-operative credit does not practically exist among the industrial workers in Ahmedabad. The millowners seem to be shy of introducing it there, nor have the Co-operative Department made any sincere effort in that direction. Only in one among the 73 mills in Ahmedabad, does a co-operative credit society function. It is true that certain initial difficulties do exist in the matter, but they can be overcome if a persistent effort is made.

The Bombay Labour Office, in its report on the enquiry, has expressed its opinion that for a proper functioning of the co-operative credit societies, it would be essential at least in its initial stages to deduct the instalments from the wages and to give the workers as far as

possible, the advantages of a considerably reduced net interest charge by the method of computing interest on unpaid balances. It is true that this would weaken the educative force of co-operation but it is inevitable in the beginning, to prop up co-operation at start.

Social Customs, etc.

The other direction in which amelioration may be attempted is to educate the worker in his own welfare. It is found that 50 per cent of the indebtedness of the Ahmedabad worker is due to expenditure incurred on marriages. "Funerals, caste dinners and anniversaries," "sickness and unemployment," and "old outstanding debts" account for 11, 11 and 7 per cent respectively of the total indebtedness.

Here is a great opportunity for the social servants to get busy, but social customs cannot be improved in a day. Besides, action on the many recommendations of the Labour Commission on this question, has yet to be taken by Government. If Government, the social servants and the employers all combine to make things easy for the workers, considerable relief may be within reach. In any case a great beginning in the direction of co-operative credit is urgently called for. Meanwhile the employers must substantially revise their methods of advancing loans and these facilities should be introduced in all mills.

BRAHMENDRASWAMI--A POLITICAL MARATHA SAINT

By M. M. PATKAR, B.A.

Brahmendraswami who was a spritual priest of Bajirao I played a very important part in the history of the Marathas between 1720-1745 A.D. He was not only a spiritual guide of the people but was also an advisor of Shahu, Bajirao and others in important political affairs. The Swami was interested in almost all the affairs of the Marathas, *e.g.*, the affairs of the Marathas at Delhi, the defeat of the Nizam, the seige of Bassein and so on.

Brahmendraswami's former name was Vishnu and he was a resident of Dhavadshi. He is famous in history as Brahmendraswami Dhavadshikar. He took to asceticism in his early life and travelled from the Himalayas in the north to Rameshwar in the south. In 1698 he resided at Chiplun, a place in the Ratnagiri district. There he was introduced with Balaji Vishwanath, the first Peshwa of Shahu. Gradually the Swami began to gather men round him. He exerted great influence over the Habshi of Janjira and secured two villages from him *viz*. Pedhe and Ambada as inams. He had much influence with Maratha chiefs such as Parashurampant Pratinidhi, Kanhoji Angria, Phaltankar, Nimbalkar, the Bhonslas of Nagpur and even with King Shahu and the Peshwas. He used to lend money with interest to the Peshwas and other Maratha chiefs.[1]

Brahmendraswami had a vast correspondence with many Maratha chiefs including King Shahu and the Peshwas. The vast correspondence of the Swami reveals his ability as a politician. Late Rao Bahadur Parasnis of Satara has published about 375 letters from and to the Swami in his valuable book called *The Life of Brahmendraswami* published as far back as 1900. These letters throw a good light on the history of the Maratha between the years 1720-1745. The Peshwa Daftar, about forty-five volumes of which have been recently published by the Bombay Government under the able editorship of Rao Saheb G. S. Sardesai, also supply us with some information about Brahmendraswami. About the correspondence between the Swami and the Peshwas, Grant Duff remarks as follows :

> "Many interesting letters from Bajirao and Chimaji were lent to me by the descendants of the disciples of the Dhawarsee Swami. The Swami was a much venerated person in the country and was the Mahaporoosh of Bajirao and his brother and seems to have possessed their entire confidence. The Peshwa's letters to the Swami and to his brother, detail the actions of his life in a familiar manner, without disguise, and are quite invaluable . . ."[2]

In the present article I intend to give a summary of some of these letters which will

[1] *Maharashtriya Jnanakosa* ed. by Dr. S. V. Ketkar, Ph.D. Vol. 18. Pages 198

[2] *Life of Brahmendraswami* (in Marathi) by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, 1900, Introduction p. 1.

enable the reader to understand how King Shahu and the Peshwas were under the influence of the great personality of the Swami.

SHAHU[3]

Brahmendraswami exerted influence even upon King Shahu. Whenever the Swami was molested by some turbulent Maratha chiefs, he complained to the King against such chiefs. It appears that some Maratha chiefs such as Udaji Chavan, Babaji Shivdeo, Yemaji Shivdeo and others caused much trouble to the Swami. The Swami naturally had to complain against these men. Shahu who was a great admirer of the Swami warned these people not to molest the country where the Swami lived. In his letter[4] to the Swami he writes :

> "I am prepared to do anything to satisfy the Swami. I assure that in future Yemaji Shivdeo and others will create no trouble as they have been warned accordingly . . . . Nothing is as dear to me as the Swami and I take great pleasure in your activities."

He also assured the Swami that Udaji Chavan[5] would not extract the Chavanpatti from him. Shahu used to send many presents to the Swami[6]. It appears that the Swami was an excellent horse-rider and liked horses very much. On one occasion Shahu had sent him four steeds and requested him to select the best one.[7]

Unfortunately the letters published by Mr. Parasnis bear no date and hence we are unable to know about the exact time as to when they were written.

THE PESHWAS[8]

The Peshwas—especially Bajirao I—were great admirers of Brahmendraswami and seldom did anything without his advice. The correspondence between the Peshwas and Brahmendraswami shows how the Swami influenced the Peshwas. All the important affairs were communicated to him and his advice was solicited by them. The Swami helped the Peshwas with money and although he reproached them at times, he loved them very much and earnestly strove for the welfare of the Peshwas as also of the country. Bajirao I and his brother Chimaji Appa used to inform the Swami about every incident that took place. They regarded that all the victories they won were due to the good grace and favour of the Swami. All the letters to and from Bajirao, Chimaji Appa and others were sent to the Swami for his perusal. The Swami was a very stern man and did not like any one acting against his will. If anybody disobeyed him he would observe complete fast for several days. In such cases King Shahu had to go himself to pacify the anger of the Swami. (No. 28).

From some letters of Bajirao it appears that the Swami used to lend large amounts to the Peshwas for the maintenance of the army.

> "Bajirao, owing to the vast army he had kept up, both to secure his conquests and to overcome his rivals, had become greatly involved in debts. His troops were in arrears; the saokars (bankers) to whom he already owed a personal debt of many lakhs of rupees, refused to make any advances and he complained bitterly of the constant mutinies and clamours in his camp, which occasioned him much vexation and distress" (Grant Duff).

One of the letters (No. 30 dated 8-4-1735?) written by Bajirao I shows his mental worries caused by heavy debts. He owed about five thousand rupees to the Swami and being very much pressed by the latter for payment, humbly regretted his inability to pay the amount. In his letter he states :

> "I am so much pressed by the bankers that I wish I would better commit suicide."

In another letter (No. 32) he writes :

> "I have fallen into that hell of being beset by creditors and to pacify saokars (bankers) and silledars, I am falling at their feet till I have rubbed the skin from my forehead."

Bajirao has written these letters in a confused state of mind. Being beset by creditors he does not know what to do. Naturally he approaches the Swami for help.

The important part which the Swami played in the Maratha politics was in the campaign of Bassein by the Marathas against the Portuguese. It was he who instigated the Peshwas to crush down the rising power of the Portuguese at Bassein. Brahmendraswami, whose aim in life was to propagate Hindu religion and to extend the Maratha power did not like that a foreign power like Portuguese should be so powerful.

> "The Portuguese had carried their religious intolerance to such extremes that many of the landlords and inhabitants of the Bombay islands made incessant complaint to Shahu and the Peshwa and implored them to take prompt steps to relieve their miseries by under-

[3] *Life of Brahmendraswami*, letter nos. 1-8, 86-89 and 254; Peshwa Daftar Vol. 18 No. 21.

[4] *Ibid*, No. 2.

[5] Udaji Chavan was a most turbulent Maratha chief. He was so powerful that even King Shahu dared not to oppose him. Shahu had allowed him to extract some portion as Chavanpatti from the villagers in two provinces. But he continued to collect it in other provinces also. Shahu completely defeated him in 1729.

[6] *Life of Brahmendraswami*, letter no. 2.

[7] *Ibid*, no. 6.

[8] *Ibid*, nos. 19-85 and 114-165.

taking an organized invasion of Portuguese territory and establishing Maratha rule there." [9]

The ill treatment of the Hindus by the Portuguese at Bassein enraged the Swami and he instigated Bajirao and his brother Chimaji to undertake the great venture. He writes :

"The asceticism of the person (*i.e.*, himself) staying in this (Maratha) Kingdom is useless if Bassein is not captured."

This expression reveals his zest for religion and his bitter hatred against the Portuguese.

[9] Peshwa Daftar Selections. No. 16, Introduction.

Chimaji Appa owed his victory, which has immortalized his name in the Maratha history, to Brahmendraswami and he has freely acknowledged this fact in his several letters.

From the foregoing remarks it will be seen that Brahmendraswami was a Mahapurusha or a great man of the Peshwas as described by Grant Duff. He loved Bajirao I exceedingly and after the latter's death in 1740, practically retired from the active political life. He had already become too old and the death of Bajirao I and Chimaji told very much upon his health and as a result of this effect this Mahapurusha breathed his last in 1745.

MODERN URDU POETRY

By MUHAMMAD IS-HAQUE, M.A.

To many Urdu poetry suggests neatly planned Moghul gardens with flowers and terraces and the sound of running water. The *bulbul* pines for the reluctant *gul* and spring winds sigh through the *bagichas* in eternal restlessness. Lovers languish in the charmed atmosphere of ghazals and kingdoms are bartered away for the mole of the beloved's cheek. The saqi brings the blood of grapes in magic cups, and the sorrows and cares of life are drowned in revelry beside the moonlit streams. This is undoubtedly wrong. For it overlooks the very large volume of poetry which is free from the traditional conceits and conventions of the Persianized court. Even historically, the Persian influence begins late and has almost exhausted itself today. The little that is extant of Amir Khusrao's Urdu verse is hardly distinguishable from the Hindi poetry of his time. The Hindi influence is predominant also in the early poetry of the Deccan, and narrative poems like Chandrabadan and Mahyar or Manohar and Madhumalat deal with Indian themes, while even the ghazals borrow similes and turns of phrase from contemporary Hindi poetry. It was only during the days of the Moghul decadence that the Persian influence became predominant and Urdu poetry caught the peculiar tone which popular imagination ascribes to it to this day.

The Persian influence though short-lived was supreme in its day and traces of it linger in the popular consciousness. This was largely due to the work of Ghalib, perhaps the greatest poet who has practised Urdu verse. Definitely classical in his affiliations, he uses all the time-worn conventions of Persian poetry but through the magic of his language gives them a new life. Many of his poems are so difficult and literary that a contemporary said, "'I have understood the poems of Mir and Mirza but what Ghalib writes, only God and Ghalib understand." Nevertheless he too was a liberalizer of language, and wrote some poems which stand unparalleled for ease and simplicity. He was perhaps the first to raise the dialect of the camp to the status of literature and spread the conventions of Persian poetry among the masses. The popularity of his songs in the Urdu talkies of today is evidence of his enduring influence. European influence was growing all the time, and the pressure of English poetry could not be long withstood.

In Azad, who abandoned the old conventions of Urdu poetry and began the practice of subject poems, we get the first definite break with the past. Till then Urdu poetry had dealt with certain well-defined themes and motives, but the new poets took as their range the whole universe of man's experience. Hali continued the tendency and helped the growth of the language through the incorporation of English and dialect words. Sir Syed Ahmed, though not a poet himself, was here as elsewhere a pioneer whose natural sympathies lay with the forces of progress. Since that time Urdu poetry has been

the battleground of tradition and experiment, of conservatism and reform, and on the whole the victory has been with the forces of change and growth.

Akbar set himself to fight the disintegrating influences of the West and stem the rising tide of modernism, but he was himself affected by the changes in literary style. Ancient in spirit and content, his poems are modern in form. But Akbar cannot by any means be accused of obscurantism. He certainly sets out to fight the disrupting influence of the West on our life and culture, because he felt that it differed in vital respects from our essential spirit. He was not opposed to a reorientation in our thought and outlook. But he resolutely set his face against any slavish adoption of Western values of merger in European culture. He was a relentless critic of individual vanities and follies, of social foibles and frailties. He is the deadliest enemy of snobbery, vainglory, and mental servitude in every shape and form, than which, in his view, no greater calamity could befall a people. He would have us pin our faith in our own selves and depend on our own cultural heritage and spiritual resources. He does not by any means forbid us to receive such impulses from outside influences as would fit in with our mental and moral being. If modernism means the preservation of all that is best in one's cultural heritage and its advancement with the aid of congenial influences from outside, Akbar is a modernist. But if modernism implies the complete cutting away from the moorings of one's past and launching on uncharted seas, then we need offer no apology for his ancient spirit.

But perhaps the most curious instance of this conflict between the old and new is to be found in the poetry of Iqbal, who, essentially a poet of Islamic revival, is at the same time an interpreter of modern thought. If any poet in the East has succeeded in recapturing the basic elements of Eastern thought and idealism, in interpreting the best thought and philosophy of the West to the East, and in attempting a harmonized fusion of the two, it is Iqbal. His hold on the intellect and the emotion is equally strong. He has a fresh and soul-moving message to offer, a message which, while exhorting us to hold fast to our fundamental spirit and ideals, opens out new avenues of progress. He does not shrink from grappling with any of the hundred and one new baffling problems. He has a solution for all of them without deviating one inch from our essential character and faith. In his work Zarb-i-Kalim, he lays stress on the development of individual selves for the service of certain high social ideals and on the subordination of learning and wisdom, power and pelf to the all-embracing concept of love of the human race as an organic whole. For one thing he has coined many new turns of phrases and forms of expression which are at once incisive and felicitous and have opened up a vast field of new possibilities in Urdu poetry. He has ventured into realms which have never even been dreamt of by any other poet in our language either in the past or at present. He had to devise a new phraseology in many respects; the range of Urdu prosody was too narrow to accommodate his high imaginings. There was no other language which he could usefully and appropriately draw upon but Persian. Moreover, when thought is sublime and the emotion heightened no poet can keep within the confines of plain and simple language.

Josh is regarded by many as the greatest representative of the modern spirit in Urdu verse. He is the Shair-i-Inquilab, the poet of revolution, a critic of the restrictions, social, political and religious, that hamper the free flow of life in India. Essentially a realist, he tries to see through the illusions which cloud our vision, and shakes a fist against Providence for the inequities and inequalities of life. He freely uses old conventions and old vocabulary, but succeeds in giving them a new twist and meaning. Most of the younger poets of today are carrying his experiments further, but they are still more radical and seek to change the form as well as the content of familiar Urdu verse. This poet, whatever the merit of that part of his poetry which deals with natural scenes and the poet's reactions to them has not the intellectual power and knowledge of a sufficiently high order to probe deep into man's destiny and the universe or to attempt an analytical study of the problems, social, political, and religious with which we are faced today. To hurl cheap gibes and superficial railleries at these institutions and traditions calls for no great genius. All his revolutionary poetry is mere demagogic jargon. It is all clanking of arms, brandishing of fists, fire, sword, blood, and curses. He aims at shocking for the sake of shocking, destroying without any idea of reconstruction. He has no deep insight into the present nor any clear vision of the future. His revolutionary poems are grim and morbid and do not provide any genuine inspiration or revealing insight. In many other poems he simply wallows in vulgar sensuality. If Josh is a realist

it is a very hide-bound and dross kind of realism which would hamper man's progress. Perhaps Iqbal had some such poets in mind when he said :

Chashm-i Adam se Chhupate hain magamate baland;
*Karte hain ruh ko Khwabida badan ko bedar.**

(They) hide the higher places from human sight.
(They) awake the body while they lull the spirit to sleep.

The work of these pioneers has enriched Urdu poetry almost beyond recognition. New words have come in to deepen the expressiveness of the language and give it a new quality of sound and resonance. New metres have brought with them new rhythm and music, while English rhyme schemes have revealed new and unexpected potentialities in Urdu. The infiltration of Hindi words and metres has brought the language nearer to the soil, the introduction of new forms has evoked and sustained literary curiosity and interest. For almost a decade after the Urdu translation of Tagore's Gitanjali, Nasr-i-manzum or poetic prose was the dominant interest. Magazines contained little else, and weak imitators of Tagore sprang up like mushrooms all over the land. Today, the fermentation continues and we have experiments with the sonnet and the lyric, the satire, tragedy, blank verse and rhymed metre of all types and description.

One curious feature of all the literary activity is that the division between the experimenters and the traditionists corresponds generally with that between the poets of the Punjab and of the United Provinces. There must from the very nature of the case be exceptions, but as a rule the poets of the Punjab are the pioneers in experiment, those of the United Provinces the leaders in traditional verse. Is this because the younger and more vigorous life of the Punjab cannot be contained in old forms? Or have the United Provinces, which have developed Urdu poetry in the familiar way, been so moulded by what they have produced as to feel no discrepancy between the content and the form of artistic life?

* चश्मे आदमसे छिपाते हैं मुक़ामाते-बलन्द,
करते हैं रूहको ख्वाबीदह बदनको बेदार।

AN INDIAN JOURNALIST RECEIVES SIGNAL HONOUR IN AMERICA

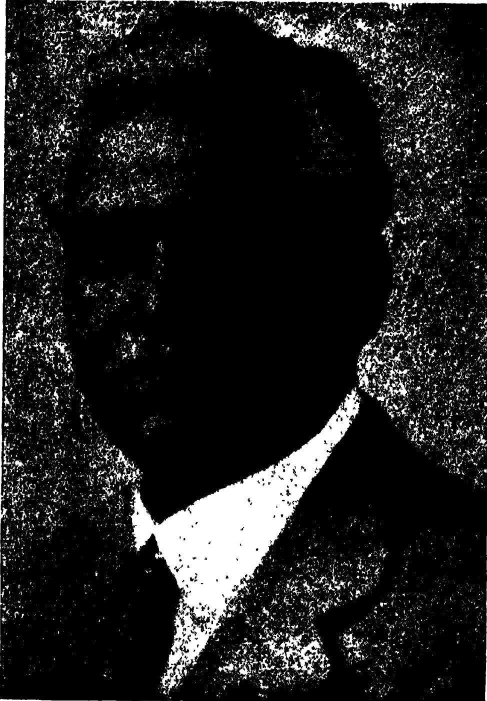
By TARAKNATH DAS

In the field of American journalism, those who receive Pulitzer Prizes can justly be proud of their achievement; because these awards are annually made to those journalists who have given evidence of the highest form of accomplishment in their profession. Recently the Trustees of Columbia University awarded *the Pulitzer Prize for Reporting* for 1936 *jointly* to Messrs. John O'Neill of New York Herald Tribune, William Laurence of New York Times, Howard Blakeslee of the Associated Press, David Dietz of the Scripps-Howard Press and Govind Behari Lal, Science Editor of the Hearst newspapers and the Universal Service.

This prize was given to these journalists for their accurate, terse, interesting and educative writings of scientific events at the Harvard Tercentenary Celebration, held in August-September of 1936. As scientific delegates Professors Meghnadh Saha and Vijayaraghavan represented India on this memorable occasion, when the greatest scholars from all the parts of the world gathered in Cambridge, Mass., to present their views on the progress of knowledge. Happily for India, Mr. Govind Behari Lal, a worthy son of Mother India, while representing one of the most important News Services of America, served the Indian people in the field of international cultural co-operation, through his contributions in the field of journalism.

Govind Behari Lal was born in Delhi. His father was a high official in Bikaner State, where also his late brother, Prof. Brij Mohon Lal, painter, was Director of the State Department of Fine Arts. After taking his M.A. degree from the University of the Punjab, and teaching in the Hindu College, Delhi, Mr. Lal came to the United States in 1911, as one of the three Indian scholars, selected by the Indian Community of the Pacific Coast of the United States for carrying on higher studies in the University of California at Berkeley. Mr. Lal carried on his higher studies in the College of Liberal Arts of the University of California for three years.

After the World War he entered the field of journalism. He started from the very bottom of his profession and has risen to a great height. For this particular reason, the Indian community in the United States and his friends are very proud of Mr. Lal's achievement.



Dr. Taraknath Das

After several years of hard work, in 1924, Mr. Lal was appointed to the editorial staff of the San Francisco Daily News, one of the Scripps-Howard newspapers. The following year he became one of the editors of San Francisco Morning Herald, but when that newspaper ceased its publication, Mr. Lal succeeded in obtaining a position on the most powerful of all San Francisco newspapers, the San Francisco Examiner, one of the key papers of Mr. William Randolph Hearst. In this connection, it may be mentioned Mr. Lal owes a debt of gratitude to many American journalists, specially the late Freemont Older and the late John D. Barry of San Francisco, for their kindness and help extended to him.

Mr. Lal's various contributions, specially interviews with the former President Hoover, the Crown Prince of Sweden and other world-famous men and women slowly but surely gave him the recognition due to him. Not until 1926, Mr. Lal undertook to write serious scientific



Mr. Govind Behari Lal

articles. His first important article in the field of Science was on "Cosmic Rays and Nebulae," published in the Examiner of San Francisco. Early in 1930, he published an exclusive article on a new line of clinical and laboratory research in the field of cancer. This was such an important scientific contribution that Mr. Hearst personally awarded him a special prize of five hundred dollars and a few months later appointed him the Science Editor of the Hearst Newspapers.

As his personal achievement Mr. Lal's success is not so important; but it is of vast significance from the stand-point of assertion of Indian intellect internationally, under most difficult circumstances. Mr. Lal's success is one of the undisputed evidences of Indian's ability to hold his own in competition with the best

brains of the world, provided he gets an opportunity. In this connection it should be remembered that India owes a debt of gratitude to the broad-minded American public and those who gave Mr. Lal the opportunity to show his ability in the field of journalism. Mr. Lal has not only demonstrated his ability, but has served his papers most effectively, because it is for the first time a Hearst newspaper man was awarded a Pulitzer Prize, during the last quarter of a century.

Lastly, assertion of Indian intellect in world affairs and in foreign lands aids the cause of India's struggle for recovering the national dignity which comes with freedom. Mr. Lal is one of the many Indians who are contributing their humble share, under most adverse circumstances. Is it too much to expect that Indian journalists and public men would extend their hands of co-operation and show signs of recognition for the services rendered by effective workers living abroad, so that they might be more useful to India and the world at large and aid the cause of better understanding among nations?

Some of the Journalists in the United States of America:

(1) Dr. Sudhindra Bose, M.A., Ph.D., Department of Political Science, University of Iowa.
(2) Dr. Taraknath Das, A.M., Ph.D., School of Education, The College of the City of New York.
(3) Mr. Syed Hussain, Lecturer, University of Southern California. Los Angels, California.
(4) Mrs. Kamala Mukherjee, New York.
(5) Dr. Haridas T. Mazumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer, Howard University, Washington. D. C.
(6) Mr. Basanta Kumar Roy, New York City.
(7) Dr. Anup Singh, M.A., Ph.D., New York City.

New York City
May 25, 1937.

REPORT ON INDIAN MUSEUMS AND MUSEUM IDEALS

By SIVA NARAYAN SEN
Cataloguer, Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Very few Indians are aware of the fact that "The Museums Association" in London has lately published a *Report on Indian Museums* as a result of a survey begun in October 1935, when Mr. S. F. Markham, M.A., B.LITT., M.P., Empire Secretary of the "Museums Association," and Mr. H. Hargreaves, former Director-General of Archaeology in India, made personal visits to most of the museums in India, Burma, Ceylon, British Malaya, and for comparative purposes, the Dutch East Indies. This survey was made in co-operation with the Carnegie Corporation of New York, who allocated funds for the purpose, but on the distinct understanding that they could in no way embark on a policy of assistance to the Museums of India.

The Statesman of April 6, throw some light on this report under the heading, "Our Unhappy Museums." In its outspoken directness, it reveals a situation in India that can be described as only moderately satisfactory. *The Times* of London in an article, namely, "Museums in India" on 30-3-1937, summerises, the report, a part of which is quoted below.

"There are in the sub-continent no fewer than 105 museums in India, including Native States, but the total amount spent on them—namely, Rs. 800,000 (approxi-



Mr. Siva Narayan Sen

mately)—is less than is spent on a single large museum in the great capital cities of Europe or America. The five largest Indian museums have a larger income than the remaining hundred put together, but even they, with their combined incomes, do not equal what is spent annually in Glasgow, Manchester, or many other large British cities. The result of this lack of adequate finances is to be seen in the museums, and the report points out that almost every conceivable museum pest, from white-ants to wood-borers, and every antagonistic climatic effect., from earthquakes to excessive sunlight, have taken and are taking a toll of India's greatest treasures. It is in fact only too true, says the report, that unless immediate steps are taken, proof of India's cultural greatness in past times, of her technical and artistic skill in perishable materials, will vanish for ever from India itself, and will only be found in the vast repositories in Europe and elsewhere. The report recommends the immediate appointment by the Government of India of an Inspector-General of museums, and the provision of a new constitution for the Indian museum, Calcutta, which, as the report shows, is not in an entirely satisfactory condition, and, in gneral, emphasizes the need for the competent direction of the whole of the Indian museum movement."

Special attention is drawn in the report to the enormous number of visitors, largely illiterate, who throng the Indian Museums, and it is recorded that on a single festival day more than 100,000 people streamed through the two entrances of the Madras Museum. It is plain from this that the Museum is one of the surest ways of interpreting the outside world to the Indian masses, as it is more closely in touch with the masses than the university or learned society, and quite as much so as the public library, while even more than the last, it is a recent outgrowth of modern tendencies of thought. This being so, a well planned policy, enacted under competent direction of the Indian Museum movement is imperative.

The Public Museum is a necessity in every highly civilised community. The time has now arrived when the question of exactly what a Museum's function is, and what it ought to be, must be asked and solved.

As a matter of convenience collections of scientific material and collections of artistic material are alike called Museums. It may therefore be said that a Museum is an instrument for the developing of culture, not so much a seat of learning as a place for the widening of vision and interest. In other words we can say, "A Museum is an institution for the preservation of those objects which best illustrate the phenomena of nature and the works of man, and the utilization of these for the increase of knowledge and for the culture and enlightenment of the people."

The special function of the Museum is to preserve and make available and intelligible objects of nature and works of art just as they are, that of the library to guard the literary records of human thought and activity, that of the learned society to discuss facts and theories, that of the school to provide the individual with the necessary tools of thought and observation. All meet together on common ground in the custodianship of learning, and in extending the boundaries of knowledge. Hence arises the necessity of co-operation between them and the best effect comes about when they agree to work in conjunction.

The Museum differs from the temporary exhibition and commercial fair, both in aims and in method. The former is for the advancement of learning and the latter is for the promotion of industry and commerce, with the exception of temporary exhibitions of—Health, Fisheries, Inventions, etc.

The Museum is responsible for special services, chiefly as follows :

(*a*) For the advancement of learning, (*b*) for record, (*c*) as an adjunct to the class-room and the lecture-room, (*d*) to impart special information, (*e*) for the culture of the public.

A Museum to be useful and reputable, must be constantly in aggressive work, either in education or investigation or in both, because "a finished museum is a Dead Museum and a Dead Museum is a useless Museum."

With these few words I want to call upon those who are at present connected with the museums in India to see that Museum ideals are fulfilled, and to remember that a museum is never a storehouse.



FOREIGN NEWS-FOOD FOR INDIAN THOUGHT

BY TARAKNATH DAS

Canada's Voice in the Abdication of King Edward VIII

The New York Times of January 19, 1937 published the following interesting despatch :

Special to The New York Times
OTTAWA, ONT., JAN. 18.

Ending the silence that he maintained all through the recent monarchical crisis, Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King today revealed to the Dominion Parliament that the Canadian Government had directly advised King Edward VIII not to marry Mrs. Wallis Warfield Simpson, whether she was to become Queen of England or merely a morgantic wife.

This was the most important disclosure made by the Prime Minister in a full expose of the attitude of his government in a crisis unprecedented in British history. He revealed how, on his own responsibility, he had first advised Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin in London that the Canadian people would not approve the King's marrying Mrs. Simpson.

This speech was prefaced by one Richard B. Bennett, leader of the Conservative Opposition, who declared that, "had I occupied the position which the Prime Minister now occupies, I should have taken exactly the same course he took in dealing with the problem."

The Canadian Prime Minister said the following message had been sent to Edward :

My colleagues and I desire to have Your Majesty made aware of the deep sympathy we feel for you in the momentous decision which at the present time you are being called upon to make. There is no doubt in our minds that a recognition by Your Majesty of what as King is owing by you to the throne and to Your Majesty's subjects in all parts of the British Commonwealth should, regardless of whatever the personal sacrifice may be, be permitted to "outweigh all other considerations."

Mr. King concluded that "the decision taken by His Majesty is one which the people of Canada received with the deepest sadness."

Mr. Mackenzie King's statement, quoted above, has a historic significance in the future evolution of the constitutional position of a British King ruling over the "Dominions." A British King ruling over Canada must have to consider the *will of the Canadian people* to maintain his position as a King.

Mr. Mackenzie King's conception of "Royal Duty" is something akin to what Hindu political scientists termed as "Rajadharma." It is a curious and interesting fact that this ideal of "King's responsibility" places the "welfare of the people" above his "personal enjoyment." *Indian Princes, who speak of their absolute authority over their subjects, should take notice that their sovereign and their King-Emperor had to abdicate because his desire of placing personal happiness of "private life" above the conception of his "duty" clashed with that, dictated by his political advisors and the church leaders of the State.*

British rulers of India often denounce Indian political leaders and their activities, because they think that the programme of Indian Freedom is a "conspiracy of Indian Brahmins." The inside story of the abdication of the ex-King Edward VIII reveals that the "*Brahmins of Great Britain*" (British church leaders such as the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York and Lord Halifax formerly Lord Irwin, the ex-Viceroy of India and others) played the most important part in bringing about the unprecedented situation.

Kings are not "free agents." They have no absolute authority under any code of law. They are endowed with certain authority to serve the people, society and State. The real authority lies with those who sway moral authority over the people. This is as true in England as it is in India, where a Tagore or a Gandhi enjoys greater authority than any King or a puppet prince.

American Commercial and Industrial Expansion in Asia

Recent news-items from Teheran and London indicate that American "oil interests" are penetrating into Iran as well as Afghanistan :

OIL LANDS IN IRAN WON BY AMERICANS
SEABOARD AND TEXAS CONCERNS GET VAST CONCESSION
NEXT TO AFGHANISTAN HOLDINGS

Special Cable to The New York Times
TEHERAN, IRAN, JAN. 18.

The Iranian Parliament is considering ratification of an oil concession in the districts of Khorassan in Eastern Iran and in Eastern Mazanderan, which has been granted to the new Amiranian Oil Company formed under the auspices of the Seaboard Oil Company, Texas Oil Corporation and other American groups.

According to the terms of the concession, beginning prospecting within six months and trial borings within eighteen months, the company must select within the first three years two provinces in Eastern and North-eastern Iran for exploitation and within five years areas up to a maximum of 100,000 square miles.

Minimum royalties, beginning five years after ratification, will be £300,000, rising to £600,000 after fifteen years.

It is understood the same group obtained similar concessions in five provinces of Afghanistan. The company contemplates laying more than 1,000 miles of pipe line from Afghanistan and North-eastern Iran to Choubar on the Iranian Gulf.

The concession was negotiated by Charles Hart, former United States Minister to Teheran, and Frederick Gardner Clapp, geologist.

ADJOINS AFGHANISTAN AREA

Officials of the Amiranian Oil Company said last night that they had not received any information from their representatives, who have been negotiating with the Iranian authorities, to the effect that a concession had been granted. It was admitted, however, that negotiations were under way and that there were reasons to believe they were nearing a successful conclusion.

It was explained that the concession is adjacent to the 270,000 square miles of prospective oil territory recently granted to the Inland Exploration Company in Afghanistan. Negotiations also are being carried on for the right to build a pipe line across Iran, it was stated, which also could be used to transport any oil which may be produced in Afghanistan.

The Inland Exploration Company, the Amiranian Oil Company and the Amiran Pipe Line Company are owned by the same group. That group consists of the Seaboard Oil Company, Case Pomeroy & Co., a private banking firm, and Ogden L. Mills, former Secretary of the Treasury. Through its ownership of about one-third of the stock of the Seaboard Oil Company, the Texas Corporation is interested indirectly in the venture. Mr. Mills also is a director of the Seaboard Oil Company.

The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, controlled by the British Government, developed a large oil production in Persia in recent years. While other old concerns have been interested in developing some of the prospective oil areas of Iran in the last fifteen years, they have been unable to make much progress with Iranian officials. A few years ago the concession of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company there was cancelled and it was reinstated only after its terms were modified.

Because the United States of America has no territorial ambition in the Near East, statesmen of Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan are seeking co-operation of American capital in the development of their natural resources and industries.

In India a school of narrow and orthodox national economists *opposes use of foreign capital* in developing Indian industries, altho they forget Indian railways, mines and factories have been developed by British (alien) capital. Indian economic statesmen should seek co-operation of American finance capital, which will be advantageous to India in the field of international politics. *India is not Great Britain's special farm.* Indian trade, commerce and industries should be developed in co-operation with all great Powers. Canada, South Africa and Australia encourage American capital for investment; and India has much to gain from Indo-American economic co-operation.

India's Place in Empire Defence

Growth of Japanese naval power with its newly created naval base centered in Formosa and also the rumored project of a canal across the Isthmus of Kra in Siam to be constructed by the Japanese, is bothering British Imperial statesmen and General Staffs. (For the significance of Kra Canal, read the article "*Siam, Pivot of Asia*" published in *Asia* magazine of May, 1936, and also the article "*Britain Faces Japan Across Siam*" in *Asia* magazine of February, 1937). With the conclusion of a German-Japanese agreement British nervousness regarding the defense of the Empire in the Far East has increased. The following news-items will supply food for thought to Indian statesmen :

BRITAIN PLANS TO FORTIFY PENANG, NORTHERN MALAYA

Wireless to The New York Times
SINGAPORE, JAN. 18.

The British defense scheme in the Far East advanced another step with the announcement today that military defense works and barracks will be constructed at Penang. This will be the first fortification in Northern Malaya and will further guard the approaches to Singapore.

Wireless to The New York Times
LONDON, JAN. 18.

Combined operations in which Great Britain's Far Eastern military, naval and air force units will test the defenses of Singapore, will take place in February.

The three services will be represented by ships from the China station, *troops of the Singapore garrison reinforced by detachments from Punjab and Malaya regiments and the Royal Air Force Singapore squardron with units from Iraq and India.*

In all the schemes of Empire defense India is the central point. Without Indian soldiers from the Punjab Britain cannot hold her Far Eastern possessions! Without Indian support, British Air Forces from the Near East (Palestine, Iraq, etc.,) cannot reach Singapore. Without Indian support Britain cannot maintain her possessions in any part of Africa or in the Mediterranean.

India's place in the defense of the Empire is unique and of supreme importance; yet the Indian people are not allowed to have the opportunity for proper education for national defense as enjoyed by Siam, Afghanistan, Turkey and other small nations. Who are to blame for this incredible situation and short-sighted policy on the part of British statesmen? I venture to say the real blame lies with the lack of world-vision on the part of Indian statesmen who even do not show signs of courage of conviction in demanding adequate facilities for training Indian National Defense forces! Where are the Indian statesmen who will carry on negotiations with British statesmen for cementing Indo-British friendship on the basis of an Indo-British alliance? Indo-British co-operation must be based on "equality" and India must refuse to accept the position of

Britain's hireling in matters of international politics.

Indo-American Cultural Co-operation

The Government of U. S. A. is to further cultural co-operation with the South American republic. This was evident from the fact that the U. S. Secretary of State, Hon. Cordell Hull, in the Pan-American Congress at Buenos Aires advocated exchange of students between the United States and Latin American Universities. This policy is in tune with the ideal of far-sighted American philanthropists who have been engaged in such activities between U. S. A. and some of the European countries. It is to be hoped that definite steps will be taken towards cultural co-operation between U. S. A. and India. America-returned Indians should take the initiative on the matter.

The League of Nations Health Committee and India

Wireless to The New York Times
GENEVA, MAY 1.

The League of Nations Health Committee finished its twenty-fifth session by adopting a three-year-plan for future work.

The subjects covered in the program include rural hygiene, housing, nutrition, physical fitness, leprosy, malaria, cancer, technical collaboration with governments and liaison with health administrations, standardization of biological products, public health statistics and co-operation with the International Labour Organization.

Former Surgeon General Hugh S. Cummings is the committee's American member. (May 2, 1937.)

India makes a heavy contribution towards the maintenance of the League; but she receives the least consideration from it. Has not the time come to demand adequate representation of India by non-official Indians in all the important committees of the League? India should demand that the League should investigate about malaria and other preventable diseases in the country.

Britain Criticized for Trade Barrier

'DOG-IN-THE-MANGER' STAND ON PREFERENCE SYSTEM DRAWS ECONOMIST'S REBUKE

The international economic situation has been intensified by a "dog-in-the-manger" attitude of Great Britain in her imperial preference system, according to Dr. Alvin H. Hanson, Professor of Economics at the University of Minnesota, a speaker yesterday at the annual Wharton Institute of the University of Pennsylvania in the Hotel Waldorf-Astoria.

—*New York Times*, May 2, 1937

At a recent meeting of the American Academy of Political Science, held on April 7, 1937, at Hotel Astor, New York, many distinguished authorities on international affairs and world economics discussed the causes of war and the problem of World Peace. In one of the sessions Prof. Frances B. Sayre read a paper on American Economic Policy in terms of Reciprocal Trade treaties as pursued by U. S. Secretary of State, Hon. Cordell Hull, and Professor William Culbertson spoke on International Economic policies of various nations, affecting the cause of World Peace.*

Dr. Taraknath Das, Special Lecturer on International Relations and History in the School of Education, The College of the City of New York, participated in the discussion. The following is an extract from Dr. Das's speech, published in the Proceedings of the American Academy of Political Science :

"Dr. Taraknath Das: Professor Sayre and Prof. Culbertson have probably raised the most important question of this afternoon; that is the open door policy for the world versus the preferential trade agreements. Now, the people of Asia have had a taste of open door policy, that is, an open door for those who can enforce certain policies which will be beneficial to them and not to the people of Asia. That has been the history of open door policy.

"Fortunately, the awakening of Asia has brought about a new trend in world politics as well as in the world economic situation. Professor Culbertson has pointed out the probable result of the British imperial preferential policy, which makes more than one-fourth of the population of the world a special market for the British Empire. Is the British Empire going to be a field for British capital, or is it going to be a field for world capital? In this connection India may play the most important part in world economics in the near future. Its industrialization, its development and its markets will be the deciding factor, even as Professor Culbertson has pointed out, in the strategy of raw materials and the strategy of war or peace.

"I understand that the United States Government is now negotiating for reciprocal trade treaties with the British Empire. India should not be treated as a colony of Great Britain, but should be treated as a nation of 350,000,000 people, one of the greatest industrial powers in the world. The United States has a special interest in Indian trade. If I am not mistaken, the trade balance of the United States in relation to India is in favour of India; that is, the United States buys more from India than India buys from the United States, and this has increased since the establishment of imperial preference.

"If you will study the American exports to India, such as automobiles, machines and other materials, you will find that imperial preference has cut the American export decidedly, so far as India is concerned. We have often heard that the imperialistic policies of certain Asiatic nations constitute a menace to world peace, but I believe that the discriminatory policy of some of the European powers against the growing industrial nations of Asia is becoming a decided factor for war. By that I mean the special discriminatory tariff against Japanese goods within the Britsh Empire."*

* Prof. Frances Bowes Sayre of Harvard University is now acting as one of the Asst. Secretaries of the U. S. Department of State, Washington D. C. Prof. William Smith Culbertson of Georgetown University, Washington D. C. was formerly the Vice Chairman of the U. S. Tariff

Discussions on Anglo-American Trade Accord

According to London reports, Mr. Norman Davis, Special Ambassador of U. S. A. who has been in England to represent U. S. A. on the International Sugar Congress, has recently seen Mr. Chamberlain, the Premier of Great Britain. Messrs. Davis and Chamberlain have discussed various vital problems affecting Anglo-American relations. It has been reported that Mr. Chamberlain is anxious to conclude an Anglo-American trade agreement later in the year :

Commission and was formerly U. S. Minister to Roumania and U. S. Ambassador to Chile. Dr. Culbertson is an international lawyer and one of the foremost economists in the United States. Prof. Sayre and Culbertson read papers during the regular session of the Academy of Political Science.

"According to this account, the British Government is willing to maintain its present highly unfavourable trade balance with the United States provided satisfactory arrangements can be made for scaling down the war debt and assuring Britain of credits and supplies in the event of war."

It is high time for India to take necessary steps to have direct negotiations with the United States for a reciprocal trade treaty and appointment of an Indian Trade Commissioner in Washington or New York.

Woman Suffrage in the Philippines

On May 1, 1937, Woman Suffrage was approved by the voters of the Philippine Islands. Thus the Republic of the Philippines marches on towards democracy and progress.

CAMBODIA

Cambodia is a link in the chain of civilization, known to Archæologists and Indologists as greater India, flung abroad by the missionary activities of the Buddhist and Brahminical cultures of ancient and mediæval India. The readers of the *Modern Review* have had the historical and archæological aspects of this fact presented to them in these pages from time to time. We are now able, through the courtesy of the Conservator of the Royal Library at Phnom-Penh, to present some visual evidence of the lasting nature of this cultural imprint. We ourselves in India, have unfortunately lost touch with our own past to a most unpardonable degree, and it is only when we receive such examples as are presented in the accompanying plates, that we are made to feel the loss of our priceless heritage. Needless to say, such remnants of the culture of ancient India as remain abroad are modified and added on to by the cultural influences that evolved on the spot, both before and after the cultural impact with India, and so it would not be proper to assume that what we see today is derived in its entity from what was imparted by our own fatherland. The cultural links between us and these cultural colonies were sundered ages ago, and it is only through the work of foreign savants that the world is coming to know that such a connection did ever exist. The work of French Archæologists and Indologists in this respect have justly earned premier status in world-recognition, and we in India are specially indebted to them for bringing us again in touch with our ancient acquaintances. In the present instance also, we are indebted to another scholar of the same nation for enabling us to place these vivid examples of Indo-Chinese culture. A photo of a present-day burlesque dance is given herewith to emphasise the contrast between the old and the new. We have pleasure in acknowledging this courtesy and also in expressing our thanks to the Royal Library of Cambodia for kindly granting us permission to use these photos.

Editor, M. R.



Popular burlesque dance in Cambodia
Subject: The Mahomedan from India
By kind permission of the Royal Library of Cambodia

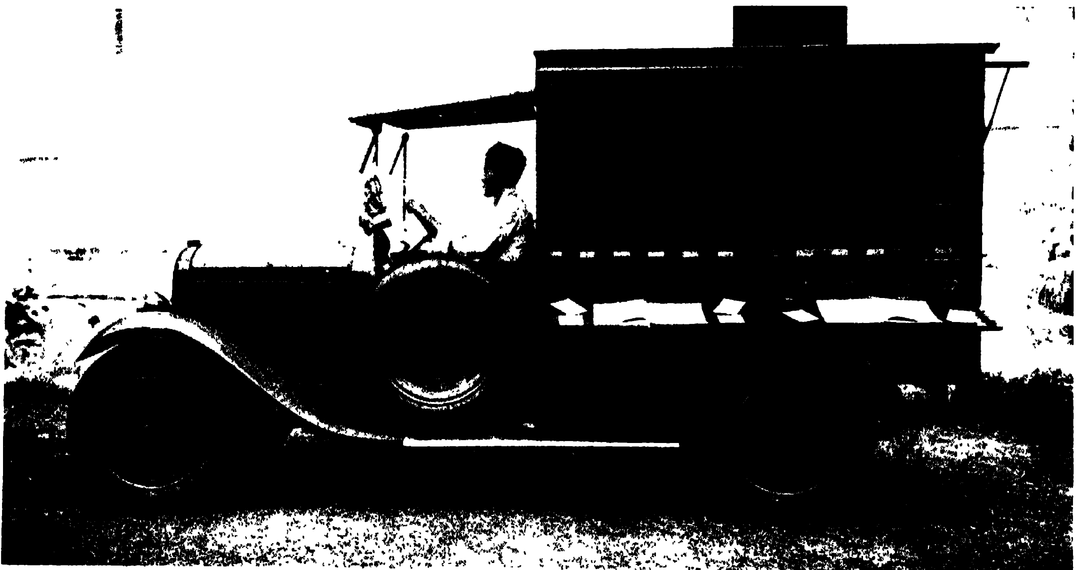




ROYAL CAMBODIAN DANCERS
Above: The Garuda dance
Below: The Salute of the Kinnaris

By kind permission of the Royal Library of Cambodia





Above : The Pali High School in Phnom-Penh, Capital of Cambodia
Below : The Motor Library of the Indo-Chinese Buddhist Institute. This goes all over the kingdom.

By kind permission of the Royal Library of Cambodia

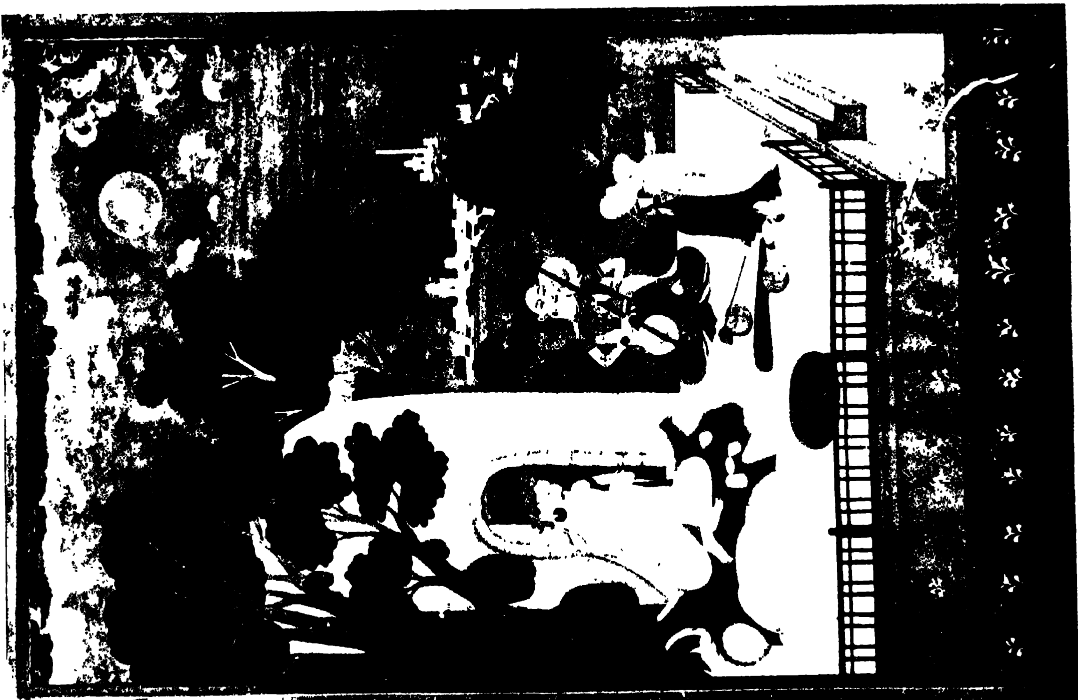


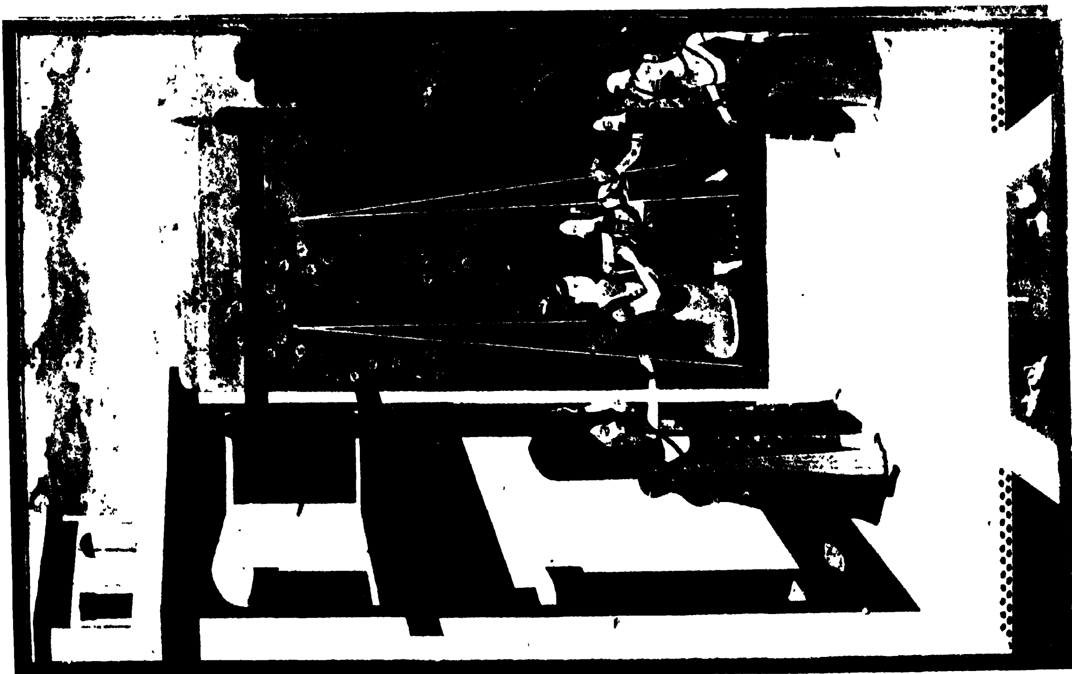


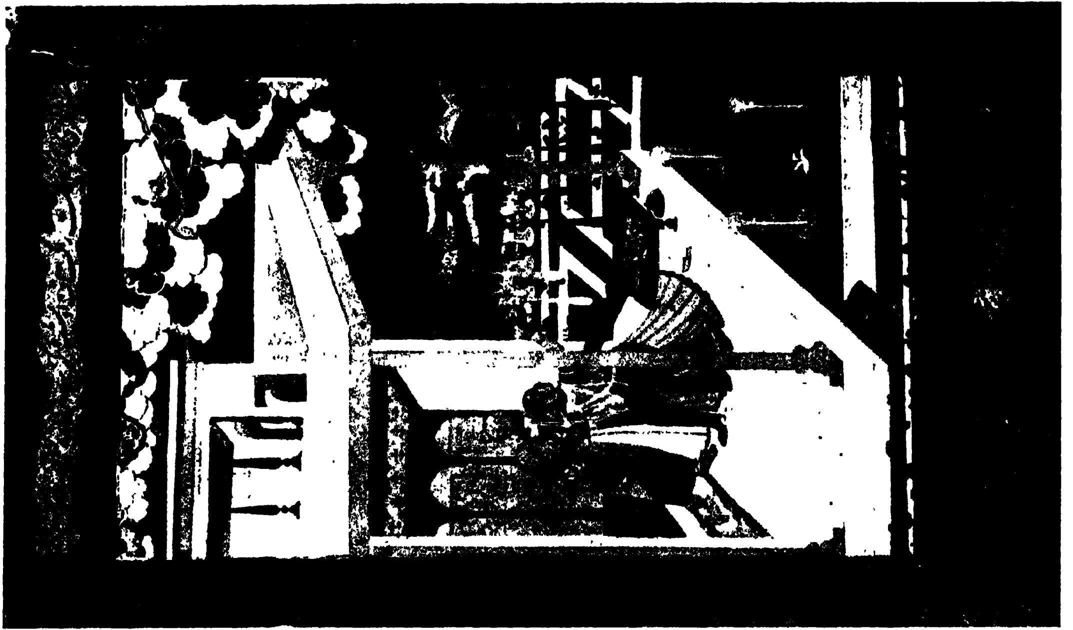
ROYAL CAMBODIAN DANCERS
Left: A figure of the Kinnari dance
Right: Hanuman and the Black Monkey

By kind permission of the Royal Library of Cambodia











ILLUSTRATIONS OF INDIAN MUSICAL MODES

By O. C. GANGOLY

LOOKING at pictures was a very hallowed custom in ancient Indian culture—a custom now, unhappily, fallen into disuse.

Exponents of different forms of culture have fallen into the unhappy habit of dwelling in water-tight compartments and they, now, refuse to meet each other. The Philologist looks down upon the Historian, who in his turn looks down upon the Lover of Poetry. The Wielder of the Brush looks suspiciously at the Devotee of the *Vina*, and the latter thoroughly reciprocates this unsympathetic attitude. The Arts are now divided by discord and disunion, and they love to live in splendid isolation,—like the separated members of an old Hindu joint family, now falling into disruption and decay. For, it is now forgotten that in the union of the Arts lies their strength and solidarity, their salvation and supreme consummation. Fortunately by a long tradition, Indian Music is very happily related to and linked with Indian Pictorial Art, and the designs and compositions of Pictorial artists. The ancient theorists of Indian Music have frequently sought the aid of the Indian pictorial artist to demonstrate the fundamental characteristics of each melody by visible diagrams and dramatic picturization of the emotive significance of each of the different melody-types ('*ragas*'). Each of these melodies, through falling into certain cognate and agnate groups, is of different and clearly differentiated psychic values and is suitable for effectively interpreting one particular emotional state of the mind, and should therefore be employed in demonstrating or interpreting. and expressing that particular emotion. The *Ragini* pictures offer correct diagrammatic guides to the uses of the Melodies.

There is a doctrine inherent in the Indian theory of melodies which helps one to understand the fundamental psychic value of *ragas* and to apply them to requirements of particular emotional situations, or interpretations. It is believed that each *raga*, or *ragini* has its peculiar psychic form, corresponding to its sonal body over which the former presides as the nymph, deity, or the *devata*—the presiding genius or god of that particular melody. This deity, or image-form, dwelt in the super-terrestrial regions, —the world of musical symphonies,—from which ethereal region it could be invoked and induced to descend to earth through the prayer of the musical performer with the aid of a definite symphonic formula peculiar to each melody. This idea is evidently coloured with the doctrine of image-worship as known in Hindu-Brahminical religious thought. By the earnest prayers and spiritual exercises or *sadhana* on the part of the worshipper, or the *sadhaka*, the divinity comes down and incarnates in the form of the image for the benefit of the worshipper. Each image has its definite means of approach—through the *Vija-mantra*, a method of prayer through the "seed-formula," and the deity only answers to prayers couched in the mystic words or letters prescribed for each, —each letter-formula having the mysterious power, the inherent quality of evoking a particular deity.

The application to the theory of Indian Music,—of this doctrine of image-worship, *i.e.*, the idea of invoking the presiding deity, or the spirit of the divinity by means of a *dhyana*—formula, an evocative scheme of prayers for contemplation, has led to the conception of the forms of *ragas* and *raginis* in dual aspects, *viz.*, as audible Sound-Forms, and as visible Image-Forms—*nada-maya-rupa* and *devata-maya-rupa*.

This doctrine inherent in the theory of *ragas*, is casually alluded to in some of the earlier texts, but is not clearly enunciated in any texts before the *raga-vivodha*, composed in 1609 A.D. In this work, Somanath, after indicating the appropriate hours of melodies, describes the two-fold forms of *ragas* :

"That is called *rupa* which being embellished with sweet flourishes of *swaras* (notes) brings a *raga* vividly before one's mind. It is of two kinds—*Nadatma* (one whose soul or essence is sound) and *Devamaya* or *Devata-deha-maya*—one whose soul or essence is an image incarnating the deity, of which the former has many phases, and the latter has only one." (*Raga-Vivodha*, V. 11).

"Having already expounded the many sound-forms of those ragas, we will now proceed." says Somanath, "to relate in proper sequence, the image-forms of each and every one of them."

Then he gives the prayer-formulas of several *ragas*, describing their iconology. According to one text attributed to Narada, "the images of the melodies emanate from the Supreme Deity (Brahma) and their function is to worship the Supreme Deity itself." According to the suggestion of this text,—the *ragas* are not the creations of human beings, but are convenient means and modes provided by the Deity itself—as an act of grace to mortals—to use as effective formulas for the meditation and worship of the Supreme Deity—'They come from the Abode of Brahma for the purpose of worshipping Brahma itself.'

According to this doctrine, it is believed that the presiding deity—the spirit, or *ethos* of a *raga*, or *ragini* can be induced to come down and incarnate (*avatirna*, literally, 'made to descend') in its physical sound-form (*nada-maya-rupa*). If the presiding spirit cannot be induced to 'descend,' the rendering or interpreting of that particular melody cannot be pronounced to have been successfully achieved. A successful interpreter of a particular melody is complimented with the phrase that he has succeeded in pursuading the deity of the *raga* or *ragini* to descend (" avatirna ") and to reveal its visual image or picture (*tasvir*) and to live in his vocal song or his instrument of performance. No amount of mechanical reproduction of its symphonic structure can put life into the melody and make it alive. And unless it is alive in the song or instrument, it does not fulfil its peculiar purpose. A *raga* is something more than its physical form, —its symphonic structure,—its " body." It has a soul which comes to inhabit in the ' body.' In the language of Indian poetics, this ' soul ' —this principle, is known as the *rasa*, flavour, sentiment, impassioned feeling, or simply, passion or aesthetic emotion. It is this emotive principle, the presiding principle, the presiding sentiment, or passion, which is evoked by the peculiar combination of the notes, the *svaras*. For, according to the Indian theory, each *svara*, or note has a peculiar emotive value, symbolized by its presiding deity,—its *svara-devata* and has its interpretive seer, sage or expounder (Rishi). Particular notes have peculiar quality or efficacy of interpreting particular emotions. Thus the notes Sa and Ri are said to be appropriate for interpreting the emotions of heroism, wonder and resentment. The note 'dhaivata' is suitable for emotions of disgust and terror. The notes 'gandhara' and 'nikhada' are suitable for emotions of sorrow, and the notes 'madhyama' and 'Panchama' are suitable for emotions of humour and love. And it is the *vadi-svara*, the speaking or the dominant note, which determines the character of the *rasa* or the flavour, or the emotion of the melody. The *devata*, or the image-form is the *svarupa*, or the incarnation of the *rasa* of the *raga*.

It is by the prayer of the musician,—the singer, or the interpreter,—who has to immerse and identify himself in the theme that the *devata*—the spirit of the melody is 'made visible,' (*murti-mantra*, as the texts put it),—in the symphonic form—the *nada-maya-rupa*. But before he can call up the *devata* of any *raga*—by his prayers,—the interpreter, that is to say, the worshipper of the *raga*, has to visualize the image in his mind, or musical consciousness. For this purpose, the *dhyanas* for contemplations appear to have been formulated. These *dhyanas* or prayer-formulas are the sources and the bases of all pictorial representations of the Indian melodies—the well-known Raga-mala pictures. To invoke the *rasa* one must meditate upon the *rupa*. Each particular *raga* is suitable for the expression of a particular type of *rasa*, that is to say, each *raga* is associated with and is the medium of particular sentiment or emotion, its characteristic and definite *ethos*. A musician should therefore have a knowledge of the relation of the *ragas* to their associated *rasa*, the form of a *raga* being a perfected vocabulary, or phrase to express in a significant and expressive manner a particular type of emotion. We have a complete vocabulary in terms of significant melodies to express the whole gamut of human feeling in all shades and varieties of moods, skilfully woven with the moods of nature,—and related to our reactions to the various situations in life—of actions, of love, of suffering, of enjoyment. Thus, *Pata-Manjari* (which is the vulgar form of *Prathama-Manjari*—'the first shoots') is the Spirit of the Early Monsoon which lends to the trees and shrubs their first new shoots for the year, and is visualized in the dramatic story of a damsel, who had come out to her garden, frightened by the clouds and lightening to run for shelter under her pavilion. *Lalita*, is the lament of the Beloved for being separated from her Lover, at day-break—which brings a chapter of Lovers' Night to a termination, as the Lover must depart to attend to the duties of the day. *Hindola*, the oldest of the classical melodies, is the 'Festival of Swing'—associated with the

seasonal festivity of the Spring-Season—later, appropriated by, and affiliated with, the *Dolotsava* or *Dola-Yatra* of the Krishna Radha cult. *Kedara Ragini* is the personification of unsatisfied love-longing—typified in a 'separated heroine' (*virahini*), an ascetic performing penances to attain union with her beloved, and for that purpose undertaking whole-night vigils, filling the nights with her plaintive songs—to listen to which the Moon in the sky tarries long, forgetting to complete her starry sojourn across the horizon.*

* The topic is dealt with exhaustively in the author's monograph: *Ragas and Raginis*: A Pictorial and Iconographic Study of Indian Musical Modes based on original sources, 2 Vols., Clive Press, Calcutta, 1935.

RED-COLORED LAKES AND MOUNTAIN ECHOES

Germany Abounds in Curious and Interesting Natural Phenomena

By HANS ZIPPEL

Here is given a brief outline of some of the many natural curiosities which are to be found in Germany. Let us start with the curious phenomena in connection with the element Water.

On Bilstein Mountain, situated not far from the Hessian city of Witzenhausen, famous for its Colonial School, there lies a "red" lake, the water of which is colored by the brick-red clay which forms its basin. Its companion-piece is the "Blood Lake" at Oberkirnach in the Black Forest, which, to be sure, only turns red at certain seasons when a peculiar sort of water-lily is in blossom and colors the water in which it grows. Another color phenomenon is the "Blautopf" near Blaubeuren in Wurtemberg. This is a spring whose water is such a deep blue that it makes the blue of the sky seem pale by contrast. It also has the further peculiarity of effervescing at certain times like boiling water in a kettle. The cause of this bubbling up of the spring is not known, and the natives of the place merely say, "The kettle is boiling again."

Almost the same thing is said by those living near the "Donnerlochquelle" (Thunder cave Springs) at Eschweilerhof in the Rhine Palatinate. This spring is also occasionally effervescent, and in this case the reason is known. From time to time, the subterranean outlet of the spring gets stopped up, and then bursts through with a considerable amount of pressure. There is a similar spring near Berlinchen in the Province of Brandenburg. It is characteristically known as "Grandmother's Coffee Pot." In the same province, almost at the gates of Berlin, there is a river which flows simultaneously in two separate directions,—the river Stoberow, which rises near Muencheberg, and whose waters flow on one side into the Oder, and on the other side into the Elbe. The source happens to be located directly on the watershed dividing east from west at that point. The famous "Spree-Wald" near Berlin is another interesting natural curiosity, forming a net-work of over 200 small rivers, so that practically all the traffic through the region is by boat.

Mention should be made in this connection of Germany's largest and most important natural springs. Among these are the Rhume Springs in the Southern Harz mountains, which supply 4000 liters of water per second, and the "Aachtopf," the source of the Aach River, a subterranean branch of the Danube which comes to the earth's surface near the southern slope of the Suabian Alp, flows through Hegau, and empties into the Untersee near Radolfzell. Among the curious lakes are also to be included the "periodical" lake at Schopfheim in the southern part of the Black Forest, which entirely disappears at certain periods, and the "Bauern-Graben," near Rossla in the Harz, which also dries up at certain times, although the causes for this phenomenon have never been satisfactorily explained. The enormous capacity which some of these natural springs possess is exemplified by the Hot Carbonic Acid Springs at Niederbreisig on the Rhine, which spurts 200,000 liters per hour out of the ground in a fountain 35 meters high. Another is the largest Hot Saline Gusher Spring in the world at Bad Oeynhausen. This phenomenal spring throws a stream of hot saline solution at the rate of 7000 liters per minute to a height of 42 meters

into the air, at a pressure of 7.3 atmosphere, and from a depth of 725 meters. Finally, there are the springs at Bad Brambach, the most powerful Radium Mineral Springs in the world, producing daily a total radium emanation of 356,200,000 emanation units.

The second primeval element in nature's mighty forces is Fire,—but it is less frequently met with in natural phenomena on the earth's surface as in its visible form it is an element of destruction. Of great interest, however, are some of the extinct volcanoes in Germany, especially the "Vogelsberg" in Hesse, Bilistein Mountain (already mentioned in this article) and the "Maare" in the Eifel Mountains. All of these are nothing more or less than volcanic craters filled with water, while the Hagau Mountain in southern Wurttemberg contains so much volcanic heat that it is the source of the warmth supplied to the three warm springs of the "Kaiser-slautan." The temperature of these springs is so high that the salamanders which inhabit its waters are not obliged to disappear for their annual winter sleep. The "burning mountain" near St. Ingbert in the Saar Palatinate is a curious phenomenon, if not altogether a strictly natural one. It is, in fact, a coal deposit vein which took fire 250 years ago, at a depth of 300 meters, and has been burning ever since. Another natural phenomenon directly connected with volcanoes is the so-called "magnetic mountain," several examples of which are to be found in Germany. In the vicinity of one of these mountains, the magnetic compass, otherwise so reliable, ceases to function properly. This was first observed by Alexander von Humboldt in 1795 on the Heidberg (altitude 695 meters) in the Pine Mountains. (Fichtel Gebirge) where he found every piece of rock magnetic. The same curious property is met with on the "Wachtkueppel" in the Rhoen region, and the "Ilsestein" and the "Scharcherklippen" (Snoring Peak) in the Harz, where Goethe once upon a time carried on some experiments with magnetism. Then, finally, there are the ice caves of the Dornburg near Hademar in the Westerwald, where subterranean magnetic iron ore causes the compass needle to show an irregular reaction.

Among the ancients, the third of the primal elements was Air, which is a very broad term, even in its relation to the laws of physics. So far as purely natural phenomena connected with the air are concerned, these must be taken to include all phenomena which cannot be classified under some other head. To this group belongs without doubt the "17-fold echo" at Charlottenbrunn in Silesia, and also the "whispering echo," so perilous to lovers, which can be heard on Mellen Lake near Lychen in the Province of Brandenburg. The Lychen echo is so clear, that a mere whisper spoken on one side of the lake may be heard with the greatest distinctness on the other side. It is therefore no suitable place for the imparting of secrets. According to mediaeval notions, the "Cave of Vapours" at Bad Pyrmont belongs to this class, as like the famous "Blue Grotto" in Capri, a burning candle, if held close to the ground, will immediately be extinguished. This, is, of course, no longer considered mysterious, as it is known to be caused from emanations of carbonic acid gas coming out of the ground. It is a little more difficult to classify the "Ghost" of the Brocken. From the top of this mountain, at the season of the autumn fogs, a most weird natural phenomenon may be witnessed. If a person stands on the "Witches' Peak" and looks across the valley, he can see his own shadow pictured on the mist below, enormously magnified, as well as the shadows of the peak itself, and the buildings standing on it. Science has found an explanation for this strange sight, though it may be more romantic to believe in its mysterious origin. Still another remarkable "freak" of nature is the "singing mountain" near Arnstadt in Thuringia. On dreamy summer evenings, one is conscious of a peculiar musical humming sound, not altogether unlike the chirping of crickets. It is said that this is caused by the constant trickling of innumerable tiny streams of water through the porous chalk deposits of which the mountain is composed. The "song" of the "snoring peak" in the Harz is not quite so poetic. As its name implies, the sound resembles that made by a heavy sleeper. There is also a "singing valley" not far from Trier, at Dhronecken, where the peculiar musical sounds like the distant pealing of bells, is caused by the splashing of countless little water-falls.

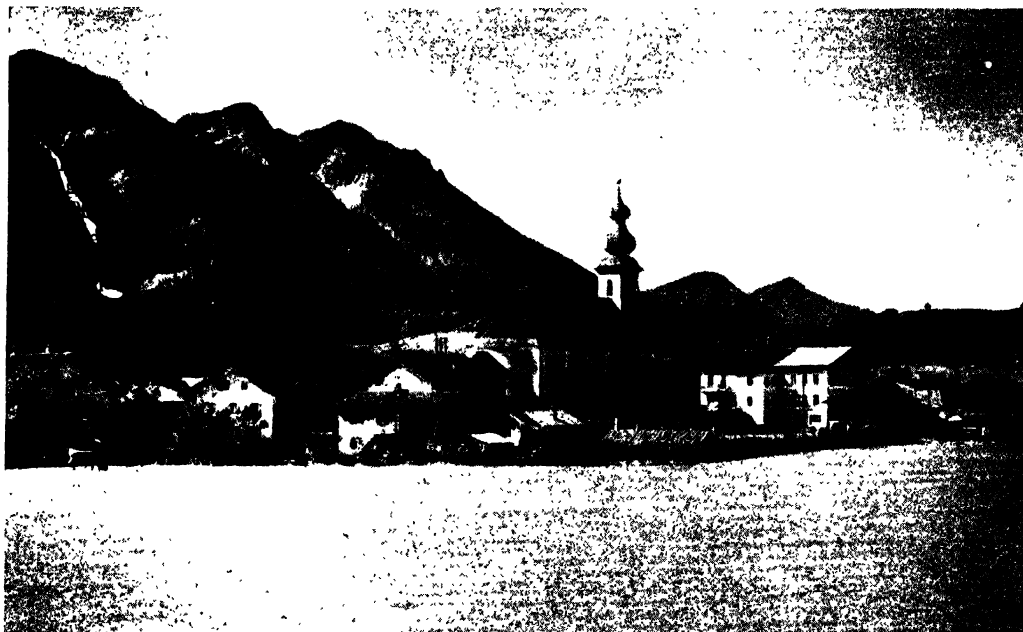
The fourth and last group of natural curiosities properly belonging to our "collection" comprises those phenomena which have to do with earth formations and trees and plants. Curiously gnarled and misshapen trees belong to this group, the famous of which are the beech trees which grow all in a row on the Suentel Mountain on the banks of the Weser River near the town of Hameln. Every tree in this row is twisted and turned in a most grotesque manner from trunk to topmost branch. In the



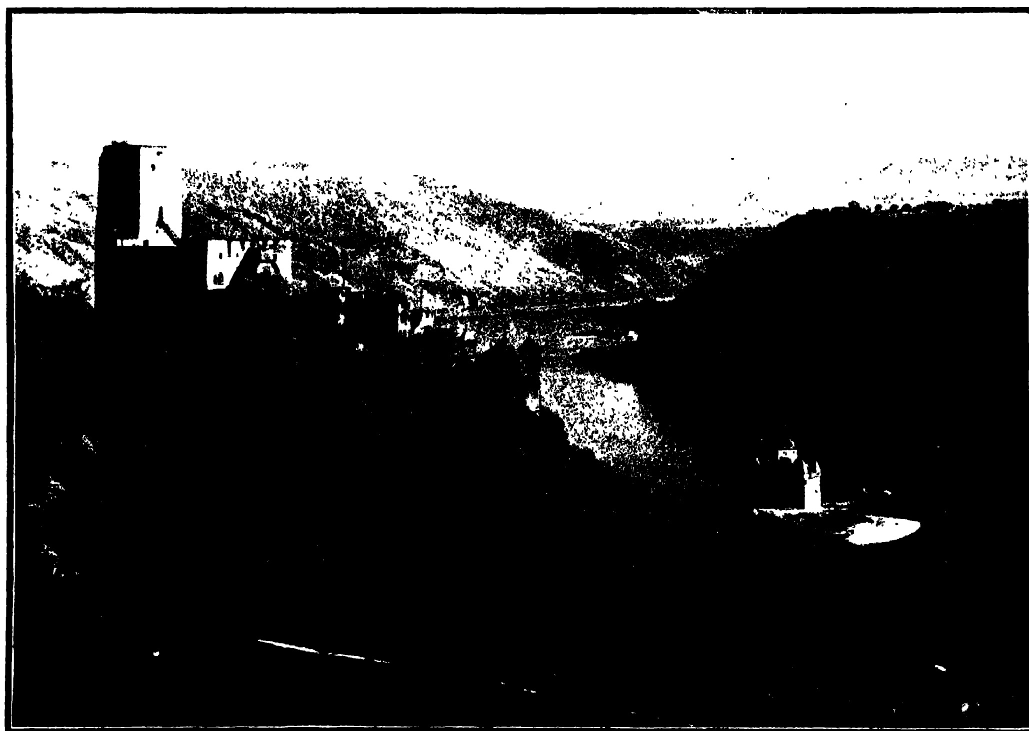
The Konigsee, one of the largest and most beautiful lakes in the Bavarian Alps



Typical Black Forest scenery. Schonau in the Wiesen Valley seen from Fuchswald



Inzell, a typical Bavarian village. In the background are the Kienberg and Rauscheberg peaks



Gutenfels Castle on the Rhine

"Pheasant Park" in Zweibruecken there is a freak growth where an oak and a beech tree grew together for a distance of several meters above the ground, and then continued to grow separately. The yew trees of Germany are famous for the curious forms in which they grow, especially in the yew forest at Paterzell near Weilheim in Upper Bavaria, numbering some 2500 trees, and in that of Eichsfeld near Eschwege, numbering 10,000 trees. Cedars of Libanon are to be found in the park of Johannisberg Castle near Geisenhein on the Rhine, as well as a handsome specimen in the castle park of Count von Berckheim in Weinheim.. This tree is 230 years old and was brought by one of the former Counts from Palestine. The "beech with 14 trunks" at Binenwalde near Rheinsberg, so reminiscent of Frederick the Great, and the 1000-year-old rose-bush growing by the Hildesheim Cathedral, as well as the oldest grape-vine in the world at Oberluhstadt near Speyer, all have a special interest. The last named was planted about the year 1500, and today its stem has a circumference of 120 centimeters. The *largest* grape-vine in Germany is at Geisenheim in the castle park of Monrepos. It has a spread of 130 square meters and has borne as high as 2500 bunches of grapes in a year. Of specimens of mammoth trees, there are only two famous ones in Germany, and both of these stand in the forest preserve of Traenkegrund in the Glatzer Highlands. Other more well-known "big trees" are the "old Linden" at Staffelstein, whose trunk is 17 meters in circumference; the giant oak at Ivenacker in Mecklenburg, whose trunk fills 16 square meters of area, or the 10-century-old walnut tree on the Liebfrauenberg near Bergzabern, whose trunk measures 6.5 meters.

Many other curiosities of nature might be enumerated, such as the floating islands in the lakes of East Prussia, Central Germany, and the Brandenburg Marches; the "Roemersteine" near Bad Sachsa in the Harz, which are now considered to be prehistoric coral reefs; the "movable cliffs" at Trippstadt in the Palatinate, which a single person can move without any danger that they will fall and crush him.

In conslusion may be mentioned one or two very remarkable natural curiosities. In the Franconian Switzerland there is a group of rocks so formed that when the sun casts their shadow upon the green lawn below, the shadow forms a perfect profile of Richard Wagner. On the Dorberg near Cassel, the configuration of the Helfenstein cliffs give an exact outline of the Sphinx. At Dahn is the well-known natural stone image of the "sheep's-head," while at Ilfeld in the Harz are the "needle's eye" and the "goose's bill." Near Albendorf in the Glatz Mountains there is a high cliff the peak of which nature has made to resemble a gigantic bust of the late venerated Field-Marshall von Hindenburg.

A LESSON FROM SWITZERLAND

BY J. N. SINHA, B.SC.

SWITZERLAND is a beautiful country. Its snow-mountains, its hill of swaying pines and silver fir, green undulations and lovely lakes make a charming setting for the smile of Nature. The visitor looks at the bewitching landscape, gazes awhile as if in trance, and passes on. Perhaps he notices the careful keep-up of things. Perhaps also it impresses him that the constructive hand of man, or rather the absence of his destructive hand, has something to do with how things are. That, in fact, the beauty of Switzerland is not wholly like the beauty of the rainbow or the evening sky—beyond the influence of man. Switzerland's beauty can be impaired. Destroy Switzerland's forest and you will have destroyed much of Switzerland, aesthetically and economically.

Switzerland has found by experience that forest is a vital organ of its being. Having no coal resources of its own it harnessed mountain streams for generation of electricity which runs its railways, works its factories and lights towns and villages. After a time it was noticed that the amount of water in streams seasonally fluctuated so seriously as to affect the working of hydro-electric generators. This was a serious affair, very serious to Switzerland, and investigation was set afoot. It took some time to come to a conclusion specially as the conclusion was one most unexpected. Investigators probably

rubbed their eyes to make sure. But there it was, conclusively proved, namely that progressive destruction of forest was the cause. When hills and mountains were partly or completely bared of vegetation cover their water retaining capacity got impaired or substantially lost. Experiments conducted in Switzerland have shown that 2½ inches of rainfall take one-third of an hour to soak in forest covered land and five to ten hours in bare land under otherwise exactly the same conditions. More water came into the streams when rain fell or snow on high mountains thawed and less when there was no such supply. It became like the earnings and expenses of an improvident person. Laws were enacted in 1867 with the view to the preservation of forests. Rigorous control was instituted. One could own forest but could not cut a single tree without the technical advice of trained Forest Officers. The remaining forests were thus saved from destruction and gradually recouped assisted by artificial measures of planting more trees. In course of time streams righted themselves. Flow of water became more even. They no more came down in spate at one time or perilously shrank at another. The total income was evenly spread out and all was well. Switzerland's forests contribute much to its making. Besides their aesthetic value they give it electricity as already described, keep hill slopes stable by binding the soil with tree roots so that agricultural land is not silted up by debris washed down from above, provide timber for the construction of cheerful Swiss houses. The Swiss revere their forest.

Viewing the panorama from Uetliberg, a hill 4,000 feet high near Zurich, the writer noticed a marked similarity to the scenery in Chota Nagpur. But the similarity ended with contour features. For in Switzerland there are no hills, not even little hillocks, completely devoid of vegetation; at east the crown and some way down is forested, like the head of orthodox Madrasi Brahmin. There is no serious erosion, no gullies, no desolating ravines that disfigure the landscape of Chota Nagpur and swallow so much of its good land. The cause and the effect.

Swiss forests are managed under the following three fundamental principles :—

(1) No clear cutting and exposure of the soil must be done.

(2) The total area under forest must not be reduced.

(3) Not a single tree, wherever occurring within the territories of Switzerland, must be cut without its being marked for felling by University trained Forest Officers.

Every private forest owner has to have a working plan for his forest. It lays down scientific methods of managing the forest and all details of work to be done in it over a period of years. Every working plan is carefully compiled by trained forest staff.

If the forest exceeds a certain minimum area the owner is compelled by law to employ a Forest Officer to manage his forest in combination with other forest owners, or exclusively if the area exceeds a certain fixed figure.

Villages or communes own 68% of the total forest area. Every commune either individually or in combination with other communes has a trained Forest Officer vested with complete powers of management. The Mayor and the Council of the commune take active interest in their forest. Profits go to the villagers and in certain cases pay off all their taxes. Deficits have to be met by the villagers through increased taxation. Every villager understands the money value of his communal forest and this is an additional incentive towards protection.

Once a year when floods knock at our doors in India we wake up to the realisation that something is wrong somewhere, that something should be done. The factor of forest is suggested in certain quarters but it sounds like the description of the Man in the Moon. In Switzerland which is a tiny country, of the size of part of one province of India, effect can be traced by the rod to the cause. But in India no such direct means is open to convince the people that destruction of forest in distant places, of the existence of which many are unaware, is one of the main causes of flood. Nevertheless, it is so. That it may be so has been shown by Switzerland.

Flood like fever is merely a symptom of the trouble, for forest destruction breeds numerous other less obvious ills. Protective measures such as embankments, etc. do help to an extent, as ice-bag allays fever. But we all know that ice-bag is not the cure.

In most countries of Europe forest laws are stringent savouring almost of partial expropriation and definitely curtailing the full implications of o w n e r s h i p. But the people submit willingly and co-operate. In Hungary, for example, a private owner of 30 acres of forest must have a scientific working plan and manage his forest strictly in accordance with the prescriptions. If the area is 720 acres or more the owner, in addition to the working

plan, must employ and pay for a Forest Officer in combination with other owners. If the area is 1815 acres or more the forest owner is bound by law to employ and pay for a Forest Officer exclusively for the management of his forest irrespective of the paying capacities of the forest.

Is not it time for public opinion in India to orient itself ?

OXFORD

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Are the "Interim Ministries" unconstitutional ?

(A Rejoinder)

AN act of the English King may be perfectly legal and at the same time wholly unconstitutional if it contravenes one or other of the English Constitutional conventions. Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D., of the Lucknow University had conveniently forgotten this fundamental constitutional principle when he conceived the idea of putting an eminent jurist like Sj. Bulabhai Desai in the wrong in the matter of "Interim Ministries" in the May number of *The Modern Review.* Nay, he had the boldness to assert that "Messrs. Desai and Rajagopalachari have hastened to assume wrongly that the Instrument of Instructions is a Constitutional document in the sense the Act of 1935 is." Even a man on the street will not believe that these two veteran Congress leaders do not know what every student of law knows, namely, what is law and what is executive instruction.

The Instrument of Instruction is not, as Dr. Chatterjee assumes, merely an executive order of the King which "only lays down certain general lines according to which the Governors normally to carry on the King's Government." It is a document executed by the King for the purpose of indicating the Governor how far in the exercise of the executive power he is to regard himself as bound by English precedent and usage. The real significance and the importance of the instrument as a constitutional document will be apparent from the following lines taken from the Joint Committee's Report :

"69. In English theory all executive power (with certain exceptions not here relevant) is today, as it has been from the earliest times, vested in the Monarch. The limits of this power are determined in part by common law and in part by statute, but within these limits the manner of its exercise is not subject to any legal fetter, save in so far as a statute may specify formalities for the doing of a particular executive act. But at all times in English history the Monarch has had Councillors to aid and advise him in the exercise of his power, and their status and functions at different periods mark the successive stages of constitutional development. The great nobles, who had claimed a prescriptive right to be consulted and who were often powerful enough to subject to their will a weak or reluctant King, gave place, as the complexity of government increased, to a more permanent Council, whose members were the King's servants, selected by him from nobles and commoners alike, whom he consulted or not as he pleased, and who became the instrument of his policy. The growing influence of the House of Commons at a later date made it necessary for the King always to number among his advisers persons who were members of that body; and the last stage was reached when he sought advice not of the Council as a whole, but only of those members of it who represented the predominant political party of the day. By the middle of the 19th century, constitutional usage and practice had so far supplemented constitutional law that the powers possessed in legal theory by the sovereign were almost entirely exercised on the advice of Ministers possessing for the time being the confidence of Parliament."

"70. This ingenious and convenient adjustment of a legal frame-work to the successive stages of political evolution has given flexibility to the English Constitution which it would have been impossible to secure by any Act of Parliament or written Declaration of Rights. To imprison constitutional practice and usage within the four corners of a written document is to run the risk of making it barren for the future. This was foreseen by the framers of those Dominion and Colonial Constitutions which have followed the British model; and since it by no means followed that the circumstances of a new state were appropriate for the application of the whole body of English doctrine in its most highly developed form, recourse was had to another devise, no less flexible, *for the purpose of indicating to the Governor-General or the Governor how far in the exercise of the Executive power he was to regard himself as bound by English precedent and analogy.* This is the Instrument of Instructions."

Hence as a Constituent Document, the Instrument of Instructions is as important as the Act itself. And as the laws of the English Constitution without its conventions would be mere skeleton without flesh and blood so is the Act without the Instrument. Thus we see that the appointment of "Interim Ministries" might be strictly legal but wholly unconstitutional if such appointment contravenes the provisions of clause 8 of the Governor's Instrument of Instructions. And Mr. Desai would be perfectly justified in characterising such appointment as an unconstitutional step.

NARENDRA MOHAN SEN

BANKING NEEDS OF AGRICULTURE IN ASSAM

By KARUNAMAY MAZUMDAR

AGRICULTURE is the most important industry in Assam and the question of agricultural efficiency and prosperity should therefore be considered a question of vital importance requiring the care and attention of both the public and the Government. With a peasantry endowed with the gifts of ordinary intelligence and industry, an inefficient and deteriorating agriculture has come on the scene. Of the many reasons advanced for this inefficiency, the one which I shall deal with is inadequate and expensive capital. In many foreign countries, besides the personal capital of the agriculturalist and the capital advanced by the Banks which sustain the industry, the Government and the various credit societies have proved helpful in financing the agricultural needs of the people. Rural credit in almost all the countries of the world has received and is receiving special attention of their respective Government:

> "Credit and the machinery of borrowing and lending now form the integral part of the industrial system of all civilised countries but in almost all agricultural countries, credit for agriculture has come to be treated as a special question requiring in many cases, special organisation and special legislation." (Report on Agricultural Cerdit in England in 1927).

Even an industrial country like England having a small share of business in Agriculture, has not failed to take an active interest in agricultural industry:

> "The Agricultural Mortgage Corporation, Ltd., in England under the Agricultural Credit Act of 1928, constitutes a distinct landmark in rural credit organization of England. This Corporation makes advances and loans on agricultural mortgages, with the help of capital supplied to it by the joint-stock banks of England, as shareholders of the Corporation. It commenced operation in January 1929 and by now has translated a large volume of business."

The organized modern banking in Assam as is the case with the rest of India, meets the needs of commerce but leaves agriculture alone.

The main credit agencies for granting loans to agriculture in India are—Moneylenders, Indigenous Bankers, Co-operative Credit Societies and Commercial Banks to a small extent.

In Assam, banking business is carried on by shroffs and moneylenders. The moneylender finances the agriculturist, the petty artisan and the small trader who have no access to organized modern Banking. The agriculturalist borrower is unable to offer security in the shape of Government paper or stocks and shares of well-known concerns. He has therefore, no other alternative but to look to the Indigenous Banks and moneylenders or Mahajans who are now-a-days indispensible for the supply of agricultural loan. Most of the Co-operative Credit Societies in Assam are not in a good position and cannot therefore advance loans.

The security offered by the agriculturalist, against loans is so inadequate that it would not be acceptable to Banks carrying on business on modern lines but the moneylenders accept it and this is why the latter charge an apparently exorbitant rate of interest. The high interest which a moneylender charges is largely an insurance against the risks he undertakes. His risks are indeed great and many. He has to deal with the ignorant cultivator who is irregular in repaying debt. It is not wise to condemn the system of moneylending unless we can find out successively a better system of credit to meet the rural needs.

There are some objectionable practices connected with moneylending. These are taking of thumb impression on a blank paper in order to insert any arbitrary amount at a later date, unauthorized manipulation of accounts etc. Such practices are possible by reason of the illiteracy of the cultivators and from a sense of irresponsibility in their dealings with moneylenders. This sense of irresponsibility arises through a state of extreme poverty and desperation to which they are reduced and through knowing in many instances that there is no hope of any recovery from debts inherited from their forefathers as well as fresh debts incurred by themselves. This state of affairs prompts them to borrow more and more perhaps with the idea that whether they borrow or not they are going to remain debtors. The greater the poverty, the greater the irresponsibility coupled with a greater desire for further borrowing.

There is a law called the Assam Moneylenders' Act shortly to come into operation meant to protect the interests of agriculturalists and provide some protection to them against the moneylenders but the operation of this Act is not so effective as to render help to the borrower.

The great defect of Banking in Assam, nay in Indian Banking, is that it makes absolutely no provision for financing the great industry of the country—agriculture. Two hundred and fifty millions of the people of India are directly dependent upon agriculture and yet this gigantic industry has hitherto been left at the tender mercy of small moneylending capitalists.



Book Reviews



BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals. school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

ANTI-SEMITISM : *By Valentin, Hugo. New York. The Viking Press. 1936. Pp. 324. Price $3.*

World attention has been attracted to the problem of Anti-Semitism, due to persecution of the Jews in Nazi Germany, in Poland, Roumania and other lands. Time has come for all civilized persons to consider the larger issues of this most deplorable question of race-hatred, religious intolerance and political persecution of minorities. Many excellent works have been written on the subject of the Jewish Question; however the study of Hugo Valentin, a Swedish scholar, is most illuminating and constructive. He analyses every argument advanced by the proponents of anti-semitism and comes to the conclusion that the whole movement is based on ignorance, superstition, racial and religious antagonism as well as economic competition.

"When a nation feels the pinch economically, it seizes upon those things which are supposed to divide fellow-citizens, race, religion, nationality, in order thereby to reduce the number of competitors. This is undoubtedly a correct observation" (p. 300).

However the author thinks that with the advent of better times, the curse of anti-semitism would not automatically disappear. Assimilation of the Jews by inter-marriage or giving up their religion will not solve the problem. The solution lies in the moral elevation of men through education which will cultivate the ancient ideal of "love thy neighbor."

The Christians are the worst offenders in their pursuit of persecuting helpless communities like the Jews; and it is incumbent upon Christian leaders to carry on a crusade against the moral degeneration of the people who foster "anti-semitism." The solution of the problem lies in the practice of the teachings of all great religions. "In God's eyes" runs a saying of the Talmud, "the man stands high who makes peace between men: between husband and wife, between fathers and children, between masters and servants. between neighbour and neighbour. But he stands highest who establishes peace among the nations."

A nation that pursues the policy of anti-semitism or persecution of a helpless minority community is bound to degenerate; and at least for the sake of national regeneration, and progress of humanity, all far-sighted men and women of all religions and nationalities should fight the curse of anti-semitism. Mr. Valentin's work will be of immense value to those interested in fighting anti-semitism intelligently and not merely on the basis of emotionalism.

TARAKNATH DAS

THE FOLLOWING OF CHRIST, THE SPIRITUAL DIARY OF GERARD GROOTE (1340-1384). *Founder of the Brethren and Sisters of the Common Life. Translated into English from original Netherlandish texts as edited by James van Ginneken, S.J., of the Catholic University of Nymegen by Joseph Malaise, S.J. America Press, 461, Eighth Avenue, New York, U. S. A. Price Two and a half dollars.*

The book generally known by the English name *Of the Imitation of Christ* has been generally attributed to Thomas a Kempis. According to the publishers of *The Following of Christ* the original author of the work was Gerard Groote. He wrote the book in Dutch. Thomas a Kempis translated it into Latin, from which it has been translated into English and many other languages.

The book hitherto attributed to Thomas a Kempis has been widely used by Christians—particularly of the Roman Catholic church and many non-Christians as one of the hand-books to help them in their spiritual endeavours. Those who are Christians and take a monastic view of life and are for renouncing the world will find themselves more in tune with *The Following of Christ* than others who wish to lead a godly and virtuous life as householders and men and women of the world. But all alike will find in its pages spiritual and moral sustenance.

A HANDBOOK OF INDIAN LEGISLATURES : *A companion for M.L.A.'s, M.L.C.'s, officials, Local Bodies, Indian States. etc. By R. R. Saksena, M.A., LL.B., D.Li.Sc. Second Edition. Rs. 6. Thin-paper edition. Rs. 4. The Universal Literature Company, Nazirabad, Lucknow.*

Member of the new legislatures, publicists in general and all who take interest in current politics will find this book very useful. It consists of 21 chapters and ten appendixes and an index. The author treats of the growth of the Indian constitution, the reformed (Montagu-Chelmsford) constitution, the new constitution, the Federal Legislature, the Provincial Legislatures, election to the Legislatures, privileges of the Indian Legislatures, general procedure in the legislature, forms and rules of debate, the legislature at work, legislative procedure, financial pocedure, statutory drafting, the Indian Statute Book, the administrative system, Indian finance from the days of the

E. I. Company, the principal heads of revenue and expenditure in India, development of Local Self-government in India, the Indian States, and British Burma.

The Appendixes give Tables of seats in the Federal Legislature and the Provincial Legislatures, Legislative lists, list of corrupt practices at elections, disqualifications for memberships of the provincial legislatures, Instruments or Instructions to the Governor-General of India and to the Provincial Governors, and list of Orders in Council and Regulations under the Government of India Act, 1935, published up to the 20th April, 1937.

The author has worked hard to give the public a really helpful book, and the publication of a second edition within a few months shows that his labours have been appreciated.

COLLECTED POEMS AND PLAYS OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE. *Macmillan and Co. Limited. London. To be had at the Visvabharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Printed neatly on tinted paper. Cloth, gilt-lettered. Price Rs. 8-9-6.*

This collected edition contains the following poems and plays :--

Gitanjali, The Crescent Moon, The Gardener, Chitra, Fruit-Gathering, The Post Office, Lover's Gift, Crossing, Stray Birds, The Cycle of Spring, The Fugitive and Other Poems, Sanyasi or the Ascetic, Malini, Sacrifice, The King and the Queen, Karna and Kunti.

Red Oleanders and The King of the Dark Chamber are not included in this edition.

Lovers of Rabindranath Tagore's poems and plays will be glad to possess this elegant collected edition.

THE "WORLD-MAKERS AND WORLD-SHAKERS" SERIES. *Published by the Hogarth Press, Tavistock Square, London, W. C. 1sh. 6d. net per volume.*

We have received four volumes of 80 pages each of this neatly printed and popularly written series of books, namely, Socrates; Joan of Arc; Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour; and Darwin. Though obviously meant for young readers, they will be read by their elders, too, with interest and profit.

The volume on Socrates contains a reproduction of a photograph of his statuette in the British Museum. The authors describe vividly the background to Socrates, what he thought and taught, how he lived, how and why he was tried, how he was condemned to death, took the cup of poison with an unfaltering hand and died.

The volume on Joan of Arc is by Miss V. Sackville-West, author of a full-length biography of St. Joan of Arc. But it is not an abridgement of the bigger volume. It has been written afresh for the present series. While not sacrificing historical accuracy and not omitting anything vital, Miss Sackville-West has presented the facts of history as vividly as possible for the interest of juvenile readers. She has also endeavoured to present mediæval characters, especially that of St. Joan herself, in a manner both sympathetic and intelligible to the young modern mind, avoiding controversial religious questions.

In spite of all that big volumes and small booklets may tell us about St. Joan of Arc, the saint and the soldier, who stands as the immortal example of what the purest and most unquestioning faith may achieve, it will ever remain a mystery how this unlettered peasant girl, still in her teens, with no knowledge of war, no experience whatsoever outside the daily round of her village life, succeeded in persuading princes to listen to her and hardened captains to trust themselves and their armies to her leadership. How she was the saviour of France and England alike becomes clear on a perusal of the book.

With the booklet on Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour we come to the period of modern history. A hundred years ago there was no kingdom of Italy. Since the fall of the Roman Empire Italy had been divided into many different states, and had never been united under one ruler. About the year 1830 Italy was divided into nine separate states :

1. The Papal states, ruled by the Pope;
2. Naples, including Sicily, ruled by a Spanish Bourbon;
3. Tuscany, ruled by an Austrian prince;
4. Lucca, ruled by a Spanish Bourbon;
5. Modena, ruled by an Austrian Prince;
6. Parma, ruled by an Austrian Prince;
7. Lombardy and Venetia, part of the Austrian Empire;
8. Piedmont, including, Genoa, Savoy and Sardinia, ruled by King Charles Albert, an Italian;
9. The tiny independent republic of San Marino. (San Marino still retains its independence.)

Of all these rulers only the King of Piedmont was an Italian.

Miss Marjorie Strachey's little book tells the story of the unification of Italy and the making of the kingdom of Italy. It tells the story of the expulsion of the foreign rulers and the welding of the eight separate states into one under Victor Emmanuel. This great achievement was the result of the united efforts of Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour. George Meredith, the English poet, in speaking of Italy, has well described the part played by each in the lines :

"Cavour, Mazzini, Garibaldi : Three :
"Her Brain, her Soul, her Sword . . .

The small volume on Darwin, by L. B. Pekin, shows him not only as a foremost scientist and a shaker of the world's thought but also interesting and lovable as a man. His unexciting life story is told in simple language and in an attractive style. He himself and his books are described as they were, closely interrelated, and the account of his idea, given in the book, will be intelligible to the young people for whom it is primarily intended and will also present a great man interestingly to the general reader. A characteristic portrait of Darwin forms the frontispiece.

HINDU CIVILIZATION: *By Radhakumud Mookerji, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., Professor and Head of the Department of Indian History, The University, Lucknow. Pp. xvi+351 royal 8vo. Eleven plates and three maps. Cloth, gilt-lettered. 15s. net. Longmans, Green and Co., London, New York, Toronto.*

This volume on Hindu civilization, packed full of valuable information, covers milleniums of the history of India, from the earliest pre-Vedic times to the establishment of the Maurya Empire. It brings together the results of specialized study of the different aspects of a vast subject as parts of an organic whole. How vast the subject is and how wide must be the range of the studies of one seeking to deal with it adequately will be evident from the very connotation and denotation of civilization. It includes the religion, philosophy, ethics, science, arts, literature, culture, polity, politics, military activities, industries and commerce, shipping, etc., of a people. The author acknowledges in the preface his obligations, general and specific, to the *Cambridge History of India.* Indications of his other sources of information, besides the original Sanskrit and other ancient Indian texts, are given in the footnotes and the index. Dr. Mookerji appears to be right in claiming that his own Indian point of view has received its due scope in the work and constitutes its chief justification. He has stressed the value and use of some neglected texts, some new points of interest in known and familiar documents and some new relations

of old facts. Perhaps no other single volume gives a more comprehensive view of ancient Hindu civilization up to the establishment of the Maurya empire than this book.

CREATIVE INDIA from Mohenjo Daro to the age of Ramakrishna-Vivekananda: *By Benoy Kumar Sarkar. Motilal Benarsi Dass, Lahore. Rs. 15. Pp. x+714 demy 8vo. Cloth, gilt-lettered.*

Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar has written many books in Bengali and English and is the author of some papers in German, French and Italian. He has travelled extensively in Asia, Europe and America. *Creative India*, perhaps his latest work, bears evidence of his wide outlook and characteristic viewpoint, which readers and critics cannot ignore even where they do not agree with him.

He says in the preface that his work deals with some of the creations of the Indian peoples in personalities, ideas, institutions and movements from the Mohenjo Daro times to the age of Ramakrishna-Vivekananda as specimens of human energizing. In it are exhibited the growth and development of the diverse regions and races in India in the light of comparative culture-history and sociology understood in the widest sense. His attempt is mainly selective or suggestive in regard to topics and tendencies as well as epochs and areas of the transformation of Nature by Man in this country. He has tried to exhibit in relief some of those phases and trends in the evolution of Indian manhood and civilization which are generally overlooked or minimized by antiquarian researchers, text-book writers on Indian history, archaeology, philosophy or literature, and by authors of general treatises relating to the "spirit" of India or the East.

The author is conscious of the very wide range of his survey in both time and space, and therefore admits the possibility of ignoring or doing injustice not only to the nooks and corners as well as pools and rivulets of life but even the broadways and avenues as well as seas and channels.

Nevertheless, he has succeeded in writing a heartening book, one which will tend to make his readers as optimistic as he. There is room for criticism in the book. But elaborate criticism cannot be attempted in a brief notice.

The work is divided into five chapters (each subdivided into many sections) treating of India as a creator of values, Indian creations in institutions, creations of Hindu philosophy in political science, the literature, art and social philosophy of the Indian people, and the creations of Modern India.

INTERRACIAL JUSTICE: *A study of the Catholic Doctrine of Race Relations. By John LaFarge, S.J., Associate Editor, "America." America Press. 461 Eighth Avenue, New York. Crown 8vo. Pp. xii+226. Cloth, gilt-lettered. Price two dollars.*

From his fifteen years of missionary experience, lifelong studies and contact with every type of person and condition that could shed light on the race problem, the author has written a valuable book on the bearing of the race concept upon social action. He has suggested helpful means and methods of work also. Though the particular problem he has sought to tackle is that of the United States Negro and though his point of view is that of a devout Roman Catholic, that does not detract from the value and adaptibility of his suggestions.

We commend the work to the attention of all social and religious workers in India—particularly those of the Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, Ramakrishna Mission and the Harijan-Sevak Sangh.

D.

CONCEPTION OF MATTER ACCORDING TO NAYAYA-VAISESIKA: *By Dr. Umesha Mishra, M.A., Kavyatirtha, D.Litt., with a Forward by MM Dr. Ganganath Jha and an Introduction by MM Pandita Gopinath Kaviraj. Braj Bhusan Das & Co., 40/5, Thatheri Bazar, Benares City, India. Pp. xxxvii+428. Price Rs. 6.*

As an author of several treatises Dr. Umesha Mishra of the Univresity of Allahabad needs no introduction. He is trained in both the systems of Sanskrit learning, indigenous and European, none of which can be ignored for a proper appreciation of the subjects dealt with in Sanskrit. Dr. Mishra is, therefore, a person from whom one may reasonably expect the valuable book which he has this time presented to his readers.

Speaking broadly, there are two schools of thought, the one upholding realism, and the other idealism. The systems of Nyaya and Vaisesika follow the former, both of them, unlike the others such as Vedanta and Sankhya, having paid their attention more to matter than to spirit, for the perfect knowledge that leads one to liberation.

In the Nyaya-Vaisesika system matter is said to be of nine kinds. They are the five elements (earth, water, heat, air and *akasa*), time (*kala*), direction or the cardinal points (*dis*) and spirit (*atman*). Accordingly the book does not deal only with matter in its English sense, *i.e.*, the substances of which a physical thing is made, but also with spirit as well as the other things mentioned above.

In writing the book Dr. Mishra has, so to speak, churned the ocean of a very large number of works on the subject of both the schools of Nyaya and Vaisesika,—works both very ancient and very modern, and in print as well as in manuscript. He has utilized also a great many books on other systems of Indian Philosophy.

With these materials at his disposal he has given a clear exposition of his subject and excelled thereby all his predecessors. One of the special features of his book that will attract his readers is that his style is simple and lucid.

The book has removed a great want in the field of the study of the Nyaya-Vaisesika system. There is not an iota of doubt that it will be highly appreciated by scholars. Universities where there are arrangements for teaching Indian Philosophy will do well to prescribe it as a text book.

It is a defect of the book that Sanskrit technical terms such as *svarupa-sambandha, visesana-sambandha, prativogitva, anuyogitva*, etc., including such others as *dharma* and *adharma* in the Jain system of Philosophy, with which the book abounds, have not been translated or explained in many cases. Readers not acquainted with them will naturally feel much difficulty in understanding their meaning. The explanations could have been given even in an appendix.

It is quite reasonable that the author has given the different views on the same points which he has been able to gather from his authorities. Here one wishes that he had done so showing their gradual and logical developments. This may, however, be a subject of a future volume.

The names of the books in the Bibliography (Sources and Authorities) could have been arranged alphabetically, and if the list could be prepared chronologically or giving dates against them, so far as could be ascertained, it would have been of much greater value.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

ESSAYAS AND OTHER PROSE FRAGMENTS: *By Subrahmanya Bharati. Bharati Prachur Alayam, Triplicane, Madras.*

The late Mr. Bharati has bequeathed to a sorrowing and admiring public a lot of essays and poems which

excel in love for the Divine. Socially they are also interesting. He says in his essay on "Caste":—"The ignorant masses have been made to believe that the caste chaos is a special gift to our country, and whoever transgresses it has to go to hell. The Brahmans have long ceased to make Shastras, they are cake-sellers, railway clerks and police constables. The form remains with a shadow of life and a million bad wounds on it." In an essay on "Woman's Freedom" the author says, "The Brahmans are waxing indignant that the lower classes are losing their virtues of submission; heaven-born administrators wonder why the 'natives' are not as submissive as cows; the policeman wants the whole village to be obedient to him; the priest wants submission. I wonder which class does not worry itself about the growing disobedience of 'inferiors'." The author is no longer in the land of the living; but we might ask the present generation of his readers, "Why did the masses both educated and uneducated allow themselves to 'believe' and be misled?" Even without compulsory mass primary education every villager ought to be intelligent enough to know that surely he cannot go to hell when another wants him to. We have to tap various sources to puzzle out an answer to the question why even now we cannot fully wish ourselves away from pagan weakness.

"AGNI": *Poems and Translations by the same author.*

The author puts a question in the poem "Thoughts,"—"What is the object of Non-life?" Different readers would answer in different ways,—freedom from living woe, to be the eternal thing forgetting what it was to die, and so on. The author writes in despair next "God alone is!" The poem on 'Peace' is a gem, and the one on 'Truth' is product of a master mind. The lines "Love Thine Enemy" states "Shall we who strive for life and growth Lend thought to sad decay." This is noble indeed, but not the line "Strike not the tiger threatening thee," because that would cause 'sad decay' of human creation which has the right to 'life and growth' as much as Master Stripes. We cannot love an enemy neglecting self-preservation which is an instinct. The real admirer of poesy however does not argue in this manner, though we indulge in it for pure love for the matter of fact. This poet indeed shines, and poetry rises to a sublime height when he defends the great brute "The Mother of All has donned that garb, Salute her there, there too." We have hardly read a poet so entrancingly engrossed in the Divine.

Critic

THE KHARIAS: *By Sarat Chandra Roy M. A., and Ramesh Chandra Roy, M.Sc. "Man in India" Office, Ranchi, 1937. Two Volumes. Pp. 530 & lvi. Map and plates.*

In this monograph, Messrs. S. C. Roy and R. C. Roy have given us a detailed description of the Kharias who inhabit portions of Orissa, Chota Nagpur and the Central Provinces. The book consists of the following chapters: Habitat and Population; Origin and Migrations; Previous accounts of the Kharias; Physical Anthropology of the Kharias; Material Culture; Social Organization; Tribal Government; Birth, Childhood and Puberty Rites; Marriage, Pregnancy and Divorce; Death and its Attendant Ceremonies; Religious Beliefs: Deities and Spirits; Religious Feasts and Festivals; Magic and Witchcraft; Folklore and Myths, Amusements and Games; Kharia Art, Dances and Songs; Conclusion: General View of Kharia Life and Manners. There are four appendices dealing with Physical Measurements; Average of Measurements; Local Distribution of Clans; Source of Hill-Kharia origin myth.

For convenience, and for geographical reasons, the authors have divided the whole tribe into three sections—Hill, Dudh and Dhelki—and they have throughout the book noted points of similarity and dissimilarity between the three. The Hill Kharias, according to them have a culture of poor content in comparison with the other two, which are more elaborate in all respects. Thus the former are supposed to represent a phase of culture through which the Dudh and the Dhelkis probably passed at some previous period of their history. This conclusion does not however appear to be beyond question; for the details of Hill Kharia culture tend to show that they have been seeped through and through with the culture of neighbouring Hindu castes, while their own has moreover been subjected to considerable modification through decay before it took its present shape. Under these circumstances it would perhaps not be proper to consider it as a stagnant survival from previous times.

But that is a matter in which we may reasonably have room for difference of opinion. What we admire most, however, is the painstaking care with which the authors have described the details of Kharia life and also the deep insight with which they have drawn the inner forces which inspire the life of a Kharia tribesman. Their description of Kharia religion and ceremonialism and of the tribe's literary and musical activities often borders on the artistic. This has been possible only through long association and the deep human sympathy which the authors display in every portion of their undertaking.

There is one more feature which distinguishes the present monograph from the previous works of Mr. S. C. Roy on the Mundas, Oraons, Birhors and Bhuiyas. In the present monograph the authors have tried to make the fundamental concepts of Anthropology clear with the help of concrete examples. Thus the concepts of mana, taboo, totemism and various forms of social organisation have all been explained with illustrations drawn directly from life. Obviously this has been done with a view to helping college students to master the principles of the science of Anthropology, for they are often expected to learn by rote abstract ideas divorced from any concrete association. This new feature ought to make the book popular with students as well as such laymen as want to form a correct acquaintance with the subject. The chapter on Physical Anthropology also deserves special mention.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

INDIAN WOMEN AND ART IN LIFE: *By Kanaiyalal H. Vakil, B.A., LL.B. Bombay, D.B.Taraporewala Sons & Co., "Kitab Mahal," Hornby Road; 1933. Pages VIII+24. Price Rs. 2.*

The author, a well-known writer on art in Western India, rightly tilts against the exploiting of popular credulity and the vulgarisation of public taste by feeding and fostering them on sentiment and superlatives and "anxmic ideals" which some apologistists of Indian Art have been doing. "The term 'ideals' of Indian art has been the stock-in-trade of the 'revivalists.' No other single term or phrase has wrought such widespread mischief, closed all avenues of fruitful research of the country's heritage in art, and blocked effectively the path of the creative artist as that term. Used at first justifiably and with preceptible discrimination against the onslaught of uniformed Western criticism, it is now used invariably as convenient and facile defensive tactics for every kind of apology, mistaken as appreciation or exposition, of art in India, past and present." All lovers of art as art, and not as Indian Art or extra-Indian art, who have been watching the course of art appreciation and artistic revival in India and have been noticing unavoidable and

irrevocable modernisation of Indian thought and life (accompanied though it is by the cry of 'Indian spiritualism for ever, down with Western materialism' as a comforting slogan solacing the national pride), will certainly agree with Mr. Vakil. Mr. Vakil is particularly angry with those writers on art who find their stock-in-trade in artistic shibboleths from the past and who are blind to the necessity of art having a connexion with life if it is to be a living thing. Half-informed and unintelligent revivalism often has poison in its touch when it seeks to improve upon the living forms of art that still survive as a part of life.

The title of the brochure is a little cryptic, but Mr. Vakil gives the explanation, "Art now claims its freedom and independent status. And it looks to the women of India, educated in art, to re-establish beauty in the daily environment of life, civic as well as economic, social as well as domestic." He believes it to be 'one of the definite responsibilities and missions of the enlightened women of India' to make art 'respond to the collective needs and aspirations of the people' and 'respond helpfully to the international events that lead modern humanity towards international re-union.' We can only echo Mr. Vakil's sentiments, "The Ladies! Bless them!"

We agree with Mr. Vakil when he is protesting against the over-doing of the 'Indian Ideals' business in the study or cultivation of art in India. But we confess we cannot always share his particular enthusiasms, cannot always accept his recommendations in full for what he considers to be the very best in Indian art. Nevertheless, it is an interesting little work, and should provoke those whom it is meant to provoke.

S. K. C.

THE STORY OF INDIAN CIVILIZATION: *By C. E. M. Joad, Macmillan & Co. 1936. Re 1-8.*

Within the scope of about a hundred and fifty pages Mr. Joad has brought out a neat sketch of cultural India. This is no small achievement, even for the distinguished writer, because Indian civilization in its variety and complexity hardly allows itself to be confined within such limits for general consumption. Mastery over detail and command over the broad ways of development, facility of expression and clear exposition, have combined to make the brochure a real intellectual treat.

The writer has begun by giving a historical conspectus, from early to modern times. India's quest for truth and beauty has then been described, and next we are told how India sought to express herself in art and literature, in practical state-craft, in her Imperial hosts and village communes. Last of all, Mr. Joad has tried to tell us how India's philosophy, religion, literature, social organization, in short everything, has been changed under western influence. The reader feels that the subject is treated with sympathy. One may quote, for example, the following passage: "The British have been disposed to put too little trust in the people of India. Treating them as nuwilling subjects in the present, they have been only too ready to regard them in the light of potential enemies in the future, fearing lest, should an emergency arise, they will hasten to seek the support of any Asiatic power who might assist them to throw off the British yoke. So long as the policy of Great Britain in relation to India remains one of coercion tempered by niggling concessions, such apprehensions may well be justified." Though one might wish for more detail, what is here is sufficiently interesting and the plan chosen is attractive.

Mr. Joad's grasp of the subject (his note on the caste system given on pages 36 to 42 may well serve as a sample) is generally so sound that it would be ungracious to pick out minor blemishes. Nevertheless, all things considered, it is better to point out some of them. (*i*) To place Rig Veda between 1200 and 1000 B.C. at this time of the day is to be unfair to history. (*ii*) Foucher's researches ought to settle all controversy about Greco-Roman influence upon Indian art. (*iii*) Bengal school of art has substantially departed from the lines laid down by Abanindranath two decades ago, which fact might have been noted in a publication of 1936. (*iv*) The Buddhist literature written in Sanskrit, sometimes very corrupt, has been practically neglected, though deserving a careful notice. (*v*) It is difficult to understand why poets like Bharavi and Bhatti are described as dramatic poets or dramatists. (*vi*) Is there any justification for describing Chaitanya as a "poet of very considerable accomplishment?" (*vii*) Tulsi Das did not render the *Ramayana* into Hindustani but Hindi; a distinction is usually observed between the two. (*viii*) Faizi's record of contemporary times ought to have been mentioned. (*ix*) The name of the distinguished Calcutta poet was Henry (not *Henri*) Derozio, and his poem was named the *Fakeer* (not 'Fakir') *of Jungheera.*

In spite of these minor blemishes we wish the book a wide circulation, which it deserves.

P. R. Sen

POVERTY AND POPULATION IN INDIA: *By D. G. Karve, M.A. Published by Oxford University Press. Page 127. Price Rs. 3.*

There is a growing tendency among a certain section of the educated public, particularly among the foreigners that the problem of India's appalling poverty and ill-health is the problem of her over-population. Improvement of medical facilities, even in the face of her highest death rate among the civilized countries of the world, is therefore regarded as an accentuation of this evil of over-population! The author has however tried to prove with the help of relevant statistics that there is nothing abnormal in the rate of population increase in India. "During the last three decades whereas the population of England has increased by 23 per cent that of India as a whole has increased by only 20 per cent and that of British India by as little as 17 per cent." What is wrong therefore is not that population is increasing faster than wealth or that it is increasing so fast that with a smaller growth a substantial improvement in the Economic situation is probable; but her social, cultural and economic backwardness is the root cause of all her ills. Maladjustment between population and wealth is a symptom and a result, not a primary cause of economic and social backwardness. Mechanical restriction of numbers unaccompanied by a thorough reform in ideas and institutions will not solve the problem of India's "absolute poverty."

The book thus discusses one of the most vital issues arising from the inter-relations of poverty and population in India in a short but convincing manner and we agree generally with his views quoted above. Some useful figures bearing on the subject have enhanced the value of the work. We only wish that the author did not sermonise about the "supremacy of reason" "at the bottom of the creation of modern civilisation" which sounds more like metaphysics than economics.

A. G. Sen

HANDBOOK OF TANNING: *By Mr. B. M. Das. Published by the Department of Industries, Bengal. Pp. 239. Price Rs. 2/8/-*

The book describes the various processes of chrome and vegetable tanning and deals with the practical difficulties and problems of leather manufacture. Mr. Das has devoted long years to and has materially advanced the cause of tanning in India. This industry is capable of vast expansion. In fact, India need not export hide

at all. All the hides may be converted into leather and then exported to the enrichment of India.

What is needed is the creation of a batch of trained men and experts who may take charge of tanneries. Mr. Das as the Superintendent of the Bengal Tanning Institute applies his time and energy to this direction. In this institution, besides giving training lessons in tanning, research work as carried out for the improvement of various processes, analysis of raw materials is made and ways and means for the exploration of the vast field of tanning materials, so abundant in India, are tried to be found out.

The second edition of the Handbook has long been due, the first edition having been exhausted. In this edition materials have been brought up-to-date. The book deals with chrome tanning as a major industry and with bark tanning as a cottage as well as a factory industry. I have the conviction that the scope of Cottage Tanning may be enlarged and extended to include chromes. It is with this latter object that I have entered the trade. Mr. Das and myself were at one time colleagues in the chemical manufacturing line. Mr. Das chose leather later on. Still later, almost at the end of my carrer I have entered the leather industries line. Mr. Das has something to teach. This book will be read with profit not only by those who are interested in this great industry, but also by the larger public who have the welfare of Indian industries at heart.

SATISH CHANDRA DAS-GUPTA

NATIONAL TAXATION OF STATE INSTRUMENTALITIES: *By Alden L. Powell. Published by the University of Illinois, 1936. Pages 166. Price Two dollars.*

This book is one of the volumes comprising the Illinois Studies in Social Sciences. The author has attempted to analyse the American constitutional practice that "governmental instrumentalities of states and their political sub-divisions are generally immune from taxation by the national government." The rule has arisen mainly out of judgments given by the Supreme Court in cases where the authority of the Federal Centre to tax the income-yielding property of the state-governments was challenged. Chief Justice Marshall's argument that "the power to tax involves the power to destroy" has a definite hold upon American courts for a long time. Thus, public documents issued by state officers have been held to be immune from the operation of Federal stamp duties, and even the compensation received by the employees of the state-governments has generally been exempt from national taxation.

Mr. Powell has studied a large number of court decisions and has arrived at the conclusion that state immunity from federal taxation is slowly dwindling away. The prevalent doctrine of immunity is largely based on the philosophy of duality which gave rise to federalism in government. This duality is gradually dis appearing even from the staunchest of federations. and it is unnecessary, according to Mr. Powell, to retain a worn-out dogma in the sphere of taxation alone. It will be much better, he concludes, to adopt "a rigidly pragmatic test of actual burden and permit the collection of all taxes the imposition of which cannot be shown to be a real burden upon the government of state or nation."

The study carries the Indian reader to an unfamiliar ground. But difficulties of conflicting jurisdiction are normal in any federal constitution. and India will certainly have to face many of the problems that America has faced and solved. The importance of Mr. Powell's book to Indian readers is likely to increase in the coming years.

BHABATOSH DATTA

PRACTICE OF KARMA-YOGA (WITH A DICTIONARY OF YOGIC & VEDANTIC TERMS): *By Sri Swami Sivananda Saraswati, "Ananda Kutir," Rikhikesh (Himalayas). Published by Em. Airi. Price Rs. 3 8.*

This book contains the teachings of His Holiness Sri Swami Sivananda Saraswati, the famous saint of the Himalayas, for the emancipation of the earnest aspirant of knowledge divine, from the wheel of births and deaths, through the absorption of the Jiva with the Supreme Soul. Of the two paths inculcated by the Vedas, the path of Karma-Yoga and the path of Gyana-Yoga, it is said by Lord Krishna in the Gita that the path of works is better than the path of renunciation or Gyana, yet Lord Krishna has said elsewhere that knowledge alone is the means to final liberation.

The Swami has very clearly explained in the present work that the two paths are complementary and that the one is preperatory to the other. The book contains the cream and the core of the teachings of Yoga and Vedanta. One should never forget the idea that work is worship of God. All works when done with this rigat mental attitude, will elevate one's mind.

The book emphasises the fact that sin is nothing but mistake only and purity is every man's birth-right and requests everybody to feel this. The article on the "Doctrine of Reincarnation" contains convincing, cogent, forcible, logical and sound arguments in support of re-birth.

The book gives some very illuminating and inspiring stories chosen with care in the hope that the book will be of practical utility to the public.

The value of the book is enhanced by the addition of a Dictionary of Yogic and Vedantic terms which will be of incalculable use to those students who have no knowledge of Sanskrit.

The author appeals to his readers to practise Karma-Yoga in right earnest and to realize in life the grand truth of Upanishads after getting Chitta-suddhi through incessant and untiring selfless service. There is a hidden power in self-less service which the Karma-Yogi will realize for himself in course of time. The real Karma-Yogi who serves the world with humility and Bhav becomes a real ruler of the world, for service is Yoga itself which elevates and uplifts humanity to the level of divinity. We have nothing but admiration for this book.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

PHALADEEPIKA, *Chapter 1 to 28, with an English translation by Pandetbhusan V. Subrahmanya Sastri, B.A., Assistant Secretary to the Government of Mysore (Retd.), and Translator of Brihatjatak Jatakparijata, Srepati-paddhati, etc. Price Rs. 4-8. This book can be had of the translator, No. 50, 3rd Cross Road, P. O., Basavangudi, Bangalore.*

It has contents etc., 32 pages, Text etc., 352 pages, and an Index 80 pages. Text in Devanagri and the translation in English.

This is a book on Astrology of rare merit. It was composed by Mantreshwara of 16th Century. It treats the subject in such a masterly way that it may be called a *vade macum* of astrology; formerly it was available in Grantha Character and very lately it was printed in Devanagri Character by Pandit Ganapati Sarkar of Calcutta. But both of these editions were not complete. The present editor has "with great difficulty" got it completed, for which he deserves commendations of all interested in this science. The book has been edited with due care and attention; the translation is very lucid

and faithful. One can easily master the subject of the book with the help of this translation. Thus the learned editor Mr. Sastri has done a great service to the interested public by bringing out this edition of the book. In the descriptive contents, besides the general one, a complete analysis is also given. The indices both in Sanskrit and in Englih give a complete idea of the subject-matter of the book as if in a nutshell.

THE DIVINE LIFE: *By Swami Yatiswarananda. Published by the President, Sri Ramkrishna Math, Mylapur, Madras.*

In this book a large number of Sanskrit *slokas* culled from various sources has been given side by side with their English translation. The author has drawn mainly upon the Upanishads and the Bhagabat Gita as he was bound to do if his object which is "to give a clear conception of the theory as well as the practice of spiritual life" was to be fulfilled. The *slokas* are well chosen and their English translations too are fairly good.

The book is prefaced with an introduction which too is valuable. In it the author gives an account of the theory and practice of spiritual life as understood by him.

The printing and the get-up of the book are good.

RAJENDRANATH GHOSE

SANSKRIT

GITASUBHASITAM OR WISE WORDS FROM THE GITA: *By Moro Nanaji Patil. Published by M. N. Patil, Patankar's, Bunglow. 382, Lady Jamshetji Road. Dadar. Bombay No. 14.*

GITASARASAMGRAHA: A SELECTION OF HUNDRED VERSES FROM THE GEETA. *Editor—Svami Premesanander. Assam Bengal Library, Dacca.*

We have here two abridged and popular editions of the *Bhagavadgita*, the most popular non-sectarian religiò-philosophical texts of the Hindus. Both of them aim at presenting the essence of the Gita text, with elaborate annotations, within as narrow a compass as possible. The first of these editions selects as many as 142 verses, gives the translation of them in English and Marathi, fully explains them in these languages word by word and cites in each case parallel passages from various works in English and Sanskrit. This last feature makes the book all the more attractive. In the second edition the verses of the Gita are arranged into ten chapters of ten verses each which are thoroughly explained in Bengali in the same way as in the other edition. These editions will be highly interesting and useful to the general reader, more specially to those who are not well-versed in Sanskrit and would ill like to go into the intricacies of the philosophical speculations with which the work in question abounds.

NARAYANASATAKA OF VIDYAKARA PUROHITA: *With the commentary of Pitambara Kavichandra. Edited with introduction and Notes by Srikanta Sarma. Gaekwad's Oriental Series. No LXXI. Oriental Institute. Baroda.*

Pandit Srikanta Sarma has published in the volume under review an annotated edition of a little known 'Century Poem' of Vidyakara Purohita who is supposed to have flourished in the beginning of the 16th century. The introduction gives an account of the author and his family as far as it could be gathered from the works of the poet's brother, Divakara. No information is, however, given of Pitambara the commentator, who also appears from the introductory and concluding verses of his commentary to have been a poet of some merit born of a learned father. The poem seeks to establish the greatness and superiority of Narayana by way of describing different parts of his body, his ornaments and his dress. But unlike many other century-poems, quite a large number of which came to be composed from a very early period and very fine specimens whereof have already been published, the present poem does not seem to be so elegant and appealing. The work will, however, be of use to those who investigate the origin and development of this class of literature in Sanskrit.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

BANGIYA MAHAKOSH, OR ENCYCLOPÆDIA BENGALENSIS. *Chief Editor, Professor Amulyacharan Vidyabhushan.*

This Bengali encyclopædia will be complete in 22 volumes of 960 pages each, or 21,120 pages in all. It is being published by instalments of fascicules of 40 pages each. Thirteen such fascicules have been published, each costing eight annas. The price of each volume is Rs. 12 and of the whole work Rs. 264. It is being published by the Indian Research Institute, 170, Manicktala Street, Calcutta.

The paper and printing and general get-up of this important publication are satisfactory. The chief editor, the assistant editors and the other contributors are giving evidence of their scholarship and judgment in such a way as to raise the hope that, when complete, this encyclopædia will be a very creditable addition to Bengali literature and will take rank with the other encyclopædia of the world. By the perusal of such an encyclopædia one who knows Bengali alone will be able to give himself a liberal education.

The last word treated of in the thirteenth fascicule is "Anga," the name of a part of ancient India. More than ten pages have been devoted to it. The article relating to "Anga" is to be concluded in the next fascicule.

C.

MARATHI

SIR NARAYAN GANESH CHANDAVARKAR: *Publishers—The Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay 2. Size Demy 8vo. Pages 575. Price Rs. 3.*

Mr. D. G. Vaidya, the well-known Marathi author and compiler of the sermons of Ranade, Bhandarkar and Chandavarkar, author of the History of the Prarthana Samaj, Bombay, has brought out this authentic biography. Mr. Vaidya's acquaintance of well over a quarter of a century with the subject of the biography eminently fitted him for the task, which he has performed in an eminently satisfactory manner. The book consists of nearly six hundred pages divided into seventeen chapters, which bring out the various traits in the life of Sir Narayan and describe his work in the many fields of reform. Sir Narayan was born in 1855. He was educated in the St. Mary's, the Elphinstone High School and College, Bombay. At the early age of twenty-one he became the Editor of the English Columns of the Anglo Vernacular newspaper, *The Indu Prakash*. He was a distinguished contributor to other papers also, including the *Times of India*, the *Bombay Gazette*, etc. Sir Narayan was only one of the many stalwarts of the times, men of the stamp of Mehta, Ranade, Telang, Watcha, Tyabji and Sayani, but in point of forceful and convincing eloquence he was second only to Mehta, but as an all round reformer he certainly stood by himself. In 1885, he was sent to England on behalf of the Bombay Presidency to

enlighten the English public on the condition of India. He did the work entrusted to him in a manner which not only marked him as a rising politician but evoked expression of gratitude from men of all schools of thought all over the Presidency. Sir Narayan then put his heart and soul into public work. He was elected to preside at the political Provincial Conference held at Karachi in 1896. Just a year before that he was elected to the Local Legislative Council. By this time he had made his mark as an eminent pleader. In 1900, he was chosen to give the country a lead in politics by being elected to preside at the Annual Sessions of the Indian National Congress held at Lahore. In 1901, he was raised to the Bench in the place fallen vacant by the death of Mr. Justice Ranade. For about a dozen years after this Sir Narayan took no active part in politics, but as a successor to Ranade did his work as the General Secretary of the Indian National Social Conference. In order to become the Chief Minister of the Indore State he relinquished his office of a judge of the High Court, Bombay, but the state intrigues were too much for a straight, honest and religious man like him and soon he gave up the post in disgust. On his return to Bombay he again devoted himself to his self-imposed work in connection with religious, social, political and educational reform. In 1921 Sir Narayan was appointed to fill the post of the President of the Bombay Legislative Council under the Montford Reforms and passed away in harness in May 1923 at the age of 67. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar belonged to a time when every reformer who had the country's good at heart had to be an all round reformer. And that was how there was not a field of reform which Sir Narayan did not touch. He was at once a political, social, religious and educational reformer. He had great faith in the young men of the country and he took every opportunity to help them to grow in truth and purity. He was a believer in equal opportunities for all and that was why he devoted himself to the cause of the Depressed Classes in a spirit of brotherhood and duty. He was a great religious reformer and his enthusiastic services in the field of moral and social reform was only a natural corollary to his religious convictions. His respect for womanhood was sincere and unfeigned and his home-life affectionate to a degree. His love of Nature brought forth ecstasies of joy and gratitude and he found as the poet says, 'Books in the running brooks, sermons in stones and good in everything.' If anything more than another he was a man of prayer and to the last a student in the best sense of the word. As a writer, a speaker, a critic and a publicist, Sir Narayan has left his mark on the contemporary history of Bombay. Mr. Vaidya, the biographer, has laboured patiently at his task to bring out the best in Sir Narayan in a bright and succinct manner. He has utilised the lot of material available for the biography to advantage, in an admirable way. He has thus succeeded in bringing out a book which, it may be said without being charged with exaggeration, is perhaps the first of its kind in the Marathi language.

V. S. S.

GUJARATI

JIVAN VIKAS : *By Dattatraya Balkrishna Kalelkar, Printed at the Mani Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pages 809. (1936). Price 2-8.*

Kaka Kalelkar though a Maharashtrian by birth and education has after joining Gandhiji's movement become a Gujarati for all practical purposes. It is well known that he was the life and soul of the Gujarat Vidyapitha, where his experience of education at almost all the well-known institution in India, the Gurukula of the Arya Samajist, the Shantiniketan of Dr. Tagore, the Rishikula of the Sanatanist, and other similar teachings centres, stood him in good stead in directing its work and causes. This substantial work of eight hundred pages contains very valuable thoughts on education, embodied in various speeches and thoughts. His sincerity and his right to speak as an educationist would be obvious to anyone who cares to go through even a part of the work. The book comprising of eight chapters containing discussion of one hundred and thirty subjects relating to education in its various aspect is a rich store-house of information and will meet the great want existing till now of such a book in the Gujarati Language.

ACHARANG SUTRA : *By Santbal. Published by the Shri Mahavir Sahitya Prakashan, Mandvi. Ahmedabad. (1936). Cloth bound. Pages 431, 21 110. Price Re. 1.*

This is a fresh translation of a very important *sutra* in Jain philosophy with valuable notes and observations by Pandit Shri Sowbhagya Chandraji Maharaj. Everything connected with the original text and the appreciation of the subject-matter of the work at the hands of European and Indian scholars is brought together in this useful volume.. The Appendix is a separate section by itself and points out the very great number of similarities that exist between the doctrines preached in the Bhagvad Gita and this Jain Sutra. It shows that in higher philosophy the Hindu and the Jain meet on common ground. We commend that section to orthodox Hindus, for cogitation.

TANAKHA, PART IV : *By Dhumaketu. Printed at the Suryaprakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Cloth Bound. Pages 312. (1936). Price Rs. 2.*

Tanakha means sparks and Dhumaketu, a comet. Dhumaketu is the *nom de plume* of Gourishankar G. Joshi, a writer who has already made his name in Gujarati Literature. Writing short stories is his *forte* and he has achieved an outstanding success in that branch of literature by lifting the subject-matter of the stories above the level generally found in monthlies and journals. Love and the vicissitudes in the lives of love-lorn maidens and boys—this is what is generally found there. Dhumaketu has, however, by exercise of his powerful imagination blended this sentiment of love with other human sentiments, and has made his stories read like romance. What make them more attractive is the style of narration and the homeliness of the language used. He has taken his characters from all strata of society, high and low, dwellers in palaces and slums. This human touch lends a charm to his work.

K. M. J.

TELUGU

MALLIKA MADHAVAM—*By Late M. Nageswara Rao. No. 12 of the Sahityalata Series, Chirala. Pp. 147.*

A social drama of five acts, brought out as a posthumous publication by the above series. The work, though not free from flaws, reveals a free flow of thought. The Medieval traits in the story—the dynastic blood fueds, the daylight combats, and the influence of the high priest, of course, mitigate the charm of the book. Barring these, the drama affords a good reading.

B. SUNDER RAM RAU

IMPLICATIONS OF THE ETHICAL CONCEPTION OF CITIZENSHIP

By C. L. GHEEVALA, M.A.

The problem of citizenship or in other words the problem of the right relation between the Individual and the State, has been the central problem of political philosophy. The problem has been to evolve a system, in which the antithesis between the Individual and the State can be reconciled, in which each of these all-comprehending means of civilization shall strengthen the other and, in which finally, each shall be the fulfilment of the other. Down to the present moment this ideal equilibrium has not been fully attained, and mankind always has been, and still is, in danger of diverging from the true path which leads to it, towards despotism on the one side or anarchy on the other.

To conceive the individual apart from all relations to a community is a plain impossibility. The fundamental fact of life is not the atomic but the related individual. The individual apart from his surroundings is a mere abstraction—a logical ghost, a metaphysical spectre. It is only as a member of a community that we know the individual, and as that alone. In the life within that community, he has been moulded by all that gives him any positive quality, by all that stamps him with distinctive character, by all, in short, that constitutes his individuality. Whether the individual be conscious or unconscious of the purposes he shares in common with his fellows, his life is so dependent upon society, that his relations are not merely an addendum to his personality, but an integral part of it, the very condition of his being. "He is," as Bradley expresses it, "penetrated, infected, characterised by his fellows . . . The soul within him is saturated, is filled up, is qualified by the universal life; (assimilated, has built itself up from, it is one and the same life with, the universal life :) and if he turns against this he turns against himself; if he thrusts it from him, he tears his own vitals: if he attacks it, he sets the weapon against his own heart."

It was this truth of a deeper intimacy between the individual and the community, that was expressed by Aristotle, when he declared that man is naturally a social being, and that society is not artificial but the outcome of human nature, and the condition of human morality. The 'A-polis,' the man who does not carry his city within his heart,' is a spiritual starveling. The full height of his natural development can be reached only in and through society. The 'Polis' to the ancient Greeks was an ethical society which is the highest of all, and aims at the highest good. The good of the individual therefore is ideally the same as the good of the State, which coheres in virtue of a common moral purpose. The Greeks conceived of no other life than that of citizenship in the 'Polis,' which alone was the true ethical environment for the individual. The truly ethical individual is, as such, a citizen; and the measure of his perfection, is found in the perfection of the State, of which he is the citizen. It is this characteristic Greek ideal, that finds expression in both Plato and Aristotle, according to whom, in the ideal State the good man is also a good citizen. The antithesis between the individual and the State, is dissolved in a higher unity, in which the individual realises himself more fully. The 'just' man is not an isolated product, he is not even 'self-made'; he grows up in the perfect State, and unconsciously takes on the colour of its laws. His very nature demands that he should strive after ends for the realization of which he must share his life with others. There is no cleavage between the 'public' and the 'private' interests, for the interest of the State is nothing but the interest of the citizen; and conversely there is no part that has a separate interest.(1) The personality of the individual unfolds itself in full blossom, and finds its true meaning and significance, only in living the life of the State.

It is with Rousseau, after a lapse of centuries, that the Greek political theory began to exercise its influence on the western political thought. Though couched in the current terminology of the 'Social Contract,' this ethical conception of citizenship, was truly revived by Rousseau. The individual, he argues, has no existence, save in the imagination of the individualist. In himself he is nothing but 'a stupid and limited animal'; it is only in and through the State that he becomes 'a reasoning

1. *Cf.* Prof. James Seth, "Ethical Principles," Pp. 288-89.

being and a man.' It is to the State that he owes his intellectual and moral being, his self and all that constitutes his individuality. The transition from 'the condition of pure animalism' that the fictitious 'State of Nature' stands for, implies for the citizens a release from bondage to his baser self; the willing acceptance of burdens for the sake of others, of that service to the larger whole, in which alone his true self, his moral freedom is to be found. It is in the State alone, that the individual acquires his intelligence, his sense of Right and Duty: in one word, all that constitutes his humanity. *The essence of the theory lies in the view, that the State is no power which imposes itself from without; it is more truly the part of the individual than the individual himself.*[2] The State, thus, according to Rousseau, is a moral organism, through whose common life, man enters into his moral being. The 'individual self' of man is replaced by the 'Corporate self'; his 'individual will' by the 'General will' of the community as a whole. This 'General will' is not the sum of the individual wills but the 'Corporate will' which belongs to a body having a common life, an organized being of its own.[3]

The true place of Rousseau, therefore, in the history of political philosophy, is not as the last apostle of the social contract, but as the first prophet of the Idealist school, the precursor and the teacher of Hegel.[4] Hegel, who was profoundly influenced by the philosophy of the Greek city-state, starts from Rousseau's conception of the State as the organ of moral liberty. In his conception of the State, which is the embodiment of 'Sittlichkeit,'—Social Righteousness—, the individual fully raises his outward self to the level of the inward self of thought: his free will finds the broadest expansion which its positive quality demands, and the highest expression, which its objective character requires.[5] The State, thus is the highest expression and organ of social morality, and as such in the first place maintains the individual as a person and promotes his welfare; in the second place "it carries back . . . the individual—whose tendency it is to become of his own—into the life of the universal substance."[6] In a word, it sustains personality and it teaches personality to transcend itself by giving its devotion to something beyond itself. This idealist tradition finds its fuller expression, in Green's moderate version of Hegelian theory, Bradley and Bonsanquet who is more truly Hegelian than Green. All of them reject the individualist position of Spencer, Mill and Bentham, and visualise citizenship as an essentially ethical function.

The individual, according to Green, is characterised by self-consciousness, which being conscious of itself, wills its own ends. But this will is not only conscious of itself, but conscious of other selves, who are of like nature with itself, endowed with the same good will. The individual, therefore, not only wills his own good, but wills his good in relation to others. And, in so determining his good by his conception of the common good, the individual realizes his best self. The individual, therefore, in obeying the law of the State, really obeys his best self.[7] The supposed antithesis between the individual and the State is thus overcome by Green. The State is the embodiment of the common Good, and its end is to secure and promote the fullest possible development of the citizen, of the forces and faculties that he possesses. Bradley, emphasises the same view. The State is to be conceived as a systematic whole, informed by a common purpose; and its parts themselves are conscious moral agents. Bosanquet subjects to searching criticism the individualist theories of Spencer, Mill and Bentham, and arrives at a position which is in its fundamentals indentical with Green. In such a view, citizenship, as an ethical function, is inseparably bound up with

2. I am indebted for this account to the two volumes on "The Political Writings of Rousseau" by C. E. Vaughan. Refer to Introduction Vol. I.

3. It is necessary to remember here, as Vaughan points out, that Rousseau in his excessive zeal for the 'General will', reduces the individual to a cipher. The 'total surrender' and the absolute surrender of the individual to the community, which he unduly emphasises, may inevitably lead to a purely mechanical way of conceiving the relation between the individual and the State. Such a conception would make the State. If a purely mechanical nature, a state without freedom, without life, without hope of progress.

"The General will, if it is to be in fact, what it claims to be in word, must not cancel, much less must it formally exclude the will of one single individual. On the contrary, it must take up all into itself. It may remould them, it may transform them; the more completely it does so the better (p. 64). *The General will not only is compatible with the existence of strongly marked individual wills; it is infinitely poorer for the lack of them"* (p. 59.)

4. Barker, "Greek Political Theory," p. 390.

5. Barker, "Political Thought from Spencer to Today," Pp. 25-29.

6. Quoted—*Ibid*, p. 28. "Hegel has been sometimes misunderstood, as conceiving the State as something, 'above and beyond.' But such a conception, as Miss Follett points out, is 'fundamentally wrong and against the spirit of Hegel.' But the real weakness in Hegel arose when he preached the absolutism of the Prussian State." Pp. 266-67. (N. S.).

7. Refer, Barker, "Political Thought from Spencer to Today," Pp. 32-60.

the idea of a common purpose or end, which the State seeks to realise. The cleavage between the individual and the State disappears, for the State is not alien to the individual; it is rather the coherent whole, in which the personality of the individual is realised in its completeness.

II

It follows, therefore, that it is the function of the State to maintain the conditions for each and for all the members of society, as an essential condition of self-realization. The individual's claim for the maintenance of such a system is based on two considerations, one positive and the other negative. On the one hand a right is a condition of self-realization, and on the other, it is that on which others are prohibited from encroaching. It emphasises that certain conditions are essential without which the individual cannot enrich the common life, and realize himself as a perfect moral being. At this point it is necessary to guard against the fallacy of the theory of 'natural Rights,' according to which the individual springs into being fully armed with indefeasible and inalienable rights against the State, like Minerva from the head of Jove. History records no such rights and as Laski rightly observes, "few theories have done greater harm to philosophy, or more violence to the facts they seek to summarise, than the notion that they represent the recovery of a lost inheritance. There is no golden age to which we may seek to return." There cannot be any rights for the individual independent of society. They are in him as a social being. Right is relative. In origin, content and conditions of maintenance, right depends on society. As Green emphatically expresses it, "a right against society is a contradiction in terms."

That the individual as a member of society has rights, cannot be denied. They are intrinsic, but they are in him as a social being.

"They belong to him in virtue of the recognition of a common good by the community in which, and by which he lives more or less a rational life, and they are the more fully his, the wider and fuller the content of the common good. The aim of the individual and the State is thus one and the same. The State provides the opportunities, the citizen uses these opportunities. To provide the former is the duty of the State and the right of the citizen; to provide the latter is the duty of the citizen and the right of the State."[8]

Rights and duties, thus, not only imply one another, but they are the same facts looked at from opposite points of view. Rights are corelative with functions.[9] Society, therefore, defines a certain set of relations between its members, and in imposing on them these obligations consonant with these relations, it also confers on them the corresponding rights. A right is not a mere demand, or a threat: it rests not on force, but on the view of the nature and ends of a given society.

'Its basis in the last resort is moral: for its justification is the belief that by refusing to admit it, the Society within which it is made falls short to that degree, of the life of which it is capable."[10]

This view of Right, which is essentially ethical, is founded on a view of Liberty, which means the maintenance of a system, in which man has the opportunities to realise his best self. Liberty is the product of rights: without rights there cannot be true freedom, which to Hegel, is the 'truth of the life of the Spirit.' Liberty is a positive thing. It is neither the mere absence of external restraint nor the liberty of the individual to do what he pleases with his own faculties and possessions. It is rather the untrammelled development of man's powers, moral, and intellectual, according to the fundamental laws of nature. It is the positive power of doing or enjoying along with others. It means freedom to enrich the common life. Freedom thus stands for the liberation of all the powers of man for the social good. This view evidently implies that the sphere of the State is as wide as life. The individual cannot but be a strength to the State, so long as he fulfils the duties of his station: and the State cannot but provide the citizens with the means for evolving their highest powers so long as it fulfils its own ends.[11]

Again, in this positive conception of liberty, the idea of equality is implicit. It is not absolute equality that is implied here. The equality that we seek to emphasise is not the equality of capacity or attainment but of circumstances and institutions and manner of life. It is not with the inevitable facts of heredity that we are concerned here, but with an

8. H. Jones, "Principles of Citizenship", p. 148.

9. *Cf.* Laski, "A Grammar of Politics", p. 94.
"I have them, that I may make my contribution to the social end. I have no right to act unsocially. I have no claim to receive without the attempt, at least, to pay for what I receive. *Function is thus implicit in right.*" Also *Cf.* Bryce, "Hindrances to Good Citizenship", p. 9.
"Whoever claims a right for himself must respect the like right in another. Benefit and burden, power and responsibility go together. *Duty is the corelative of Right.*"

10. Hetherington and Muirhead, "Social Purpose", p. 129.

11. H. Jones, "Principles of Citizenship", p. 112.

ethical relation. It is a demand, that men, though, they may profoundly differ as individuals in capacity and character, are equally entitled as human beings to adequate opportunities, whereby each may be enabled to make the best of such powers as they possess, and bring forth their latent potentialities. It is an insistence to plan the social institutions on such a line, so as to emphasise and strengthen, as far as possible, not the differences that divide, but the common humanity that unites them.[12] It means, in short, two things; in the first place, absence of special privileges, and in the second place, provision for adequate opportunity as the chief condition for the full development of citizenship.[13]

It may be observed, that the view expounded here is that of an ideal State and an ideal citizen, or as Plato called it, of a "pattern in heaven." The actual has always fallen short of the Ideal in its attempts to reconcile the conflicting claims of the individual and the State. In practice the Greek State tended to make political authority the prize of the stronger class and to use the prize when it had been won in the interest of the class which had succeeded in wresting it. Political power became an apple of discord for which the rich vied with the poor.[14] Nor has the modern State succeeded any better. Our modern Capitalist democracies in their attempts at creating mere political machineries have disastrously failed in creating corresponding socio-economic environment. The individual is left groping his way in a 'wilderness of interests,' with a maimed and a frustrated personality. The economic order which forms the basis of the modern State threatens its very existence at every moment. 'The number of those to whom happiness is open in a creative sense,' observes Laski, 'is still pitiably small.' The protection and security it affords is the protection and security of the many in their impotence.

It is here that the pragmatic method serves a useful purpose. The real value of the pluralists' attack does not lie in their denial of the validity of the ideal that the idealist envisages but in the emphasis they place on the necessity of evaluating the institutions in terms of their actual achievements. As Laski would put it, their moral character is to be judged by the contribution they make to the substance of man's happiness.[15] It becomes, therefore, all the more imperative that we should enquire, whether the purpose which the State seeks to translate into institutional terms is a sound one. In fact we want to know how far the ideal of the State is such as would result in the identity of the good of the individual with that of the State itself; how far, the system of rights and obligations maintained by the State would contribute to the harmony of the whole and make possible for the individual to realize his true meaning and significance, in a creative sense. Creative citizenship implies an unfettered expression of a rich and harmonious personality and this can be made possible, only if we remember with Nevinson, that "Freedom is a thing that we have to conquer afresh every day like love . . . The battle of Freedom is never done and the field never quiet."[16]

12. R. H. Tawney, "Equality." Pp. 46-47.

13. Laski, "A Grammar of Politics", p. 153.

"It means that no man shall be so placed in society that he can overreach his neighbour to the extent which constitutes a denial of the latter's citizenship. It means that my realization of my best self must involve as its logical result the realization by others of their best selves. It means such an ordering of social forces as will balance a share in the toil of living with a share in its gain also."

Also, *Cf.* Jethro Brown, "The Underlying Principles of Modern Legislation", p. 270.

14. Barker, "Greek Political Theory", p. 12.

15. Laski, "Grammar of Politics", p. 27.

16. Essays in Freedom, p. XVI.



THE TRAVANCORE UNIVERSITY

By R. MADHAVAN NAIR

To the score of Universities existing in India at the present day, one more is about to be added. In the Land's End state of Travancore efforts are being made to establish a University. Considering the pre-eminence of Travancore in the field of education and also her general advancement, the idea of a University for the State cannot fail to compel at once respect and attention. In fact, the matter has been before the Travancore public for the last twenty-five years, and the question has been examined from various standpoints. Only, circumstances have now rendered implementing the idea of supreme necessity. And it is but the bare truth, when I state that the future of Travancore depends almost entirely on the success or otherwise of the proposed University. The magnitude of the problems that the University seeks to face, and the manner in which it seeks to face them, may be made a little more clear.

There is prevalent in Travancore, a struggle for existence. Keener and fiercer perhaps than that in any other part of India at the present day. The intensity of the struggle may not easily be perceived by the outside world. For, the people of Travancore are so quiet going and contented by nature, that the exigencies of the struggle do not give way to violent expressions. Even a cursory survey of the Travancore State, her population, and her resources will bear out the predicament in which Travancore is placed. There is not much difference in area between Travancore and Baroda, but Travancore has more than double the population of Baroda, and fifty per cent more by way of population than either Kashmir or Gwalior, which, respectively are three and ten times the size of Travancore. The density of population in the State may be better appreciated when it is realized that out of a total area of 7,700 square miles, about half are taken up by forest and back water. Agriculture is the pre-occupation of the people, though their skill in arts and crafts has also earned a reputation. It is clear, however, that avenues of occupation other than agriculture must be explored, to obtain means of livelihood for the teeming population of the State. Industrial expansion alone holds out the solution of the problem. Although, Travancore is not blessed with coal and iron, her potentialities in what is fast replacing coal and iron, I mean electricity, are abundant enough to launch the State in to a career of industrial development. There are also excellent facilities in the State, for various kinds of industries such as the manufacture of rayon, textiles, paper, porcelain, rubber, etc. It is the aim of the Government to develop these industries on a cottage basis, so as to avoid the evils of the factory system prevalent in the West.

Having these fundamental aspects of the question in mind, it is easy to see how far a programme of educational reorganization is necessary in Travancore. In the words of the Dewan, Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer,

> "Education in the State has to be remodelled to suit our requirements and conditions, so that the products of our education may not be mere copies of the products of other institutions, but young men and women of abounding energy and initiative who can carry forward the State to her rightful place in the vanguard of India. The new duty that devolves on us is to produce University products who can not only talk about things, but do them, and do them well."

For achieving this object, Travancore must have a free hand, unfettered and untramelled by external influence or authority. Hence, it will not do for Travancore to be tied to the apron strings of Madras any longer. With the coming in to operation of the Government of India Act of 1935, education has become an entirely provincial subject and the policy and outlook of the Madras University will inevitably have to be shaped to meet provincial needs. There is bound to be serious difficulties in the way of Travancore fitting herself into this scheme of things.

Thus while the case for a separate University cannot be gain-said, the plea that a Kerala University should be preferred to a Travancore University has to be examined. The ideal behind the proposal for a Kerala University, is no doubt genuine and faultless. But unfortunately the proposal cannot materialise—for the time being at any rate. Kerala, comprising Travancore, Cochin and Malabar, has a common language, a common civilization and culture, a common tradition. Therefore, from the cultural point of view, a University comprehending the whole of Kerala is much to be

desired. But directly when one goes deeper in to the problem, one is appalled by the numerous obstacles that lie in the way of any such project. And the recent hostile developments in the relations between Travancore and Cochin, precipitated by the divergent views of the two States regarding the admission of Harijans into Hindu temples, are certainly not helpful for the consideration of any joint scheme. Again, a Kerala University is not a matter to be settled between Travancore and Cochin alone. British Malabar has also to come into the picture. Though culturally, Malabar forms part of Kerala, politically and administratively Malabar is a part of the Madras presidency. Apart from the difficulties arising from this aspect of Malabar, there are various others, such as the question of Chancellorship, and the location of the University, where differences are bound to arise.

On the other hand, it may be seen, that the scheme of a University for the Travancore State alone, possesses many advantages, perhaps the foremost of them being that of Unified Control, the absence of which was bound to be a grave objection against the establishment of a Kerala University. In the case of a Travancore University, a single Government can exercise unfettered authority, and administer the institution in the best manner it chooses. Again, the educational system can be organised to suit the requirements of Travancore alone. In a Kerala University the educational system will necessarily have to be of the nature of a compromise. I may here point out that when Mysore started her University, she did not bring in the Canarese-speaking areas of the Bombay and Madras presidencies, obviously because Mysore was aware of the practical difficulties of such a step. Travancore is now in a better position than Mysore when she started a University and there is no reason why Travancore should not proceed with her scheme single-handed. The Travancore University Committees of 1917 and 1923 were of the opinion that if a Kerala scheme was found impracticable, Travancore can establish her own separate University. It has to be noted that in the present instance, the Travancore University is not going to be started in any spirit of non-co-operation and aloofness, shuting off the possibility of Malabar and Cochin getting incorporated in it. The door will be left open for them to join, as and when they choose.

I may now briefly trace the history of the University scheme, and the steps that are now being taken in pursuance of it. Even so long ago as 1912, Dr. A. C. Mitchell, the then Director of Public Instruction in the State, pleaded for the establishment of a University for Travancore. The demand was repeated in 1914 by Mr. L. C. Hodgson, principal of the Trivandrum College, and in 1917, the Travancore Government appointed the first University Committee. Later, Dewan Bahadur Sir M. Krishnan Nair, when he was Dewan of the State, claimed that "the pre-eminence of Travancore in the matter of education, and the magnificent record of educational progress which the reign of H. H. the Maharajah Sri Mulam Thirunal witnessed would both testify to the culmination of so fruitful an epoch in the formation of a seperate University by and for the State." The Committee of 1917 reported in favour of a University for the State, but the question was allowed to lie over till the publication of the Saddler Commission's report. Meanwhile, the policy pursued by the Madras Legislative Council in the matter of University legislation was felt to be not friendly to Tranvancore. The resolution moved in the Travancore Legislative Council in 1922, urging on the Government the immediate necessity for establishing a seperate University, was a manifestation of the growing discontent of the public against the Madras Government's policy. The resolution was accepted by Government, and a Committee was appointed, consisting among others of Rev. Fr. Honore, Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswamy Iyengar, and Dr. John Mathai. The Committee, while endorsing the merits of a Kerala scheme, reported after an exhaustive enquiry that, if the necessary co-operation was not forthcoming from Cochin and Malabar to start a Kerala University, Travancore should still start a University, at the same time keeping its doors open for the eventual incorporation on equal terms with that of Travancore of educational institutions of University standing in other parts of Kerala. It is on the report of this Committee that the present scheme is chiefly based.

A Special University officer has now been appointed, who is now conducting the preliminary work for the establishment of the University. Some time back, this officer was deputed to variors important University Centres in India, to study their organisation and working. Informal Conferences, of officials and non-officials are from time to time being held, the Dewan himself guiding the deliberations. It is hoped that the Travancore University will be a *fait accompli* at the beginning of the next academic year.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Significant Memories

Count Hermann Keyserling's autobiographical article, "Significant Memories," is significant in more ways than one. The unerring precision of his judgment on character and things will be evident from the following excerpt from an English translation of the author's original German article published in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, in which he sets forth his impressions created on his mind by the personality and genius of Rabindranath Tagore :

The Russian revolutions have first made evident to me the eternally unchanging existence of that evil underworld in man with which later my chief works, "South American Meditations" and "The Book of Personal Life" have dealt very fully. Only in the greatest and the noblest do I find some approach to true saintliness which I have come across among Russian women but never among Russian men; Russia hitherto seems to be constituted to produce in fact only the ideal type of the saint, as on the other hand, she produces the unexampled Satanism of Russian business. The old China knew no nobility which a European could feel akin to his. Yet, on the other hand, I have not found in Europe any man who, in point of high culture, moral quality and aesthetic taste, can in any way be compared with those of the revolution-torn China.

World destiny cannot be controlled by man. He can only in and for himself be a measure and a means. Out of the force of truly preserved personal being, which does not need to express itself in any kind of action to be effective, and out of the ways of destiny of heaven and earth, there arises finally of itself the right.

For me this peculiarity of nobility has become the second guiding star in the formation of my character. But I have known only one man who in my view is truly worthy of reverence : he is neither Chinese nor a Balt, but the Indian poet, Rabindranath Tagore. In 1912 I first became acquainted with him in Calcutta. A year later, in London, I made him intimately acquainted with European music. In 1921 I twice organized meetings for him in Darmstadt. Since then I have not met him, although we have been always in touch with each other. In 1934, when he came to know indirectly that my life had become very hard, he sent me a picture painted by himself, under which was the following verse : "Faith is the bird which sings when the night is still dark." Above all, however, Tagore's picture and ideal were and are with me always present from the moment I came to know him. This man is indeed far greater than the world takes him to be. Racially he belongs to the noble Brahmanic caste of Bengal. Thanks to some lucky hereditary circumstances, his family has always produced eminent men since the twelfth or thirteenth century of our era. Rabindranath's grandfather was in his days the greatest nobleman of Bengal who held the personal title of Maharaja. His father was a true saint and an eminent religious reformer. Rabindranath writes poetry and composes songs at one and the same time and as one whole, with that self-evidence with which a flower blossoms. Once he said to us when he was in our Darmstadt home, "I cannot help it; always, year in, year out, blossoms come out of me, as they do in our tropical flowering plants. But whilst with these, that which has once bloomed immediately afterwards withers, with me everything is preserved. That is perhaps something wrong." Rabindranath has truly created the Bengali nation with his songs and thus laid the foundation-stone for the future Indian Nation. Many of the songs which are sung all over the vast peninsula, have their origin in him. There are no closed doors in India : people come and go wherever a great man lives. If anybody hears that a new song composed by Tagore who mostly sits completely absorbed in himself, he communicates it at once to the whole people, for the memory of Indians is unerring. Personally, moreover, Tagore is one of the greatest noblemen, one of the truest aristocrats that I have ever seen. He has that distinction from all which makes a true king, the consciousness of the value of words of the aristocrat and the poet alike. Above all, however, Rabindranath embodies in himself more future and more distant future than any other known eminent man, not only the transition to the new, as Gandhi does in India, but future perfection. He combines in himself the East and the West. He is one of the few visible living representatives of that œcumenic man to whom (see my book, *World in the Making*), after the sufferings of the revolutionary period are over, all positive future belongs.

Ideals and Achievements of Democracy in India

The oft-repeated words of Abraham Lincoln, "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people," apply to political democracy. In a free democracy the whole structure of society should represent the ideal of progress of all the component parts. There is also such a thing as cultural democracy. Writes J. C. Kumarappa in *The Aryan Path* :

In our own country we get a picture of the political life of the people from the old *Nitisastras* and *Puranas.* The daily life of the people is still ordered and regulated, not by external pressure but by the functioning of a socio-religious-economic order which has become a part of the people themselves. It is this that holds together the diverse elements that compose our continent. Westerners who look at us through their functional democracy see divisive factors in language, customs and geographical conditions and declare we have neither unity nor political sense as our people do not seem capable of

blindly following a leader or party, which quality is a *sine qua non* for a satisfactory working of functional democracy. And yet a fairly advanced form of a really democratic type of government, well on the way to realizing the full cultural democracy indicated above, is to be found in our ancient village administration. In a cultural democracy physical differences, such as race, colour or territory are not capable of making lasting impressions. Our system was so virile and cosmopolitan that it found no difficulty in absorbing even invaders and foreigners. As already said, the principles of this democracy have been woven into the life and thought of the people through the ages by means of social regulations and institutions. If there are Kings they are but minor wheels in the machinery and according to *Sukraniti* they are but glorified policemen and legislators. The real government is in the hands of the people. Decentralized small bodies, the village panchayats, decide on matters vitally affecting the local community. The authority of the panchayat depends on the confidence placed in it by the people, a confidence based on close personal knowledge of the members composing it, and its sanction is not imprisonment but the power to declare the offender a *gramdrohin* (traitor to the village). Its decisions are not majority decisions but are made unanimous by winning over the dissenting minority. Such a government may be truly said to function from within, as the actual administrative decision is in the hands of the people themselves.

A centralized government, on the other hand, cannot be a government by the people and rarely can it be a government for the people.

If the government is to be by the people it must reach down to the meanest village. No mere enlargement of the franchise, however broad-based, will ever answer the purpose.

Further, no group, however detached, can function in an impartial way in matters in which its interests conflict with the interests of others. Such matters require detachment in time as well and should be regulated by means of impersonal regulations and institutions as in our ancient form of government. By so doing, the interests of the weak and the poor will be safeguarded. The joint-family system, for example, was an attempt at a modification of distribution and at providing for the less efficient members of society. The *Baluta* system of payment in kind was a device to ensure a minimum means of subsistence to everyone. There was not a department of life that was not thus provided for. India had attained such a cultural democracy centuries ago. But for its impersonal decentralized working our civilization could not have withstood the manifold vicissitudes of life to this day. When the purity of such conception in a cultural democracy was affected by the introduction of inequalities and discriminations and when the duties of the custodians of culture faded away into the rights of privileged classes, the seeds of decay took root and India fell a victim to foreign invaders.

Decentralization, which was at the basis of our democracy, was the great principle worked out by our people in all walks of life. Even in religion it will not be possible to find a more decentralized and, therefore, necessarily, tolerant, form of thought, action and worship than Hinduism. The social order was governed by the *Varnashrama Dharma*, which meant that each individual's duty was determined by his unique place in the community. In the economic sphere where people were endowed differently by nature, the practice of *laissez-faire* led to exploitation of the weak by the strong. This tendency was [illegible] and [illegible] conception of division of labour under the caste system. Thus by checks and counter-checks laid down by consideration of fundamental principles *India had evolved a formula which approximated real cultural democracy and the government it had evolved was truly a government of the villagers, by the villagers and for the villagers.*

Yet there was one drawback. According to the *Varnashrama Dharma* it is only by conforming to the divine and eternal plan of performing the duties incidental to one's position in the community that one can obtain freedom. The individual by himself counts for little. Any value that may be attached to him comes from his being a member of the society. He is like the drop of water that goes to make a beautiful waterfall. The drop of water passes away but the waterfall is a lasting factor. Individual interests are not supreme. It is society that matters, and its welfare is to be sought irrespective of the inconvenience it may cause to the individual. In an ideal democracy, however, the individual cannot thus be minimised, for it is he that constitutes society and it is his development that is the goal of all human endeavour. When we obtain such a form of society where the scope of the individual for full development of his personality is not restricted, and where in developing himself he develops others, we shall have attained the ideal human state.

The Governor's "Individual Judgment" in the New Constitution

Of the various kinds of the executive action of the Provincial Governor specified in the Constitution Act that in which he is to exercise "his individual judgment" is of singular interest at the present day owing to the impasse created by the Congress majorities in six provinces refusing to accept office without an assurance that the Governors would not interfere with the constitutional activities of the Ministry. Dr. Nanda Lal Chatterjee writes in *The Hindustan Review*:

The official justification which, by the way, has failed to convince the advanced public opinion in India may be briefly stated. The framers of the Act professed to consider the realities of the situation and the various problems and difficulties that would have to be faced in the near future by the legislative bodies in India. These wide powers which have been conferred on the Governor were thus justified on practical considerations alone. The deadlock created in India is thus to be traced to a conflict of two different view-points. The authorities have looked to the practical side of administration, while the Indian nationalist judges the Constitution from the point of view of democratic theory. It has been urged by the official spokesmen, firstly, that the over-riding powers of the Governor are meant only for a transitional period; secondly, that these powers will not be used in normal circumstances; thirdly, they will not in any case be daily or frequently resorted to; and lastly, the presence of these powers is necessary for something to come in the interest, for example, of the minorities.

In the Act there are a number of sections under which the Governor is empowered to act "in his individual judgment."



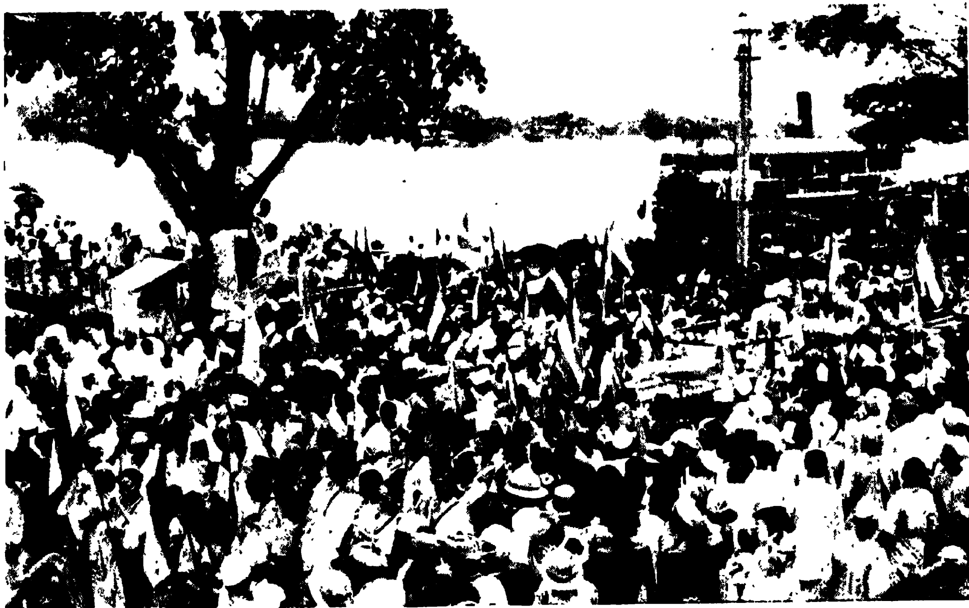
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's tour in Burma
Reception at Bassein



Pandit Jawaharlal at Bassein [Courttsy : *Srimati Minati Sinha*



Volunteers awaiting Panditji's arrival at Bassein



Women Volunteers at the reception

[*Courttsy* : *Srimati Minati Sinha*

Under section 68 the Governor will make rules to provide for the vacation by a person who is chosen a member of both Chambers of his seat in one Chamber or the other.

Under section 88, the Governor can make ordinances, if at any time when the Legislature is not in session, he is satisfied that the circumstances necessitate immediate action.

Under section 151, the Governor is to prescribe how all moneys received on account of the revenues of the Province shall be paid into the public account of the Province, withdrawn therefrom, and also kept in custody. Under section 78(2), he can include such sums in the annual financial statement to be laid before the Legislature as are necessary for the due discharge of any of his special responsibilities.

Under section 56, the Governor is to exercise his individual judgment when any proposal is made to make or amend regulations or orders relating to any police force, whether civil or military, unless it appears to him that the proposal does not relate to or affect the organisation or discipline of that force.

Under section 55, the Governor is to appoint the Advocate-General for the province and determine his remuneration. Under section 228(2), he is to determine the administrative expenses of the High Court including all salaries, allowances, and pensions which shall be charged on the Revenues of the Province.

Under section 52, the Governor is to exercise his individual judgment as to the action to be taken, if and in so far as any of his special responsibilities is involved, *e.g.*, the prevention of any grave menace to peace, the interests of the minorities, the rights and interests of the Services, the excluded area or areas, the rights of States and rulers thereof, or the execution of orders of the Governor-General in his discretion.

The aforesaid powers which the Governor is to exercise "*in his individual judgment* in conjunction with his separate "*discretionary*" authority make his position constitutionally paramount *vis-a-vis* the Ministry and the Legislature, and leave to the latter legally very little freedom beyond the management of the routine side of administration. To the student of the Constitution it will surely appear that these powers are essentially undemocratic.

The Congress and the Elections

Dr. K. M. Ashraf discusses in the *Contemporary India* the fundamental issue before the country in the elections. The following is an extract from the article under the above caption :

In view of the coming elections, the Lucknow Congress laid down in advance that the Congress candidates should contest their seats in the elections in accordance with the mandate of the Congress and in pursuance of its declared policy. It was specifically stated in the resolution that candidates set up on behalf of the Congress were to be chosen from amongst those who fully supported the Congress objective of Indian independence.

On 22nd August, 1936, the All-India Congress Committee adopted the Election Manifesto of the Congress which made it absolutely clear that the purpose of sending Congressmen to the legislatures under the new Act was not to co-operate in any way with the Act but to combat it and seek to end it. Hence the activity in the legislatures was to be such as to help in the work outside, in the strengthening of the people and in the development of sanctions which are essential to freedom. To emphasise the fundamental problem of poverty and unemployment and our basic demands the Fundamental Rights Resolution of the Karachi Congress (1931) and the Agrarian Programme adopted by the Lucknow Congress were incorporated in the Election Manifesto.

With regard to the situation that has been created by Imperialism through the communal decision, it was pointed out that the right way to deal with it was to intensify our struggle for independence, at the same time seeking a common basis for an agreed solution. The communal problem, so far as the Congress is concerned, cannot be treated in isolation or divorced from the general problem of organizing national resistance against imperialist domination. After stating our basic demands and our fundamental position, the Manifesto called upon our countrymen, with full hope and confidence, to rally to the cause of Congress, of India, of freedom.

It will follow from this statement of the Congress position that we went to the elections mainly to rally the Indian masses to the Congress standard and to carry the message of the Congress to the millions of voters and non-voters alike, to press forward the mass struggle against the whole system of imperialist domination in India. Our object in participating in these elections was to create the necessary mass support for our positive demand for a constituent Assembly which we do not conceive as something emanating from the British Government or as a compromise with British Imperialism. For us the demand for a Constituent Assembly must have the will of the people, the organized masses, to support it and the power to draw up the constitution of a free India. Similarly it follows from our position that at a later stage, if and when such occasion arises, we shall exert ourselves to the utmost to oppose the Federal structure of the Act and thus end the Act as a whole. Our opposition to this Act is not merely theoretical but a vital matter which affects our freedom, struggle and our future destiny.

Keeping in view the national objectives, the Congress Election Manifesto reminded all other political parties and groups contesting the elections as against the Congress candidates that they tended knowingly or unknowingly to become a source of weakness to the Indian nation and a source of strength to the forces ranged against it. It asked the communal parties in particular, to bear in mind that their programmes had nothing to do with the major problem of poverty and widespread unemployment which affected the vast masses of the community. The communal problem, the manifesto stated, is not a religious problem and affects only a handful of people at the top. The peasantry, the workers, the traders and merchants and the lower middle classes of all communities are in no way touched by it and their burdens remain.

The World Situation

The zigsaw puzzle of world politics moves merrily along. Preparation for the next war is now at the height of its intensity. Another world war is near at hand. Writes Dr. Lanka Sundaram in *The Mysore Economic Journal* :

The stage is now fairly well set for the next war. Everywhere in the world feverish preparation is going on in order that the citizen might face the consequences of war with equanimity. When the next occasion for armed intervention arises, there is every certainty that

the whole world would be enveloped in it. The manufacture of gas masks by the million in every country worth the name is only a presage of the fact that in the event of another Armageddon arriving, the civilian population would not be left untouched. The citizen today is as gullible as a body, but the citizen of today would have to brave the horrors of the war of tomorrow. For all ostensible purposes, he is supposed to have acquiesced in the coming inevitable, but actually no decent-minded and responsible private citizen in any corner of the globe would come out in the open in defence of war, since such an eventuality would make him lose most and leave his masters, wherever they are, to reap the rich harvest of empty victory or the barren fruit of an ignominious defeat. Still, the citizen is not at all being consulted in the present preparations for the next war, and even if he is consulted in such of the democratic countries of the world wherever parliamentary systems of government still plod their weary way, he is fully unaware of the risks of war and the danger therefrom to the very foundations of civilization.

War in the near future is a definite certainty and the next war is bound to shake the foundations of civil society.

Almost twenty years ago this month, the U. S. A. entered the World War allegedly in defence of democracy. At the time when President Wilson marched his armed forces into the theatres of the Western Front it was under the definite assurance that in the event of an allied victory there would be a just peace. Allied victory there was, but when the Treaty of Versailles, including the now famous Covenant of the League of Nations, was drafted, all considerations of a just peace were swept overboard by the spokesmen of France and England, who had thus triumphed in their adversity by making the U. S. A. pull their chestnuts out of the fire. So much so, that with the establishment of the League of Nations, the U. S. A. felt herself unable to have anything further to do with the trammels of European politics and has deliberately stood outside the pale of this Geneva organisation for the establishment of collective security. Incidentally, the tragic peace of Versailles cost the life of President Wilson, while years later the tragic deliberations of the World Disarmament Conference cost the life of its President, Arthur Henderson.

But, the sacrifice of the blood of at least two staunch internationalists did not prevent Europe, and with it the world at large, from heading towards disaster once again. Statesmen came and went and sometimes went under. Stresemann and Austen Chamberlain, the authors of the famous Locarno Pact of 1925 are no longer with us. Aristede Briand, the author of the equally famous plan for the unification of Europe and the co-signatory of the Pact of Paris, otherwise the Pact for the Outlawry of War, is now in the Hades ruminating over the utter futility of idealism and humanity in the sphere of international affairs. A Curtius is now replaced by a Hitler in Germany; a pacifist Ramsay Macdonald has now turned turncoat; an internationalist-communist like Stalin has now become the principal instrument in the hands of European capitalism.

In fact, owing to the failure of the League system, the world has now reverted to the once-discarded system of Balance of Power and secret diplomacy, to shatter which Woodrow Wilson shed his last ounce of blood.

It is a triumphant truism to say today that the causes of the present world discontents are directly traceable to the political testament of the Treaty of Versailles. But this bald statement of fact is in itself not sufficient to fully unravel the tangled skein of world polity which has during recent months assumed a very hideous appearance. Instead of a just peace, there was no doubt a regime of tribute collection from Germany and her allies in the Great War which prevailed as a cardinal point of international diplomacy during at any rate a period of fifteen years since the conclusion of the Paris Peace Treaty. Germany was shorn off her colonial possessions and made to pay reparations. The Ottoman Empire was parcelled out into numerous principalities, some of them autonomous under the surveillance of one or two of the original Allied and Associated Powers, while others were held as mandates of the League of Nations. The Austro-Hungarian Empire was split up into several parts, each subject to the theory of a sphere of influence suited to the urgent domestic and external needs of some of the principal European Powers. Numerous minority problems were brought into existence as a consequence of the creation by the Peace Treaty of several Central European Republics which knew no specific boundaries before the Great War. This is all true. But this is not enough to fully explain the course of events in the world today.

What actually the Treaty of Versailles has done was to gradually pave the way for a triumphant Germany under the *Reichfuhrer* Hitler, who is out to wipe out the so-called "War-guilt" theory which he alleges the world Powers have foisted upon his adopted land. In an atmosphere of feverish defence preparations in several countries in Europe, notably in France and the U. S. S. R., during the past twenty years, it was only logical that Germany, which considers these two countries to be her logical, potential enemies of the future, the one on historical grounds and the other on ideological grounds should have started upon a gigantic scale of rearmament, which is bound to stagger even the most pronounced of sadists in the world today. European polity runs in a vicious circle, one incident leading on to another, and each, in its turn, having a transverse movement which makes it impossible for any one to indicate which is cause and which is effect. For all ostensible purposes, events on the Continent are closely contemporaneous and interspersed that it is definitely impossible for any one to judge the causation thereof and to fix responsibility on the shoulders of one particular party to any dispute or diplomatic *demarche*.

Sir Francis Galton, the Statistician

Galton was not only a great pioneer in the study of heredity, but he was also a good example in the flesh of the influence of heredity on genius. We give the following extracts from an article on Sir Francis Galton in *The Mysore Economic Journal* contributed by the Secretary to the League of Red Cross Societies, Paris:

Galton was born in Warwickshire. His grandfather was the poet-naturalist Erasmus Darwin, and he himself was a cousin of the great Charles Darwin. Many pioneers show little promise of their ultimate achievements at the outset of their careers, and it seemed at first that Galton was destined to be a rolling stone, an explorer and a dilettante. His first ambition was to study medicine and after leaving King Edward VI Grammar School, Birmingham, he proceeded to Birmingham Hospital. From there he moved to King's College, London, with the intention of making medicine his profession. He was still of this mind when he went up to Cambridge but

after he took his degree at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1843, he changed his mind.

We find him during the years 1845—1846 roaming about in the Sudan, indulging in the "wanderlust" which is such a strong feature of the Anglo-Saxon character. In 1850, in the company of Dr. John Anderson, he explored Damaraland and the Ovampo country in South-West Africa. This expedition, which started from Walfisch Bay, carried the young man into tracts hitherto practically unexplored. In 1853, Galton was awarded the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society for his explorations and for the account he published of them under the title of *Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa.*

By now, Galton was beginning to develop literary qualities which, in 1855, found expression in his *Art of Travel; or Shifts and Contrivances in Wild Countries.*

In 1863, Galton made his first appearance on the scientific stage with a remarkable study published in *Meteorographica.* This was a meteorological study, the result of the most painstaking investigations. It was the first serious attempt made to chart the weather on an extensive scale, and in it Galton did pioneer work in establishing the theory and existence of anti-cyclones. His appointment to membership of the *Meteorological Council* might have confined a smaller intellect to a narrow road for the rest of his life. But though Galton continued to be a member of the Meteorological Council for many years, it was in the field of anthropology and heredity that he was destined to make history.

Galton's *Hereditary Genius, its Laws and Consequences,* was published in 1869. The interest it attracted in scientific circles, particularly in the medical profession, was great, and the success he achieved with this work encouraged him to follow it up with another publication in 1874 entitled *English Men of Science, their Nature and Nurture.* In 1883 he published *Enquiries into Human Faculties.* These works were followed in 1889 by *Natural Inheritance.*

Galton did not content himself with collecting, sorting and analysing data. He went much further, developing theories which have subsequently borne abundant fruit. It is he who is responsible for the coining of the term "eugenics."

In 1904 Galton endowed a research fellowship in the University of London for the promotion of knowledge of eugenics which was defined as the *Study of Changes under Social Control that may Improve or Impair the Racial Qualities of Future Generations, either Physically or Mentally.*

Many honours were bestowed on him, and as early as 1860 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. Cambridge and Oxford bestowed honorary degrees on him, and he was knighted in 1909.

He was the author of the *Law of Ancestral Inheritance* by virtue of which our parents, grand-parents, great grand-parents etc., contribute each, in the average, a well-defined fraction of our total inheritance. The truth of this last law has been confirmed, with slight mathematical changes, by the biometric methods of Karl Pearson.

The Indian Mathematician Ramanujan

Ramanujan worked for most of his life in practically complete ignorance of modern European mathematics and died when he was a little over 30. He published abundantly, but he also left a mass of unpublished work which had never been analysed properly until the last few years. Writes Prof. Godfrey H. Hardy in *Science and Culture* :

Ramanujan was born in 1887, in a Brahmin family at Erode near Kumbakonam, a fair-sized town in the Tanjore district of the Presidency of Madras. His father was a clerk in a cloth-merchant's office in Kumbakonam, and all his relatives, though of high caste, were very poor.

He was sent at the age of 7 to the High School of Kumbakonam, and remained there for nine years. His exceptional abilities had begun to show themselves before he was 10, and by the time that he was 12 or 13 he was recognized as a quite abnormal boy. His biographers tell some curious stories of his early years. They say, for example, that, soon after he had begun the study of trigonometry, he discovered for himself 'Euler's theorems for the sine and cosine' (by which I understand the relations between the circular and exponential functions), and was very disappointed when he found later, apparently from the volume of Loney's *Trigonometry*, that they were known already. Until he was 16 he had never seen a mathematical book of any higher class. Whittaker's *Modern Analysis* had not yet spread so far, and Bromwich's *Infinite Series* did not exist. There can be no doubt that either of these books would have made a tremendous difference to him if they could have come his way. It was a book of a very different kind, Carr's *Synopsis*, which first aroused Ramanujan's full powers.

Carr's book (*Synopsis of elementary results in pure and applied mathematics*, by George Shoobridge Carr, formerly Scholar of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, published in two volumes in 1880 and 1886) is almost unprocurable now.

Carr has sections on the obvious subjects, algebra, trigonometry, calculus and analytical geometry, but some sections are developed disproportionally, and particularly the formal side of the integral calculus. This seems to have been Carr's pet subject, and the treatment of it is very full and in its way definitely good. There is no theory of functions; and I very much doubt whether Ramanujan, to the end of his life, ever understood at all clearly what an analytical function is. What is more surprising, in view of Carr's own tastes and Ramanujan's later work, is that there are no elliptic functions. However Ramanujan may have acquired his very peculiar knowledge of this theory, it was not from Carr. On the whole, considered as an inspiration for a boy of such abnormal gifts, Carr was not too bad, and Ramanujan responded amazingly.

Until he was about 17, all went well with Ramanujan. "In December 1903, he passed the Matriculation Examination of the University of Madras, and in January of the succeeding year he joined the Junior First in Arts class of the Government College, Kumbakonam, and won the Subrahmanyam scholarship, which is generally awarded for proficiency in English and Mathematics."

But after this there came a series of tragic checks. "By this time, he was so absorbed in the study of mathematics that in all lecture hours—whether devoted to English, History, or Physiology—he used to engage himself in some mathematical investigation, unmindful of what was happening in the class. This excessive devotion to mathematics and his consequent neglect of the other subjects resulted in his failure to secure promotion to the senior class and in the consequent discontinuance of the scholarship. Partly owing to disappointment and partly owing to the influence of a friend, he ran away northward into the Telugu country, but returned to Kumbakonam after some wandering and rejoined the college. As owing to his absence he failed

to make sufficient attendances to obtain his term certificate in 1905, he entered Pachaiyappa's College, Madras, in 1906, but falling ill returned to Kumbakonam. He appeared as a private student for the F. A. examination of December 1907 and failed."

Ramanujan does not seem to have any definite occupation, except mathematics, until 1912. In 1909, he married, and it became necessary for him to have some regular employment, but he had great difficulty in finding any because of his unfortunate college career. About 1910 he began to find more influential Indian friends, Ramaswami Aiyar and his two biographers, but all their efforts to find a tolerable position for him failed, and in 1912, he became a clerk in the office of the Port Trust of Madras. He was then nearly 25. The years between 18 and 25 are the critical years in a mathematician's career and the damage had been done. Ramanujan's genius never had again its chance of full development.

There is not much to say about the rest of Ramanujan's life. His first substantial powers began to be understood. Sir Francis Spring and Sir Gilbert Walker obtained a special scholarship for him of £60 a year, sufficient for a married Indian to live in tolerable comfort. At the beginning of 1913 he wrote to me and Professor Neville, and I, after many difficulties, got him to England in 1914. Here he had three years of uninterrupted activity, the results of which you can read in his *Papers*. He fell ill in the summer of 1917, and never really recovered, though he continued to work, rather spasmodically, but with no real sign of degeneration, until his death in 1920. His last mathematical letter on 'Mock-Theta functions,' the subject of Professor Watson's presidential address to the London Mathematical Society last year, was written about two months before he died.

Coorg and Its People

'A Son of the Soil' gives a brief account of Coorg and its people in *The Twentieth Century* :

Coorg -*Kodagu* in the vernacular—is a small province of South India with an area of 1582 square miles. Situated on the top of the Western Ghats, facing East, midway between the Wyanad and the Manjarabad Ghats of Mysore State, it is bounded by South Canara and Northern Malabar.

It is one of the most beautiful spots of South India. With its numerous rivers, vast green forests, lofty mountains and beautiful valleys, it compares favourably with the descriptions of the pleasure gardens of Bharat Varsha (Nandana Vana). The native bard has voiced his delight in these words :—"Like Mt. Meru among the mountains and the Jasmine among flowers, this charming land of Coorg surrounded by a mountain chain noted for the magnetic splendour of its scenery—like a pearl chain rounding the beauteous curves of a maiden's neck." Mr. Hilton Brown, I.C.S., in his article 'The Astounding Land of Coorg' in the *Blackwood's Magazine* compares it with the Scotland of Sir Walter Scott's romances. Others, who are enamoured of its beautiful sceneries and ideal climate, are tempted to call it 'The Switzerland of India.'

To one who has toiled against the heat of Andhra, to the sun-bathed Mudaliar or Aiyar or Chetty of the East Coast, to the perspiring Malayalee of Calicut, Tellicherry and Cannanoor, Coorg is a blessing. With cheap living and hospitable people around, a foreigner who sets foot in Coorg seldom thinks of returning. Mercara, the chief town, with its temperature rarely above 80° in summer, is fast becoming one of the summer resorts of the South.

The ancient history of Coorg is very interesting. Strangely enough, the Ruler has never been a Coorg—a son of the soil. Lingayat Kings ruled over this country for over two hundred years. Towards the end of the sixteenth century a banished prince of Ekkeri household found his way to Coorg as a saint and settled down at Haleri. In the course of a few years he succeeded in winning the confidence of some petty chiefs and eventually became the first Rajah of Coorg in 1681. When Tippoo came into power in Mysore he marched against Coorg and capturing it held it for some years. But soon, an enterprising member of the Royal Family of Coorg succeeded in escaping from Tippoo's prison and found some loyal Coorgs who won back their land from the Mohammedans. From then afterwards the Rajah of Coorg became an ally of the British and was of great help to them during the Mysore wars. However, the last Rajah of Coorg turned out to be of a very cruel nature and this led to the annexation of Coorg in 1834 by the British.

Today Coorg is directly under the Government of India and is governed by a Chief Commissioner who is also the Resident of Mysore. He is the head of the local government, and the Secretariat and the High Court are at his head-quarters, Bangalore. The chief authority is the Commissioner in Coorg who stays at Mercara and is the head of every branch of administration. Coorg got its Legislative Council consisting of fifteen elected members and five nominated members with the Chief Commissioner as the President in 1923.

It has a population nearing about 1,80,000. Out of this, about forty per cent are Coorgs—people of the soil. Classified as Kshatriyas, these warlike people form a caste by themselves. Their manners and customs present none of the streaks of savage life frequently met with among the mountaineers of India. Judging by such characters as the stature, the nasal index, the long arms and limbs, the facial angle and the colour of the skin, the Coorgs certainly do not seem to belong to South India. From the character of the cranium they show fewer signs of aboriginal blood than even the Brahmins of Madras Presidency.

They are a fine race of a fighting stock, they possess their own language, national dress and land tenure. Their dialect is a mixture of Canarese, Tamil and Malayalam. Their dress is the most picturesque of any in India. A long black open coat with sleeves cut short at the elbow showing the white shirt underneath; a scarlet and gold sash often more than six yards in length bound at the waist; a short dagger in sheath tucked in the right side and a long, naked knife fastened at the back; and a turban round the head, form the dress of a male. The woman's dress also bears a striking contrast to the ordinary Indian saree. Rounding the lower half of her body with more than four yards of saree, the Coorg woman tucks it behind and takes about two yards more to have one more round, ending with a knot near the right shoulder. This kind of saree, with its full-sleeved, high-necked jacket and with a flowing headkerchief gives her an appearance the most majestic among Indian women.

They pay homage to Ishwara and Ganapathy besides Kaveri, the goddess of the sacred river of South India, which has its origin in Coorg. Snake-worship is unknown among them, but demons whom they regard as petty gods find favour. A sacrifice precedes the pooja and often dancing is also a part of the programme during a God's festival.

Their marriage customs are perhaps the simplest in

Southern India. Child marriage is unknown and widow re-marriage is allowed. Death is treated with all honour. At the demise of any one, married and above sixteen years of age, a repeated salute of two guns fired at intervals lasts till the cremation. The mourning dress is white and the final rites are carried out by Coorgs themselves.

Prospects of Paper Industry in India

There is a vast scope for the development of paper manufacture in India. In an article on the above subject the *Financial Times* advances arguments to meet the points of those who are out to discourage further expansion of this industry in India :

Prospect of any industry is to be judged from three main categories. Firstly cheap availability of raw materials, secondly the possibility of marketing of production and thirdly its scope for future expansion and probability of standing against other competitors, foreign or indigenous.

To judge the case of paper industry from these standpoints, one will find that India is an ideal place for the development of this industry. Recent rise in the prices of imported papers, accounted for the rise in the prices of raw materials in the importing countries. As much as 30 per cent of the cost of paper industry lies in the wood pulp costs. Among the leading countries of the world having large shares in the world's paper trade. United States, Canada, Germany, England and Japan make papers mostly from mechanical wood pulp and sulphate pulps, made from timber. Availability of wood is not unlimited and with the increasing demand for papers wood supply is likely to fall short of the demand from mills.

And as a matter of fact recent rise in the prices is mainly due to the excess of demands over supply which in fact preceeded by a shortage of raw materials (wood pulp). In any event the present position of the mills in Europe and America, is not a very happy one, it is strongly feared that earning capacity of those mills who do not control their wood pulp supplies is placed in a speculative position. While on the other hand those few esparto mills in Scotland are in a very different position. Whereas pulp prices have risen steeply Esparto prices are lower than they were last year and those esparto mills are benefiting to a large measure. Their demand is improving while they are in a position to reduce their cost of production. That ere long the industry will have to depend more on straw, grass and bamboo, can no longer be doubted.

India, having abundant supply of these kinds of raw materials, offers excellent prospects for the paper industries existing and prospective.

Recently a few Companies have been formed for the production of indigenous paper, which has already given rise to considerable public interest. This is certainly an indication that India will shortly be in a position to meet a large proportion of her demands for paper. The great advance made in the production of pulp from bamboo has had a considerable influence in the development of this industry. The following table showing the gradual decline in imports of wood pulp is an indication of the corresponding improvement in the indigenous production of bamboo pulp.

Imports of wood pulps, rags and other materials :—

	Tons	Value in Rupees
1934-35 ..	19,517	26,28,245
1935-36 ..	15,472	20,48,300
1936-37 ..	11,061	14,64,397

Within 10 years from 1927 to 1936 production of paper in India increased from 30,000 tons to 48,000 tons, which comes to 60%. This increased production through increasing use of bamboo pulp and other indigenous raw materials, makes the case of future mills all the more prospective as they will have to depend less on imported pulp and have the added advantage of the successful experiment of the use of bamboo pulp, which will be abundantly available within the country. In this connection the views expressed by Mr. M. P. Bhargava, officer in-charge, paper pulp section, Indian Forest Research Institute, will be highly illuminating. Referring to the assertion of the Paper-makers Association that papers now belonging to the "unprotected qualities" cannot be economically manufactured in India, Mr. Bhargava wrote "those with practical experience and knowledge of bamboo and grass fibres will agree that almost every kind of paper included in the "unprotected" category can be produced from pulps obtained from these raw materials and plentiful quantities of those are available in the country. The special processes and technical knowledge required in their manufacture are not unknown and are readily available. The statement that special kinds of pulps required for the production of kraft and wrapping papers, are obtainable in Scandinavia and Canada only and therefore that India cannot enter this field is distinctly questionable as these papers are manufactured in large quantities in other countries in Europe and in United States of America some of which import pulps for the purpose and some produce their own. What can be done in other countries can also be done in India."

Total consumption of paper in India during the last year was nearly 2,100,000 tons, of which Indian mills produced approximately 18,000 tons and the balance India had to meet from imports. Even at this consuming capacity there is ample room for a large number of first class mills. Shortage of raw materials in other European countries instead of having any deterrent effect, will place the Indian Mills in an advantageous position, as raw materials will be abundantly available in the country.

The production and consumption of paper in a country represents its standard of civilization.

A higher standard of civilization invariably means increasing use of books and literature and consequently means increasing use of papers. When judging from this perspective, one will find that in regard to its scope and usefulness, the paper industry stands in the same level of other big industries as the cotton textile, Iron and Steel, and Sugar.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Germany's Shackled Press

The following excerpts are made from a confidential report secured by the *Banker*. "No German newspaper," say the report, "would dare to utter any criticism on what the Government is pleased to decree. Four years of education and discipline have taught the German editor to think as the Ministry of Propaganda wishes him to think."

The economic consequences of this suppression have been disastrous. Before Hitler came into power there were 4,703 newspapers published in Germany. After the first year of National-Socialist rule the number had fallen to 3,091. It will be recalled that newspapers connected with the Socialist and Communist parties were confiscated after the Reichstag had been burnt. These newspapers numbered 184. And if they are excepted, it can be seen that 1,422 non-party newspapers ceased publication in a single year.

In the absence of official German statistics the following figures, given in a letter to the London *Times* and compiled from records of the German *Institut fur Zeitungskunde*, may be quoted. Of 348 weeklies appearing in Germany before 1933 more than a third closed down during that year. While 19,200 people were working on the editorial staffs of newspapers in 1932, only 5,341 were left at the end of 1933. The number of men employed in the printing trade dropped from 236,335 to 184,288 during the same period.

Before 1933, 120 National Socialist Papers, published by the Party organisations and supported from Party funds, existed in Germany. Their financial position, however, was none too prosperous.

After Hitler's accession to power, therefore, Nazi policy was no less concerned with the task of improving the precarious financial position of its own press than with converting by all possible means everyone connected with newspaper work into 'soldiers of the new State.' The suppression, on March 29, 1933, of the Socialist and Communist press enabled the various Nazi newspapers to take over the property and up-to-date machinery of their former rivals. Even this, however, did not strengthen their position. For one thing, the number of official Nazi newspapers themselves increased from 119 to 379. And for another, the old readers of the Socialist press were naturally reluctant to acquire new habits.

Competition between the party papers and the non-Party Press now grew more serious,

but the Emergency Decree of February, 1933, supplied the authorities with a never-failing weapon against any newspaper. The first contravention of this law (for instance the 'spreading of news endangering vital interests of the State') entailed suspension for a month; the second, suspension up to six months. Under this decree the Berlin *Tempo* (Ullstein) was banned because a Stock Exchange report contained a few facts about the fall of German foreign loans. The Roman Catholic *Essener Volkszeitung* was suppressed because a question mark instead of an exclamation mark had been put by mistake after the headline: 'Hindenburg congratulates Hitler.'

An edition of the *Dortmunder General-Anzeiger*, a prosperous provincial newspaper of Germany, was seized in April, 1933, because it published a portrait of Herr Hitler by a well-known artist which, according to the authorities, had given the Fuhrer's features a 'distorted expression suggesting vulgarity.'

The offense against the Fuhrer was used as a pretext for sending a detachment of Storm Troops to eject the old editorial staff by force and to declare the whole concern sequestrated. The next day the paper was printed on the same premises, but edited by the staff of the regional Nazi paper, the *Rote Erde*, which until then had struggled without success against the competition of the *General-Anzeiger*. In circumstances which were never disclosed, a contract of sale was executed between the former and present proprietors. According to the 'official German news agency the former publisher received 2,800,000 marks, a sum which amounted to little more than two years' profits. They contested the validity of the agreement and demanded an indemnity of 8,000,000 marks and annuities totaling 165,000 marks.

The fight against non-party papers took other forms also:

Gangs of Party members and Storm Troopers canvassed from door to door, using duress and intimidation to secure subscribers for the Party papers. That the breadwinner of the family would lose his job if he would not give up his paper and take the Nazi organ was the usual threat. These methods were applied so indiscriminately that they became a danger to concerns whose soundness was of vital importance to the labor market. A new law against canvassing by forcible means was therefore promulgated in January, 1934.

A 'Law for the preservation of the independence of the German press' was enacted in April, 1935; with the help of this law, it became possible to close down practically any newspaper not owned by Party interests:

Among other stipulations, it prohibits joint-stock and limited-liability companies, co-operative societies, public bodies formed for professional or religious purposes from publishing newspapers. It compels publishers to report to the Reich Association of German Newspaper Publishers the names of all persons who have any interest in their concerns as individual shareholders. They must also prove the Aryan origin of each member of the board and of his wife back to the year 1800. And, finally, liquidation of a newspaper can be ordered if in the opinion of the Reich Press Chamber a certain market does not allow sufficient scope for two or more newspapers.

60 to 70 per cent of the Roman Catholic press was affected by one clause or another of the law. The provision excluding limited-liability companies, etc., from the ownership of newspapers was applicable to about 420 companies. Before May, 1935, the changes in the financial structure of the various companies were made necessasy by the law. But the details of these changes have never been disclosed. Among those in danger were several newspapers of international repute, such as the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, the *Berliner Borsenzeitung* and the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. After lengthy negotiations they have so far been exempted. But whether or not the exemption had to be bought has never become known.

Economic and Social Trends in the Third Reich

Writing in the *Foreign Policy Reports* on economic and social conditions in Germany, John C. deWilde observes :

Conclusions concerning the development of economic and social conditions in the Third Reich are necessarily tentative. Not only are the available data incomplete, but the National Socialist regime is of too recent origin to permit a final judgment. There is little doubt that the monetary income of the German people as a whole has increased substantially during the past four years. Almost all classes—labor, agriculture and capital—have shared in this rise. Only two groups may be said to have suffered a loss in income : the Jews whose economic existence is being progressively undermined, and the middlemen who have suffered most from the price-fixing regulations of the National Socialist government.

The improvement in national income has not brought about a corresponding rise in the standard of living, (says the writer) absorption of the country's economy in public works and rearmament having put a serious limitation on the amount of goods available for consumption :

While there has always been enough to eat, the supply of many of the better foodstuffs has repeatedly been insufficient to meet the growing demand. Nevertheless, statistics on per capita consumption of goods and on savings seem to indicate some advance in well-being over the extremely low levels of 1932.

In limiting the material rewards of recovery the National Socialist government has demanded sacrifices from all classes. Even the farmers, who appeared to be especially favored in the first two years of the regime, have more recently seen the state employ its power to restrict further increases in agricultural prices and to impose delivery quotas for many farm commodities. Industry has experienced a rapid rise in profits, but a large part of the return on capital has been conscripted permanently or temporarily by the state for its own needs—rearmament and the erection of raw material producing plants.

The revival of production has increased the income of labour as a whole, although, the writer points out, re-employment has taken place at rather low wage-levels, the greatest sacrifices being exacted from the working classes.

In the face of a rising cost of living, which has affected food prices particularly, they have had to be content with stable, and in some cases even declining, wage rates. It would be incorrect to conclude, however, that the government has deliberately discriminated against labor in favor of capital. The experience of the last few years has demonstrated that the National Socialist regime has not hesitated to impose its will on all vested interests, whether those of agriculture, industry or labor. All have been at the beck and call of the state.

The Germans seem to have borne all these sacrifices with singularly little resistance. There have been frequent reports, however, of growing discontent over the past few years.

An increasing psychological and economic tension appears to have developed. People find it difficult to sustain sacrifices over a long period of time, and the longer they are asked to do so, the more they are inclined to inquire into the need of such burdens. Moreover, even the cleverest propaganda grows wearisome. That the Nazi regime has to some extent lost its hold on the masses is indicated by the frequency of government appeals and exhortations. Discontent is probably greatest among the working classes, where it has occasionally provoked spontaneous but scattered outbreaks of passive resistance. Fear of this dissatisfaction seems to have been responsible for the postponement of factory council elections two years in succession. In March 1936 council members were continued in office for one year, and in March of the current year their terms were once more extended. It would be erroneous to conclude, however, that the regime is in danger.

Modernism and Polemic in Indian Islam Today

J. W. Sweetman writes in *The International Review of Missions* :

Nowadays we have a new way of expressing Islam's view of the sanctity of the *fait accompli*. When the Turks seized the Caliphate, the jurists were nonplussed, because their theory was that the Caliphate should be in the family of the Quraish. But Islamic opportunism and 'respect for the logic of facts' led Muslims (as I think Professor Macdonald puts it) to say : "They have it: they are able to keep it: let them keep it." That was the old method; but now that the Turks have abolished the Caliphate, what shall we say? Let us put the old case for compromise in another way, as Sir Muhammad Iqbal does.

"The birth of Islam . . . is the birth of the inductive intellect. In Islam prophecy reaches its perfection in discovering the need of its own abolition. This involves the keen perception that life cannot for ever be kept in leading strings; that in order to achieve full self-consciousness, man must finally be thrown back on his own resources."

But how can there be such a system as Islam at all, if all that is left to man is to proceed by way of trial and experiment? And how do we reconcile the words which Iqbal uses towards the end of his 'Six Lectures' with man's being left to his own resources?

"The Muslim is in possession of . . . ultimate ideas on the basis of revelation . . . there can be no further revelation binding on man . . . Let the Mussalman of to-day appreciate his position, reconstruct his social life in the light of ultimate principles, and evolve, out of the hitherto partially revealed purpose of Islam, that spiritual democracy which is the ultimate aim of Islam."

But 'revelation' implies that man is not left to his own resources.

In the course of the modern attempts to reinterpret

Islam in harmony with modern thought, there is a tendency to make a distinction between what is permissible and what is enjoined in the Quran. For instance, it is said that polygamy is permitted under certain conditions. Maulana Muhammad 'Ali, in his commentary on the Quran at Surah 4, v. 3 (which he translates: 'And if you fear that you cannot act equitably towards orphans, then marry such women as seem good to you, two and three and four,' etc.), makes this comment: 'This passage permits polygamy under certain circumstances: it does not enjoin it nor even permit it unconditionally.' Whether this makes the case better for Islam must be considered doubtful, especially as the condition expressed in the Quran is one which only the person concerned can judge to be fulfilled, and a man who had a desire for a number of wives would not find much difficulty in considering himself qualified for the 'permission.'

One wonders, for instance, how it is that the modern expositor of the Quran fails to see that when, by dint of much ingenuity, he extracts a new defensive meaning from some obscure or difficult text suitable to the requirements of his apologetic, he has weakened the average Muslim's faith in the Quran as a 'perspicuous book' and a miracle of clarity.

The present-day Muslim propagandist would seek to stimulate self-respect by references to the past glories of Islam. This is quite legitimate and there is much of which Muslims may be rightly proud, but when Islam's past greatness is brought into the most inappropriate context and is entirely irrelevant to the theme under discussion, one wonders whether the writers have become conscious of the weakness of the case they have set out to prove and are seeking to distract the attention of the reader from this weakness. Take, for instance, an exposition which the late Kamal ud-Din gives of the divine attributes. He is discussing the meaning of *rahim* and *rahman* (compassionate and merciful). He says:

"The two attributes assure us that everything material that we need to make life happy has already been created and when we use it rightly our actions will never remain unrequited. The whole c r e a t i o n is full of such material. . . . With this assurance Muslims approached nature and unravelled it. They enriched the world and gave it blessings unknown before. It is impossible to praise Muslims too highly for their great contribution to civilization. I may say that the world before Islam was as though it were living from hand to mouth, with very scanty material. The Quran came and informed mankind of the various kinds of riches, beauty and wealth that were stored in nature and created for human enjoyment. . . I find similar improvements in architecture and the means of conveyance, withal the advances in traffic, gardening irrigation and navigation, crockery and household furniture. . . and when I say that all this was inspired by the Quran it shows that religion from God does not come to supply the human race with a sickly theology and deter us from the enjoyment of life."

Supposing this all to be true, what has it to do with an exposition of the divine attributes? This instance is not by any means the only one which could be given. In a similar manner, self-respect is sought in the glory of a past age. Islam 'is' the patron of learning because there 'was' a university at Cordova, in spite of the terrible illiteracy which characterizes the masses of Islam to-day.

Perhaps the gravest danger in Islam and the greatest obstacle to any progress within the community is the refusal to face facts and the tendency to go on living in an atmosphere of make-believe, in which sober men can bring themselves to believe almost anything.

Did Italy Gain by the War?

The following extracts are made from the *World Events*:

Not long ago the Fascist Grand Council announced that, contrary to the "ill-natured" expectations of the enemies of fascism, the financial situation in Italy is most rosy. In order to bolster that statement it was pointed out that Italy's gold reserve is equal to 4.21 billion lire which showed that Italy was economically healthier than France.

If this is so, why then has Italy prohibited the publication of economic and financial statistics for the last two years? The League of Nations monthly economic surveys of the world continue to list rather eloquent blanks opposite the name of Italy, while all other countries are reported. This makes it difficult to assess the economic position of the country, aside from raising suspicions that all is not well behind that wall of silence.

Some things, however, can be checked. There is, for instance, that gold reserve. Close examination reveals a neat bit of juggling. Due to the African war, the gold reserve fell fom 5.9 billion lire to 3.4 billion by December, 1935; by the end of June, 1936 it had fallen below 2 billion lire. Then came the revaluing of the lira, by which its value was changed from almost 8 cents to 4 cents. In terms of this new money, Italy's gold reserve was now counted at 4.21 billion lire. Attempts have been made to attribute this "rise" to the "gifts of wedding rings" and other gold valuables, but that maneuvre brought in only 400 million lire. Another 600 million were obtained by the seizure of foreign securities held by Italian subjects.

Meanwhile, as Arnaldo Cortesi reported in the "Times," the Ethiopian war cost at least 13 billion lire, new military appropriations amount to 5.534 billion, and over and above that, the last fiscal year closed with a deficit of 3.593 billion lire. These sums have been raised by borrowing, by a "capital levy" on real estate, by manipulation of the savings of the Italian people, and similar measures. They must be added to the national debt which in 1934 stood at the record high of 125 billion lire.

A fairly accurate estimate of Italy's economic position may be gained by the fact that interest rates on government loans have jumped from 3.5 to 5 per cent. And this at a time when interest rates everywhere were at record lows. Moreover, there has been widespread flight of capital which resulted in the arrest of scores of "big men" for illegally exporting several hundred million lire.

Remember, further, that in all of these figures nothing is included for the development of the "new empire" in Africa. In fact, British and German capital had to be solicited for the organization of transport in Somaliland and for the exploitation of the Abyssinian mines.

The war has had other unfavourable repercussions. In spite of much ballyhoo about new commercial treaties, Italy's balance of trade is again unfavourable. On the diplomatic side there are also losses, since Mussolini had to recognize Hitler's supremacy in Austria, which not so long ago he challenged by a mobilization of troops in the Brenner. Agriculture had a very bad year, due partly to the dispatch of large numbers of farm workers to Abyssinia.

As for the Italian people, the war has made fascism a heavier burden than ever around their necks.

Opening of Abyssinia to the Economic World

Celestino Arena writes in *L'Italia d'Oltremare*, Rome :

It is now beyond doubt that a large part of Abyssinia, *viz.*, the tableland, measuring nearly 160,000 sq. km., and over 2000 m. high, is climatically well suited for Italian colonisation. This wide tract, which was once thickly populated, but which was later impoverished on account of depredations, epidemics and wars, can accommodate a population of nearly 12 millions in addition to the three to five millions of its present inhabitants. This will give an average of 75 heads per sq. km., which is not at all too high for a region with such large economic potentialities. Besides, the soil is remarkably fertile and susceptible of a large variety of cultivation. To add to this, again, the military invasion has left behind a valuable legacy in the form of a road-system, which consists today of a network of highways, nearly 4000 km. in length, and which is still gradually developing . . . Massowa, situated as it is on the highroad connecting two lands of the future, *viz.*, Asia and Africa, ought to come into its own now by becoming again the centre for sea-trade, as it was formerly before the opening of the railway line between Addis Ababa and Jibuti. Mogadishu must now become the biggest port in East Africa, as there are no more those uncertain conditions in the hinterland, which had prevented the growth of this harbour . . . The large amount of brown coal, that is known to be available and native alcohol, which together can yield the requisite fuel for industrial purposes, will be useful in exploiting the mineral wealth of this land, but the exploitation of the enormous amount of hydraulic power by means of the advanced Italian technique will probably be found still easier, while solving the agricultural, mining and other industrial problems. Even today cotton-weaving and leather-work represent important local industries. Cotton, coffee, hides, ores, ivory and rubber can be exchanged for commodities exported to the colony by the mother-country. This exchange can be developed in a variety of ways, if recourse is had to an economic policy, which avoids the competitive spirit, dispenses with protective measures and enriches the market, extending from Triest and Genoa over the Italian peninsula and the Red Sea upto the Equatorial Africa . . . . . Finally, we shall have to maintain a firm and reserved attitude, regarding the question as to whether the stream of foreign gold, that would hasten and fructify our work of reconstruction would also bind us to inequitable political agreements, restricting our possessional rights.

Crime and Morality in the U. S. A.

John Brown records in *The Inquirer* his impressions formed during a recent tour in the U. S. A.:

At no time in history has a civilized nation faced a crime problem of the magnitude of that now seen in America. That this is no exaggeration can be seen from the opinion of ex-President Hoover, whom I interviewed in Chicago. "More than 9,000 human beings are lawlessly killed every year in the United States," said Mr. Hoover. "Little more than half as many arrests follow. Life and property are relatively more unsafe than in any other civilized in the world."

The appalling statistics of crimes of violence are paralleled by the thinness of the conviction records. In Washington a deputy-chief of the Federal Bureau of Investigation admitted that a murder had a ninety per cent chance of escaping the death penalty, and he went on to say that his file of "professional criminals" had already listed 250,000 men and women!

There are various explanations for these figures, but one of the most important is rarely quoted, and that is the indifference of the public and the lowering of moral standards which permits "Public Enemies" to be treated as semi-heroic figures.

Church attendance in America is relatively as good as in Europe, but the attitude of parents towards moral instruction for children is different, particularly in the urban areas. In the great cities residential apartments and tenement flats are often looked on as mere dormitories by workers, and family life as it is understood in western Europe survives only in the agriculture areas and smaller towns. On New York's East Side, for instance, youngsters are growing up, spending nearly all their waking hours outside their homes. A sensation-loving press features daily stories of sensational crime and the careers of "crime barons" who have risen from obscurity to wealth, and on every side there is talk of "racketeering" and "crooked politicians." Literally scores of cheap magazines, of a type likely to appeal to youth, also concentrate upon these unsavoury aspects of social life. I had an illuminating example of the extent of this "crime propaganda" in Chicago, where I found that Al Capone, the former "liquor trade organizer" and gang-chief, who is now serving a long term in Alcatraz Penitentiary, was looked on as a hero by most young people, and not a few of their elders! Large-scale publicity could, apparently, excuse any immorality a viewpoint also demonstrated at the Hauptmann trial.

All young Americans are not criminals or potential criminals, of course. But what is alarming Church authorities in almost every state is their disregard of Christian ethics in social life. "Get on at all costs" seems to them a legitimate ambition, and while "rugged individualism" is no longer preached by politicians, an insidious and revised version is used as a cloak for many anti-social activities. The middle classes remain true to the older standards of morality and conduct, and as these classes are the backbone of the state, there is ground for optimism about the future. But the concentration on cheap entertainment, the prevalence of "necking" parties, and the lax standards of social conduct in universities and high-schools alike are alarming facts. The mobility of labour and the effects of race-mingling are special features of American life which assist certain undesirable trends.

The Future of Democracy

The New Republic has been publishing a series of statements by eminent thinkers on the future of democracy. In the course of his statement, Bertrand Russel observes :

There is nothing new about the present anti-democratic movements; there were similar movements after the French Revolution, and after the revolutions of 1848, not to mention the age of Louis XIV. The two Napoleons were closely analogous to modern dictators; they owed their success to French inexperience in working democratic government. My grandfather, Lord John Russell, in a letter written from France in 1871, expressed the general opinion when he said : "I fear that a Republic like that of America is not practicable in France. They would prefer a military hero, or a civil despot, to any quiet wise man who can bear liberty in others." So people now speak of Germany, let us hope with equal lack of truth. Italy and Germany had only a brief period of democracy; Russia had none. America, Great Britain and the self-governing dominions show no tendency to abandon political

democracy; in France, since 1870, all movements toward dictatorship have been defeated. It cannot be maintained that the regime is secure in either Germany or Italy; certainly it is not likely to survive defeat in war. There are good reasons for supposing that Russia will gradually develop a democratic system.

"Is authoritarian government superior to democracy?"

One must ask: superior for what? Perhaps, for purposes of war, there is a short-term superiority to be obtained by establishing a popular authoritarian government in a country that had previously been democratic. But (a) most authoritarian governments soon cease to be popular, (b) the absence of free criticism soon produces bureaucratic conservatism which is fatal to success in war. Ever since the beginning of the eighteenth century, victory in every important war has gone to the side that had the most nearly democratic institutions. Apart from war, it may be argued that authoritarian government is better than democracy in that it allows more consistent planning. I think it must be admitted that, if any important economic change is to be successfully carried out, a government will need some years of free initiative. This, however, is not incompatible with democracy, which consists in the occasional exercise of popular control, but does not demand the constant hampering of the executive. The ultimate power of the majority is very important to minimize the harshness inevitably involved in great changes, and to prevent a rapidity of transformation which causes a revulsion of feeling. I do not believe, therefore, that an authoritarian government is better than a democracy, though I believe that, in times of crisis, a strong and temporarily unhampered executive in necessary.

Science Needs a Universal Language

Writing in the *World Order* Raymond Frank Piper pleads for an international language:

Scientific discoveries, especially in the fields of medicine, agriculture, domestic life, and industrial arts, are frequently of immense and immediate value to many or to all nations. Knowledge which promises to increase human happiness ought to be made quickly accessible to all peoples. At present important discoveries sometimes are not available in translations for years.

The need for a more efficient dissemination of scientific knowledge is intensified by the increasing publication of scientific materials in a growing number of mother-tongues. The *Engineering Index* covers fourteen periodical in sixteen languages; yet when the burdensome task of condensation is completed, the results are available only to those who know one language, English.

In a few fields there now exist universal symbolisms for scientific knowledge, notably in naming diseases, drugs, and anatomical parts, as also in mathematical and musical notation, and chemical formulas. These fields, however, include a relatively small fraction of the rich total of man's life. Many peoples, for want of a facile method of international communication, live in unhappy ignorance of large masses of accumulated wisdom in science, art, and philosophy. Yet truth, ethically, belongs to all men. It is ludicrous to speak of American physics, French medicine, or Chinese mathematics. Science by nature is universal, and properly deserves a universal medium of publication.

In Praise of Laughter

John M. Trout observes in the course of a paper conribtuted to *The Christian Register*:

George Santayana divides living into three parts. Life has a lyrical side, he suggests. As we all know, from another point of view life is tragic. Finally, in life's processes there is a comic element. It is this last that very many people miss.

Of course, present-day people spend a great deal of money, running into billions annually, to induce laughter. That is confession of a great human need. But alas, moving pictures and comic strips and cabarets and "entertainments" do not always yield returns.

What we miss is spontaneous laughter, that keeps bubbling up like water from a spring, without reference to weather or any other outward circumstances. Perhaps what we call civilization does not encourage such spontaneity. The complexity of things and the everlasting struggle to get on distract us or absorb us so completely that little or no margin is left for free or unexpected things. Too often laughter is marked off the books as so much waste. It is difficult to imagine any considerable proportion of ten thousand men in a modern automobile factory singing or joking while they tighten bolts at speed determined by a moving platform. Management would not encourage laughter any more than they do conversation during so-called "working" hours. It might lower the curve of efficient production. If any "singing men" are left we shall need to look for them, not in factories, but in the fields or by forest and stream.

Recovery of laughter would be a national asset, even if the price were some loss in efficiency or of time. For one thing, it would relieve artificiality, because laughter represents the natural way of living.

Effective Lying

James Brodrick observes in *The Month*:

There was once a man who believed that the art of lying effectively was a soft option among professions. Being a lazy, dull fellow, he therefore decided to adopt it, and he died in the workhouse. The moral of the story is, of course, that effective lying must be accounted a great and difficult art, requiring for its practice a large measure of intelligence, imagination, and even asceticism. The effective liar must, for example, deny himself many little moral luxuries which ordinary people prize, such as a sense of honour and a spark of chivalry. If he is to be tripped up at every turn by paltry consideration for other people's feelings, he will never be any good at his job. Indeed, if the other people also belong to another nation he must learn to regard them with a cold Cartesian eye as machines entirely devoid of sensibility. Only thus will he be able, for the pleasure of his own nation, to distil from foreign behaviour all its latent folly and repulsiveness.



A group of delegates and workers, Barisal Women's Conference.
Mrs. Hemaprova Mazumdar, M.L.A., President, is seen garlanded (*centre*)

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Miss R. Shah, B. Ag. (Bombay), M.Sc. (Michigan), has been appointed Horticulturist to the C. P. Government.



Miss R. Shah

Srimati Seeta Jahan Ara has stood first among the girl candidates who came out successful in the Matriculation examination of the Punjab University.



Srimati Seeta Jahan Ara



Mrs. Ina Mitter
Photographed in London prior to her departure on a motor tour to meet Hitler Mussolini and Kemal Ataturk

SRIMATI SOBHA DAS GUPTA has stood first among the girl candidates who came out successful in the Matriculation examination, Dacca.



Begum Habib Ullah
Member, U. P. Legislative Assembly



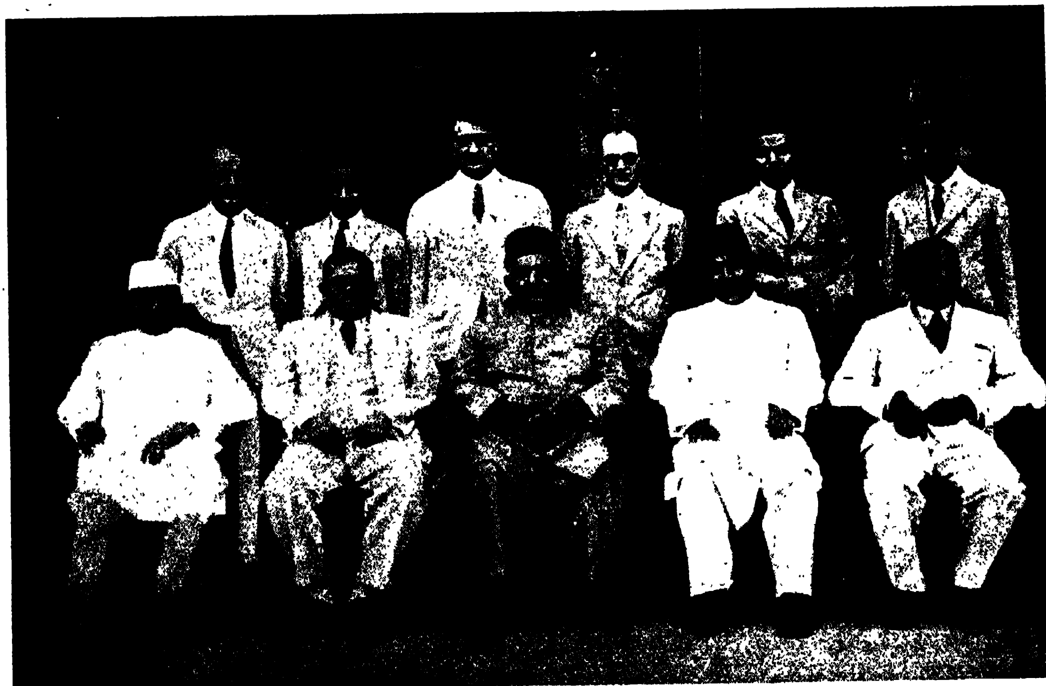
Srimati Sobha Das Gupta



Mrs. Nagamma Patil
Member, Bombay Legislative Assembly



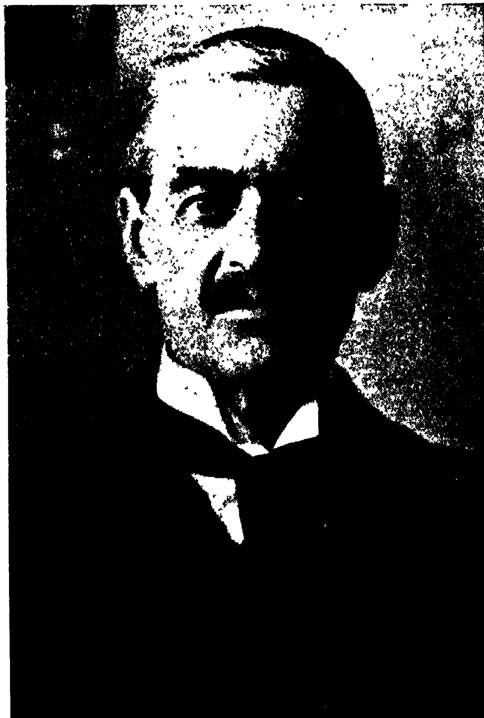
H. H. The Maharao of Kutch and Mr. Alfred Ezra at a Dinner of the Zoological Society of London



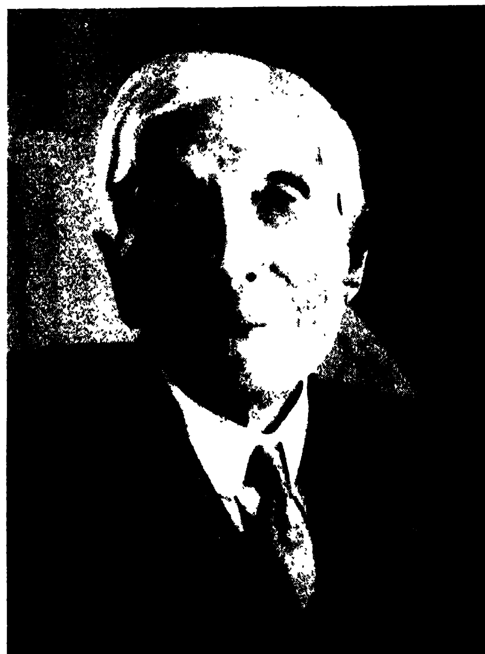
Finance Ministers' Conference in Bombay



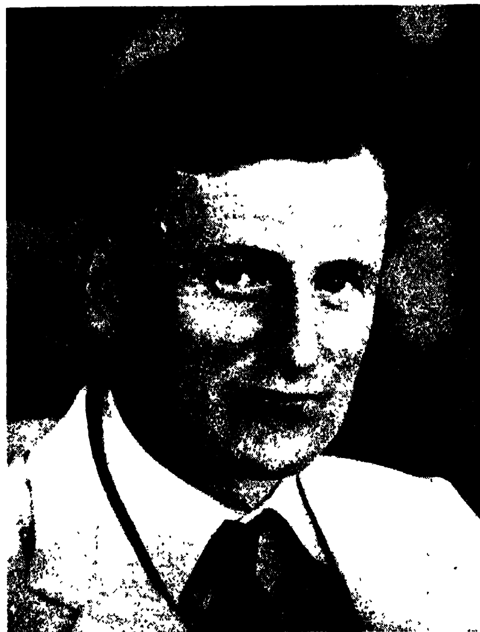
Duke of Windsor and Mrs. Wallis Warfield after their marriage at the Chateau De Cande



Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the new Prime Minister of England



John D. Rockefeller, the American Oil King, who died the other day at the age of 98



Mr. F. S. Smythe, going on a private expedition into the interior of the Himalayas



Prof. P. Seshadri, who is leading the Indian delegation to the seventh world educational conference to be held in Tokio



Dr. S. K. Chanda, M.B., D.T.M., D.P.H., Health Officer, South Suburban Municipality who has been awarded a Fellowship by the League of Nations for special training in preventive work in Malaria at Singapore



Canadian Health and Beauty girls, who have come to participate in the Coronation Exhibition at Wembley, rehearsing



Girl-cyclists cycling along a road near Windsor

EUROPE



There is always that danger of a collision
—*New York Post*

MOTHER EUROPE



"What naughty children my brood are!"
—Nebelspatter, Zurich

Notes

One Result of Congress Demand of Assurances

Originally the Indian National Congress demanded that, if some of its members in the legislative bodies were to become ministers, the governors of the provinces should give them an assurance that they would not interfere with such activities of the ministries as were within the constitution. Subsequently Mahatma Gandhi demanded that, in case of serious difference of opinion between the governor and his ministers, he would either dismiss them or ask them to resign.

These demands have led to endless talk and issue of statements on both sides with the result that a cloak has been thrown, as it were, on the very retrograde, reactionary, inadequate and unsatisfactory character of the Government of India Act of 1935, which had been exposed in numerous speeches and newspaper articles. High-placed British officers, from the Secretary of State downwards, have seized the opportunity to expatiate and lay stress upon the merits of the Act and on the sense of justice, sympathy and goodwill of the British people which have been at the root of such a wonderful Act. Whether intentionally or unintentionally, the impression has been produced that all that is necessary to bring a new heaven and a new earth within reach of the people of India is acceptance of ministerships by congressmen and that all that is necessary for them to accept office is to be assured by the governors that their constitutional activities will not be interfered with and that they will be either dismissed or forced to resign in case of serious disagreement with the governors! The Act, the Constitution, is all right; it is only necessary for the governors and the Congress to be reasonable and to have goodwill !!

The Viceroy's Message and Statement

The demands of the Congress, we have said, have given rise to endless talk on both sides. Lord Zetland made a long speech with reference to Mahatma Gandhi's final demand. And now, Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy, who had hitherto observed silence, has come out with a broadcast message followed by a long statement bearing on the same demand.

The broadcast message strikes a personal note. This personal touch will be considered valuable if in future there be corresponding endeavour on the part of the speaker to promote the cause of self-rule in India. Vaguely sympathetic utterances of speakers occupying the same exalted position as that of the present Viceroy or even higher positions, and even definite pledges by British sovereigns, have not, in the past, borne fruit. Therefore, though past experience does not supply an absolutely infallible indication of the future, no hope should be built on words of sympathy.

The viceregal statement is more formal. It has the virtue of being precise.

Looking to its substance, one finds that it does not add anything to what Lord Zetland and the provincial governors have already said. As regards the assurance which Mahatma Gandhi wanted to have, the statement does not give that assurance but talks round and argues against it, just as Lord Zetland had done before. Nobody can now say whether the Congress will agree to accept office in consequence of this statement. Let us wait for the decision of the Wardha meeting of the Working Committee a week or so hence.

Journalists, like other people, have been advising the Congress either to accept office on the strength of what Lord Linlithgow has said, or not to do so in spite of his lordship's persua-

sive words. It is not for us to do any such thing. We think and feel that nothing that any high-placed Englishman has said recently has changed or can change the character of the new constitution in the least. And, therefore, just as when before the Congress had demanded any assurance we thought that nobody ought to accept a ministership, so we feel even now that nobody ought to have accepted that office.

Not that we think that the working of the Act cannot bear any good fruit. It certainly can, and by forming ministries Congressmen in general can undoubtedly extract greater good from it than men belonging to other political parties. But we think, the ending of the Act and getting or making a better constitution in its place would be more beneficial to the country in the long run than working the present constitution for what it is worth. This is our opinion in general terms. Whether Congress will be able to wreck the present constitution and make or get made a better one by not accepting office, and what methods and means Congress will adopt to bring about that result —we do not know, as we are not in the secrets of that body. We are not aware that Congress has shown that acceptance of office will place it in a better position to wreck the present constitution and get a better one in its stead. If that can be shown, it will undoubtedly be right for Congressmen to accept office.

We shall now make a few remarks on some passages in the viceregal message and statement.

"Continuous and Progressive Political Reform"

"In directing your attention to these considerations, I am concerned to secure that in exercising your judgment, you may give due weight to the extreme inexpediency of interrupting—even temporarily—at this critical juncture, the rhythm and momentum of continuous and progressive political reform, unless upon proven and substantial grounds of overwhelming significance."

Neither the Indian National Congress nor the Indian National Liberal Federation has said that the new constitution marks a stage in "continuous and progressive political reform." Both these bodies consider it reactionary and retrograde and a step backward. We agree.

"Three Months' Experience"

Lord Linlithgow has referred more than once to the three months' experience of the provincial governors and their ministers in the provinces and sought to derive comfort and hope therefrom.

Three months' experience of the operation of the Constitution, short as I agree that that period is, has conclusively shown from the practical point of view that, any legal difficulties in regard to the grant of such assurances apart, those assurances are not essential to the smooth and harmonious working of the Constitution. In every Province ministers have been able to test by practical experience that the co-operation and the assistance of the Services are at their disposal, and that they can in their dealings in the day-by-day administration of the province, and in their relations with the Governors of their provinces, rely on those Governors to place at their disposal in the fullest measure and with no shade or suggestion of prejudice or personal feeling that help, sympathy, co-operation and experience which the Governors of individual provinces have promised. Those three months have shown equally, and beyond question, that the apprehensions which have been entertained – and I readily accept the sincerity of those apprehensions even if I see no foundation of fact for them—that Governors would seek occasions for interfering with the policy of their ministers, or for the gratuitous and uncalled for exercise of the special responsibilities imposed upon them by the Act to impede or challenge ministers in the day-by-day administration of the province, have no shadow of justification.

May it not be that the relations between the governors and the services on the one side and the ministers on the other in the provinces have not been strained, not because of the excellence of the new constitution but mainly owing to one cause and subsidiarily to another, which we are going to suggest? The main cause of the harmonious relations between the parties concerned may fairly be presumed to be the absence of a spirit of sturdy patriotism and independence among the ministers and their merging their own wills and ways in those of the autocratic governors and the bureaucratic services. In most provinces the ministers do not hold their office by right—they are not the elect of the people. So they instinctively conform to the wishes of the governors and the services. In the other provinces, they are, speaking generally, not men strong enough to stand up to the governors and the services.

When Greek meets Greek, then comes the tug of war, not otherwise.

The subsidiary cause of the harmonious relations between the parties is that, as Congress has from the very beginning demanded an assurance that there would not be any interference on the part of the governors in day-by-day administration, there has been a conscious or subconscious gubernatorial endeavour to prove that Congress apprehensions are unfounded and the assurance asked for unnecessary.

Pabna and Special Responsibility Regarding Minorities

His Excellency the Viceroy has said :—

Those three months have shown equally, and beyond question, that the apprehensions which have been entertained—and I readily accept the sincerity of those apprehensions even if I see no foundation of fact for them—that Governors would seek occasions for interfering with the policy of their Ministers, or for the gratuitous and uncalled for exercise of the special responsibilities imposed upon them by the Act to impede or challenge Ministers in the day-by-day administration of the Province, have no shadow of justification.

So far at least, as Bengal is concerned, His Excellency's statement is quite correct. The Hindus in Bengal are a minority. Therefore the Governor of Bengal is under a legal obligation to see that they are not anywhere molested, persecuted or injured because of their religion. In the Pabna district, there have been in several places desecration of Hindu temples, breaking of the images of Hindu deities and the destruction of the crops of the Hindus. And the Governor of Bengal has not interfered, even when asked to do so. At first Mr. B. C. Chatterjee wrote to the ministers concerned drawing their attention to the matter. They did not even answer his letter. Then Mr. Chatterjee wrote to the Governor, who was courteous enough to send a reply and refer him to the ministers—perhaps because he was not in favour of "the gratuitous and uncalled for exercise of the special responsibilities imposed upon" him "by the Act to impede or challenge Ministers in the day-by-day administration of the Province."

His Excellency the Viceroy has said :—

I have been the more concerned to set out in some detail the position as I see it, in that it is essential that those interests, or communities, or areas, to which the Act extends the assurances of the special responsibilities, should not, for a moment, think, or have the least ground for thinking, that any question will arise of sacrificing their interests for political reasons.

The Hindus of Pabna, however, think that their interests have been or are being sacrificed. There may not be any "political reasons," but their grievance is real.

Right of Ministers to Disown Responsibility

Lord Linlithgow has definitely laid down an important right of the ministers by giving it as his authoritative opinion that,

. . . if the Governor is unable to accept the advice of his ministers, then the responsibility for his decision is his and his alone. In that event, ministers bear no responsibility for the decision and are entitled—if they so desire—publicly to state that they take no responsibility for that particular decision, or even that they have advised the Governor in an opposite sense.

"To Shine as a Light in the Orient"

The following eloquent passage occurs in the Viceroy's broadcast :

Patriotism; love of liberty; faith in the virtue of liberal institutions of government : these are qualities of which every man and woman of my own race is proud, and which indeed are manifest in supreme degree by those other communities overseas which have sprung from the loins of the Motherland. And so it has seemed to me that my countrymen should regard the growth in India of those same qualities and aspirations, not as a matter for anxiety or disquiet, but rather as an occasion for pride and as a call upon them for their understanding sympathy, and their ready help; and if, in the workings of an inscrutable Providence, it may be given to them to assist with fostering care towards the establishment, in a unified India, of those beneficent principles of representative and responsible government which most of us hold to be the greatest contribution that Great Britain has made towards the secular progress of mankind, then what greater triumph could be theirs; or to what higher reward could they aspire? We have been fallible, and errors may have been committed; we are mortal and may have missed many opportunities. But if, after the long Odyssey of some two hundred years, we may come to know that by the labours of those of both races who have gone before us, and by our own endeavours, we have contributed towards the establishment in India of a system of government destined through the years to shine as a light in the Orient and to show the way of peace between East and West, then indeed we may claim that those labours have not been in vain.

But the question is, does the new Indian constitution "shine as a light in the Orient"? Or can it automatically lead to a system of Government which will be such a shining light?

The Viceroy has said that Englishmen should feel proud of the growth of patriotic virtues and aspirations in India. So they undoubtedly should. But do they really feel proud?

Politics Dynamic, Not Static

Lord Linlithgow's message contains the following important passage :

Let me at once assure you that in my best judgment, and given goodwill on all sides, this Constitution will work and that in experience it will be found to work well. It stands now as the law of the land. It stands, too,—and despite all the criticism that has been levelled against it—as the only complete and homogeneous scheme of political reform now before the country. I am convinced that the shortest road to that fuller political life which many of you so greatly desire is to accept this Constitution and to work it for all it is worth. Of their nature, politics are ever dynamic, and to imagine that their expression in terms of a written Constitution can render them static would be utterly to disregard the lessons of history and indeed the dictates of commonsense.

It is true that politics are ever dynamic, that, no constitution, however autocratic, can bring about permanent stagnation in the political life of a country. The most powerful

despots have not succeeded in calling a halt to political change for the better. But no constitution can be accepted irrespective of its character, merely because, like all earthly things, it cannot be everlasting. The worst despotisms have been followed by democracies. But that fact never made the despotisms acceptable. A constitution can be accepted, however grudgingly, only if its working naturally leads to something better. Lord Linlithgow knows this. So he says that the working of the present constitution would be the shortest road to a fuller political life. Here opinions have differed and will continue to differ. Lord Linlithgow is an experienced statesman, but nevertheless his *ipse dixit* cannot convince doubters. If he can and does point out provisions in the Act and the Instrument of Instructions in support of his dictum, they would be worthy of serious consideration.

Governor's Powers

As is quite natural, Lord Linlithgow's statement tends to produce the impression that the powers which the provincial governors are authorized by the Government of India Act to exercise in their individual judgment, at their discretion, or in the discharge of their special responsibilities, are extremely narrow in scope and range. They may appear so to His Excellency, but politically-minded Indians think otherwise. Referring to the Act and the Instrument of Instructions to the governors, His Excellency observes :

Those documents make it clear beyond any possibility of question that, under Provincial Autonomy, in all matters falling within the ministerial field, including the position of the minorities, the services, etc., the Governor will ordinarily be guided in the exercise of his powers by the advice of his Ministers, and that those Ministers will be responsible not to Parliament but to the provincial legislature. The only qualifications of this rule are in respect of certain specific and clearly defined matters. The most important of these are those known as the special responsibilities, and of those special responsibilities again the most important are the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of the Province or any part of the Province, the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities and the securing to the services and their dependants of any rights provided or preserved for them under the Act and the safeguarding of their legitimate interests.........Those special responsibilities are, as I have said, restricted in scope to the narrowest limits possible.

Regular readers of this Review know that in our last May number Dr. Nanda Lal Chatterji showed how wide is the range of the discretionary powers of the governor. He contributed a similar article to *The Hindustan Review* also. Governors have been given great powers as regards the council of ministers, legislatures, finance and revenue, extraordinary legislation, police and other services, defence and terrorism, discrimination, excluded areas, "special responsibilities," and the constitution. In this Review the writer concluded :

"The cumulative effect of the discretionary powers will thus be very great, and may finally determine the evolution of constitutionalism in India. In the first place, the Ministers will have no influence on a considerable part of the executive actions of the Governor. In the second place, some part of his legislative work also will be beyond the control of the Ministers or the Legislature. In the third place, the Ministers may be dominated by the Govrnor in every vital matter concerning the maintenance of law and order. In the fourth place, the Governor will, far from being a constitutional head of the Government, tend to become the real controller of the executive machinery. Lastly, the growth of the convention of parliamentary supremacy over the executive may be retarded."

The conclusions of the same writer in *The Hindustan Review* are given below.

The aforesaid powers which the Governor is to exercise "*in his individual judgment*" in conjunction with his separate "*discretionary*" authority make his position constitutionally paramount *vis-a-vis* the Ministry and the Legislature, and leave to the latter legally very little freedom beyond the management of the routine side of administration. To the student of the Constitution it will surely appear that these powers are essentially undemocratic. In theory, these do severely restrict the scope and extent of Ministerial responsibility. How far in actual practice they will do so is yet to be seen. As the Statute actually stands, gubernatorial authority is nearly absolute.

It may be said that the governors may not exercise their powers. But no constitution can be considered satisfactory which leaves the destiny of a people at the mercy or forbearance of governors. If the pressure of Congress intransigeance vanishes, will they continue to display sweet reasonableness?

"Farming Thirty Centuries Ago"

The Farmer's Weekly, Vol. LII, No. 1434, published at Bloemfontain, South Africa, has published an article with the above heading, giving some idea of the contents of an ancient Sanskrit treatise on agriculture traditionally ascribed to the sage Parasara, who is believed to have flourished somewhere about 1300 B.C. The name of the book is "Krishi-Sangraha." Last year's September number of the series of monthly letters circulated by the Imperial Bureau of Soil Science consisted of a translation in part of this book, made by Dr. S. P. Raychaudhuri, a well-known agricultural expert who worked for some time at the Rothamsted Experimental Station. The Director of the Imperial Bureau of Soil Science is Sir E. I.

Russell, D.Sc., F.R.S., who visited India some months ago.

In reproducing part of the translation of the aforesaid book in the Imperial Bureau's monthly letter, the editor observes that from it "the reader may judge how much—if any—progress has been made in certain agricultural arts during the last thirty centuries."

In giving some extracts from the translation, *The Farmer's Weekly* also observes :

". . . such extracts as are given will suffice to prompt the same question asked above : what progress—if any—in certain agricultural arts has been made during the last 3000 years ? "

The South African weekly mentioned above observes that "The fundamental truth regarding agriculture as the structure on which human existence is based is well expressed in the introduction" to "Krishi-Sangraha," which reads, in part :

"Even persons who possess gold, silver and jewels and many clothings beg from agriculturists; because people have to starve for want of food even if they wear ornaments of gold on their necks, hands and ears. It is food which is life, it is food which is strength and it is food which is the success of all wealth. Gods, demons and men all live on food. This food is produced from paddy, which cannot be produced without agriculture."

In the opinion of *The Farmer's Weekly*, "The principles of farm management could hardly be better stated than the following words" :

"If the work of agriculture is well cared for, then one gets gold out of it; if, however, agriculture is neglected then it brings poverty. Other sages say : Give charge for the arrangement of the household to the father and of the kitchen to the mother. For looking after livestock appoint men whom you can trust equally as yourself, and you should personally look after the farming operations, because agriculture, cows, archery, wife and kingdom are all destroyed by a moment's inattention. Able-bodied men should turn their attention to agriculture, which will bring welfare to the nation. It is only disabled persons who beg like low-class men.

"The farmer who looks after his cattle, goes to the fields himself, is well acquainted with timings of rain and crops, possesses good seeds and is free from idleness—that farmer gets all types of crops and never feels tired."

As regards kindness to animals, the same paper asks :

Is the civilized European as considerate regarding the welfare of his animals as this ancient Brahmin, who says concerning animals which are used for draught :

"At the time of cultivation the animals should be driven in such a way that they are never subjected to extreme hardships. Crops obtained by giving bodily pain to animals are worthless for any auspicious work. Even crops produced four times in quantity by giving hardships to animals, become fruitless by the breath of the animals and therefore they bring poverty to the farmers. If the cattle are supplied with seed-cake powder, grass, smoke and other nourishing substances, and allowed to graze morning and evening in the fields—then they never get tired."

Stable and cowshed hygiene was well attended to. The South African editor asks :

How do the methods of the average modern farmer compare with the procedure for cleaning cowsheds, which is thus stated :

"If the animal shed of a farmer is strongly built, clean and devoid of any animal dung, then the animals attain growth even without nourishment. If, however, the animals, when they come out from their sheds, are besmeared with dung and urine, then all the nourishing substances are useless, or, in other words, in such a house, the animals do not acquire strength even with the best kind of food."

More elaborate rules follow of the kind that one would expect from a people largely governed by observances of a superstitious nature, but it is still profoundly true that "Lakshmi (goddess of fortune) stays permanently in the cowshed where phlegm, urine, cow-dung, mud and dust are not allowed to accumulate."

The following statement in Parasara's work shows that in ancient times substantial farmers used as many as eight oxen to a plough and that small holders had in those days as hard a struggle as now :

"Cultivation with the help of eight oxen to a plough is a virtuous affair; it is traders only who use ploughs with the help of six oxen and only people who want to kill oxen, use ploughs each attached to two only. The possession of ten ploughs makes the goddess of fortune stay with the farmer permanently; five ploughs bring wealth; three ploughs bring food; while, if the farmer possesses only one plough, he is constantly involved in debt. If a farmer possesses two ploughs, he can manage his own requirements only, but cannot serve the welfare of his ancestors, gods or guests."

The Farmer's Weekly observes :—

The chemistry of manures may not have been so well understood then, but that its value was appreciated is shown by the instructions given for utilizing cow-dung.

Some common-sense rules for the collection and preservation of seeds are given, for "if the seeds be incapable of germinating into plants, then the farmer, the manure, the field, the ox and the plough are all useless." Rules for the sowing of seeds are given.

The importance of keeping the field free of weed growth is realized in the injunction, "After transplantation of rice the weeds should be removed from the field, as otherwise the growth of the rice plants is decreased due to competition by grasses; therefore there cannot be a good crop."

Views with regard to the conservation of moisture in the fields are emphatic, for : "The fool who does not preserve water in his field during the months of Aswin and Kartik cannot expect any crop. Just as a man who wants to preserve his family, protects the lady of the family with great care, in the same way the farmer should preserve water in the fields."

Finally, the editor of the farmer's journal observes :

All this was written, and, no doubt, practised, 3,000 years ago. Shorn of all those rites, ceremonies and ritual which we moderns may regard as pure superstition but which were powerful incentives in keeping the

agriculturists of those days up to the mark, there is no doubt that these people knew how to farm and thoroughly understood the fundamental principles of good farming.

"The Orient Today"

The State University of Iowa, U. S. A., issues a weekly bulletin. One of these bulletins is named "The Orient Today." It includes a list of books of general interest on the Orient, China, India, and Japan, compiled for the general reader by Dr. Sudhindra Bose of the Department of Political Science at the State University of Iowa. Dr. Bose gives a course on oriental politics and civilization and uses many of these books in his class work. He also teaches the same subject in the summer session. In addition, Dr. Bose offers two correspondence courses through the Extension Division of his university. These courses are: Oriental Politics and Civilization, and Imperialism and International Relations.

The list of books includes several works by Indian authors, such as R. Mukerji, B. K. Sarkar, Lajput Rai, Taraknath Das, Dhan Gopal Mukerji, Major B. D. Basu, G. N. Singh, R. C. Dutt, P. O. Pillai, K. T. Shah, Brij Narain, Surendra Nath Das Gupta, S. Radhakrishnan, Rabindranath Tagore and O. C. Gangoly.

It is stated in the introductory paragraphs of the bulletin:

> The recent awakening of the East marks a new epoch in human history. It is perhaps true that more political, social, and spiritual changes have taken place in the Orient within the last few decades than anywhere else in the world. Moreover, the "unchangeable" Orient is now passing through such vast transformations that their full significance is scarcely realized in the Occident.
>
> The fact is that Asia is being re-born. Its problems are as numerous as they are difficult and far-reaching in their effects. In dealing with this New Asia, one is compelled to discard his old yard-stick and make a fresh survey with a new measuring rod. The age of the fabled East is no more; we must learn to look realities in the face.
>
> Asia must be re-studied and re-considered in the light of the newer situation. The rise of Japan, China, and India has brought forth a host of problems which challenge our attention. They cannot simply be ignored out of existence.
>
> As a step in the re-thinking of the Orient, a list of selected books is here suggested. The books deal with politics, economics, history, philosophy, art, and other important aspects of Oriental culture. The list is obviously incomplete, and the books necessarily represent many points of view.

"The World Today"

The University of Maryland, U. S. A., has made arrangements for a course of lectures on present-day world problems as a special feature of its summer session (June 23 to August 3, 1937). This course is designed to furnish those interested in these problems with a better understanding of the underlying causes of friction as well as the bases for international co-operation in the world today. It will consist of lectures and discussions by men familiar with these problems in their respective fields. The lecturers will be: Leon C. Marshall, LL.D., (U. S. A.); Gaston Nerval (Bolivia); Taraknath Das, A.M., Ph.D. (India); Charles Pergler, D.C.L., LL.D. (Bohemia); Grover Clark, M.A. (U. S. A.); Leonid I. Strakhovsky, D. HIST. SC. (Russia); and R. G. Sleinmeyer, Ph.D.

Dr. Taraknath Das will speak on Cultural Heritage of India, British Rule in India, The Movement for Indian Freedom, and India, Asia, and the World.

Arrangements for the delivery of such courses of lectures by specialists should be made in our universities also.

"Unauthorized Alterations in Sir B. N. Seal's Address"

In our last May number, page 615, there was a note with the heading "Unauthorized Alterations in Sir B. N. Seal's Address," in which we pointed out some differences between Dr. Seal's address as delivered at the Sri Ramakrishna Parliament of Religions and that printed in the April number of *Prabuddha Bharata*. Commenting on our note *Prabuddha Bharata* for June writes:

> "The May number of *The Modern Review* in its Notes cites some instances of difference between the versions printed by *Prabuddha Bharata* and *The Modern Review* in their April number of Sir B. N. Seal's Presidential address at the Parliament of Religions and charges the *Prabuddha Bharata* of having made unauthorized alterations. This is absolutely unwarrantable. We did not make any alterations whatsoever. We have simply reproduced, like other papers, word for word the printed brochure containing the President's speech that was distributed in the Town Hall on that evening among the audience and the journalists. It is quite likely that there may be more instances of difference between our version and that published in *The Modern Review;* for the Doctor was at liberty to introduce changes till it was actually delivered on the 1st March. As a matter of fact he has made additions even after the actual delivery of the speech as *The Modern Review* itself mentions."

We do not at all question the correctness of the *Prabuddha Bharata*'s statement that it did not make any alterations in the address. But there is not the least doubt that there have been unauthorized alterations. Who made them? Would it be "absolutely unwarrantable" to suggest that they were made by those who printed the brochure containing the address.

Evidently the printing was done at the instance of the organisers of the Parliament of Religions, with whom the editor of *Prabuddha Bharata* is not unconnected. Dr. Seal had nothing to do with the printing. He did not correct any proof—the final proofs were not submitted to him for his approval.

It is not we alone who perceived the differences between the authorized version published by us and the version published in *Prabuddha Bharata*. Dr. Seal himself detected the differences and wrote the following letter to the editor of *Prabuddha Bharata* :

22nd May, 1937.

To

The Editor, "Prabuddha Bharata."

I am sorry to find the "Prabuddha Bharata" has published a garbled and adulterated version of my address as General President at the Ramakrishna Centenary Celebrations. The version published by you gives an entirely wrong impression by omitting what was most material and adding what I never said.

"The Modern Review" in its April number publishes the genuine text and I trust you will, in your next issue, publish the whole address as actually delivered, or otherwise make the necessary corrections.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) Brajendra Nath Seal.

To this letter Dr. Seal received the following reply from the editor *Prabuddha Bharata* :

29th May, 1937.

Sir Brajendra Nath Seal, Kt.
Bhowanipore, Calcutta.

Revered Sir,

Thanks for your kind letter of the 22nd May. Your Presidential address as published in the April number of our journal was based word for word on the printed text of the address circulated among the audience and the journalists on the evening of the 1st March when you delivered your speech. We did not make any alterations or modifications.

We regret that we could not arrange for a shorthand report of your speech. However we have already published a note in the June issue of our journal which, we hope, has made the position clear and will give you satisfaction. I am instructing the office to send you a copy of the issue.

We understand that the organizers of the Parliament of Religions will soon bring out the report of its proceedings. We believe that the final proofs of your address will be sent to you for approval.

With best regards,
Sincerely yours,
(Sd.) Swami Maithilyananda,
Editor, P. B.

It is to be noted that in its comments on our Note *Prabuddha Bharata* suggests that Dr. Seal himself may have introduced the changes, pointed out by us, "after the actual delivery of the speech." But in the *Prabuddha Bharata* Editor's reply there is no such suggestion.

The additions made by Dr. Seal after the delivery of the address were definitely indicated in the note printed in small type at the end of the address in our April number, page 402, and in the 'Correction' in the May number, page 506. The differences which we pointed out in our Note in the May number were not among these additions. We have been authorized by Dr. Seal to state that after the delivery of the speech he did not make any additions (or alterations) except those indicated by us. And of course, before the delivery of the speech he never wrote the sentences printed in the April number of *Prabuddha Bharata* pointed out in our Note in our May number, page 615, as his letter to the editor of that journal, dated May 22nd, about the "garbled and adulterated version" published in it, shows.

Capitalism and Class Distinction in Russia

Theoretically Soviet Russia may be spoken of as communistic, but facts appear to show that there have grown up class distinctions and capitalism in that vast region.

Mr. Gifford Ernest of the *Chicago Daily News* delivered an address in Community Church, Shanghai, on May 9 last, giving his impressions of the Soviet system as he had watched its working. According to the *People's Tribune,* a fortnightly review of China, Mr. Wang Chang-Wei, chairman of the Central Political Council of China, has also in a recent address of his referred to the changes that have taken place in Russian policy since the early days of the Revolution, and it is interesting to look a little more closely into the subject.

The China fortnightly writes :

One of the most striking changes is the substitution of an intense national for an international outlook. Lenin's view was that the essential thing—"even when times are most trying"—was for Communists to be real internationalists, and while developing the revolutionary struggle at home to support in every way similar struggles in all other countries. But under the Stalin regime it is declared that "defence of the fatherland is the supreme law of life," and citizens of Soviet Russia are urged to rally for the protection of the "honour, glory, might, and prosperity" of the fatherland. Instead of the old international slogan, "Workers of the world, unite!" the people of "Communist" Russia are told to be ready to fight for *national* honour and glory—just like the people of nations most bitterly opposed to Communism. Again, just as the "Hitler Youth" movement keeps close watch on all juveniles in Germany and sees that they are not contaminated by "dangerous thoughts," so in Russia the "Communist Youth" movement maintains strict surveillance on youngsters when in and out of school. Yet another striking resemblance between contemporary Russia and anti-Communist countries is the stimulation of the birth-rate. Just as the militarist nations demand more "gun-fodder," so does Soviet Russia call for increased production of babies. Women have been given equal rights as citizens—but are expected to do their "duty" as potential mothers of eight children!

Our Chinese contemporary explains how and why Soviet Russia has become nationally minded instead of remaining internationally minded :

It must be admitted, however, that the rise of "nationalism" in place of the former international outlook has been the inevitable consequence of dangers threatening Russia from without. With powerful enemies on both sides, even an "internationalist" must prepare to defend himself, and the only way in which Soviet citizens can be roused to any enthusiasm for military schemes is by appealing to their "national" sentiments, and, when necessary, creating them.

After observing that the difference between "Communist" Russia and "Imperialist" nations narrows down to the difference between one fanatical patriot and another, and that defence of one's native land becomes "the supreme law of life" for both, the China fortnightly proceeds :

Still more remarkable is the gradual development in Soviet Russia of a new aristocracy and bureaucracy in what Mr. Ernest declares is a "classless society." According to the Marxian theory, with the advent of Socialism the State, as an instrument of compulsion, dies away, this process beginning (in theory) from the moment industries are socialized, but in Soviet Russia the principle of State-control over the lives of individuals has been "fully and firmly established"—which means the socialized State has actually become that instrument of compulsion which Marxian teaching says it would *not* be. The power of the State has passed from the workers' and peasants' organizations into the hands of a privileged bureaucracy which, although calling itself the Communist Party, is regarded by the Trotskyites as nothing more than a dictator's clique. In what is supposed to be a "classless society" there are privileged people who are actually "capitalists" enjoying the benefits of unearned increment. Some workers in Russia receive 100 roubles a month, while others get 1,600 roubles, owing to its having been necessary to stimulate enterprise and ability by differential rewards. Those who are Stakhanovists (workers who set themselves to produce more than the output expected of them) get generous bonuses, and so become a privileged class in a community which is supposed to regard all citizens as equal. Not only do these super-workers receive substantial monetary rewards, but they are encouraged to put their money into savings-banks or buy Government bonds, receiving 7 or 8 per cent interest on their "capital" —Communists receiving unearned increment upon their capitalistic investments. It has been found that in the United States the heads of some industrial concerns receive from 40 to 50 times the average wage paid to their workers; a similar comparison of the wages paid to technical "specialists" and unskilled workers in Russia shows almost exactly the same proportion. Thus the "differential rewards" paid to workers under the Soviet system amount to practically the same as the salaries and wages paid under the "capitalist" system in the United States. Taking into consideration the high interest paid in Soviet Russia (free of income and inheritance taxes) it seems that many American "capitalists" would be still better off as Russian "Communists" if the general level of wealth in the two countries was about the same. This is a situation which certainly could never have been contemplated by Marx, or Lenin, or even by Stalin in his younger days, but it is the situation prevailing today in Soviet Russia— . . .

We are told further :

Trotsky will deal in his forthcoming book with the amazing inequality seen in the payment of labour in Soviet Russia— . . . It is declared that the earnings of some Stakhanovists (super-workers) are 20 or 30 times the amount paid to lower categories of labour, while "experts" and "specialists" receive salaries which in many cases would pay for 80 or 100 unskilled labourers. According to Trotsky, "in scope of inequality in the payment of labour, the Soviet Union has not only caught up to, but far surpasses the capitalist countries."

Nevertheless, though in the opinion of *The People's Tribune* Stalin has departed from the Communism of Lenin and the anti-capitalism of Marx, and though the "world revolution" idea has been put on the shelf, that paper pays the following compliment to the Russian dictator:

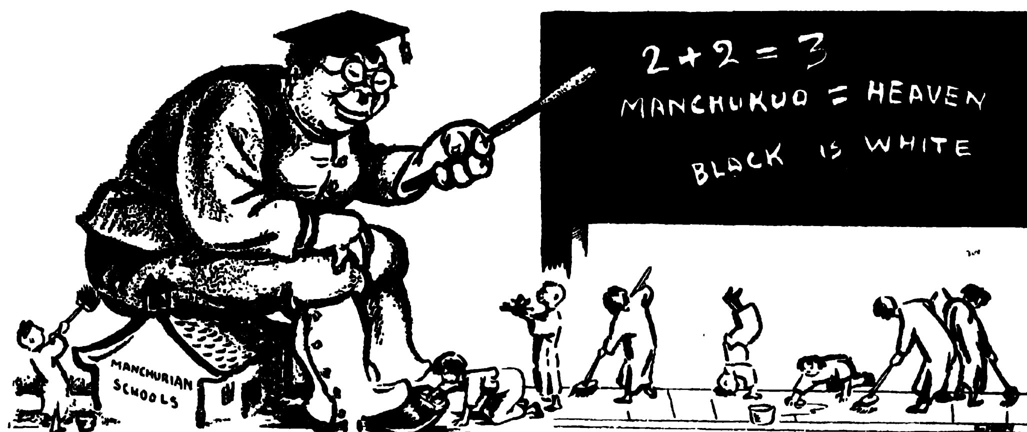
Stalin has undoubtedly succeeded in restoring Soviet Russia to a place among the Great Powers as a political, military, and economic entity which cannot be ignored. His two Five-Year Plans may not have produced all the results hoped for, but they *did* produce tremendous results. His system of "differential rewards" to workers may not be Communism, but it encourages men and women to work hard; his collective farming may be a system of giving perpetual franchises to profit-making agricultural corporations, instead of really Communistic holdings, but they are producing greater crops and making use of machinery in place of serf-labour; his savings-banks and bond-issues may be turning embryo-Communists into interest-receiving capitalists, but Soviet citizens appear to have no objection whatever to receiving unearned increment; the new Constitution of the "Godless State" gives votes to 50,000 priests of the Greek Orthodox Church, and to hundreds of others, preachers of Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism. All of which seems to show that those who refer to Soviet Russia as a Communistic State either do not know what is going on in that country, or do not know what Communism meant to those who carried out the 1917 Revolution.

"Slave Education" by Japanese Imperialists

The Voice of China for May 15, 1937, has an article under the caption "Slave Education." In it the writer describes and comments on the education imparted by the Japanese authorities in the schools in Manchuria, which the Japanese call Manchukuo. The whole article is a revealing document. At its top there is a cartoon which is reproduced here. Among other things the article tells the reader :

At a meeting of the school principals, it was carefully explained by the Japanese supervisors that the basic principle of education in "Manchukuo", since it was education for an inferior people, was that it must be based upon labor. This is in accordance with their slogan "The Manchurian people have only to use their hands, but not their brains, since we (the Japanese) have planned everything for them," and it is part of their plan to make slaves of the Manchurian people.

A striking difference has been introduced in the Chinese system of education.



Although the Chinese system of education is formally retained, in reality there is a striking difference. Practically all of the colleges and senior middle schools have been closed or forced out of existence. Higher education in Manchuria is confined to short course normal schools and junior middle schools. The major emphasis is placed on vocational training. All of the technical and commercial schools have shorter courses and more vocational classes. These schools are attended by graduates of the high primary schools. Since the beginning of the present term, there are no more junior middle schools, all of these having been transformed into vocational schools. The educational opportunities for girls have been greatly reduced, there being only one girls' middle school in several districts.

Corresponding to the increase in the number of technical courses, there is a noticeable decrease in general academic courses.

"Graduates" of the high primary schools are those who have finished the primary school courses there.

It will be noticed that on the pretext of giving vocational and technical training, facilities for such general education as would result in intellectual awakening have been curtailed. Vocational and technical training, as given in Manchurian schools, controlled by the Japanese, is only another name for labour training of the manual and menial sort.

As regards the text-books used we are told:

The text-books used in all of the schools have been compiled by the Ministry of Education of "Manchukuo." The books used in the primary schools consist primarily of sayings and deeds of the Japanese, and correspond largely to the stories told in Japan. Emphasis is placed on the "teachings of the good kings," but the good teachings and good deeds of our great Chinese heroes are forbidden. The material in the Chinese text-books for the middle schools is composed of dry essays, which have little or no appeal to the students. If the teacher wishes to use additional material outside the text-books, he has to seek the permission of "competent" authorities. If he uses such materials without first obtaining the necessary permission, he is certain to incur the displeasure of these authorities, and is more than likely to be dismissed from his post, if he escapes a more tragic fate.

It must not be supposed that the Chinese critic of the Japanese-controlled system of education in Manchuria is against real vocational and technical training. Says he:

It is very important that our youth be trained for useful work, and if the Japanese have added a course to their curriculum which will make our youth better citizens, we should welcome this new feature of their education. Perhaps here is a bit of Japanese culture which we can accept.

But instead of real vocational and technical training of all grades, the schools in Manchuria give labour training, which occupies more time than is devoted to any other subject in all the schools. Examining the nature of this labour training, the writer of the article says:

It consists in doing the menial tasks for which otherwise servants would have to be employed. The students not only clean their own class rooms, the school yards, the principal's office rooms, the teachers' quarters and other school offices, store rooms and toilets, but they are sent to the nearby public places to clean them also. These include the Confucius Temples, the libraries and parks. The boy students are even put to cleaning the streets, while the girl students are taught to serve tea. First the Japanese language, so that they will understand their masters, and second training in the performance of menial tasks, so that they will be able to serve them!

"The administration of the schools is entirely in the hands of the Japanese." "Applicants for the various schools,—primary, middle and normal, are required to present a number of documents before they can be admitted as students." One of these has to be countersigned by the police station of the applicant's native place! "Those whose families fail to pay the family tax are not permitted to take the entrance

examination." "The applicant must produce a guaranty bond signed by a rich and reliable merchant or a government official.

Through this means the Japanese hope not only to reduce the number of students, but to make sure that the students who are admitted to the schools are "desirable" and secure from dangerous thoughts.

In conclusion the writer of the article says:

In spite of the rigid control over the curriculum and the teachers, the Japanese have more fear and distrust of the people in the educational field than in any other walk of life. They are constantly on the alert for teachers who chance to remember that they are Chinese, or who relate to their students stories of their lost motherland. When suspicion falls on a teacher or on a school principal, he is doomed. The prisons are filled with former teachers in the schools of "Manchukuo," many have died of torture and countless numbers have been killed.

This is the culture which the Japanese wish to bring to China! Not only will our text-books be revised, if they succeed with their cultural diplomacy, but our children will be taught to be the slaves of the aggressor. It is not enough to build our military defenses and to train our people to fight Japan on the battlefield. We must also erect our cultural barriers against invasion by the enemy, lest they make our children their slaves and conquer our country without the firing of a single shot.

Sahebji Maharaj Sir Anandswarup

Sahebji Maharaj Sir Anandswarup, whose untimely death at the age of 58 was reported last month, was the Guru or spiritual head of the Radhaswami sect, and had some 100,000 disciples. The Dayalbagh Colony at Agra, for which nearly 50 lakhs of rupees were spent, became a notable educational and industrial centre under his lead and guidance. He was blessed not only with spiritual vision but also had a practical turn of mind. The credit of having the first irrigation canal, not belonging to the Government, constructed in the United Provinces belongs to Sir Sahebji Maharaj.

Dr. Sitaramayya at Orissa States' People's Conference

Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya delivered a stimulating address as president of the Orissa States' People's Conference held last month at Cuttack. In the course of it he said:—

The States have become the Ulster of India, where progressive ideas can gain no popularity, where political ideals cannot raise their head and where politicians and political movements are choked off betimes. The States are to the people of British India worse than the foreign countries of the world. The people of the provinces are treated as foreigners in the States and *vice versa*, while the people of the States themselves are in them no better than slaves. They do not enjoy fundamental rights of citizenship, they possess no representative institutions worth the name, much less responsible government. They are subject to all the horrors of compulsory labour as well as a kind of veiled slavery. It is hardly to be expected that the passion for freedom should not cross boundaries, artificially created, any more than it can be said that floods, famines, storms and earthquakes should not cross such boundaries between States and Provinces.

So far as the majority of the Indian States is concerned Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's remarks are quite true. But with regard to some States, it would be unfair to charge them with being impervious to progressive ideas. Progressive ideas in one or more of the spheres of education, industry and social reform have gained access to and obtained a footing in, for example, Mysore, Baroda, Travancore, Gwalior, Cochin, etc. In one or more of these spheres they are more progressive than British India. Some political ideals have slightly raised their heads in a few States. But it is perhaps generally true, and the fact is greatly to be regretted, that "politicians and political movements are choked off in the States betimes." In matters directly or indirectly political, the States cannot be more advanced but must be more backward and repressive than British India because of their state of vassalage to the British suzerain power. In politics they must not hold a candle to British India. If British India can win freedom, the people of the States—and perhaps their princes also—will be freer than they now are.

Jogindranath Sircar

Srijut Jogindranath Sircar, author, compiler and publisher of some forty illustrated Bengali books for children, died last month at the age of 70. He was the youngest surviving brother of Dr. Sir Nilratan Sircar. He entered life as a teacher in the City School, Calcutta. Subsequently he began to write books for little children and established a publishing and book-selling firm named City Book Society. About 43 years ago he, along with the late Mrs. Labanyaprabha Sarkar and Ramananda Chatterjee, persuaded the late Pandit Sivanath Sastri to become the editor of a new Bengali monthly for children, named "Mukul." Srijut Sircar contributed largely to its success. During the Bengal anti-partition agitation he published a collection of Bengali patriotic songs, under the title "Bande Mataram." It was a very good compilation and had a phenomenal sale. It is no longer in the market, as owing to a strong, perhaps not unfounded, rumour that it would be proscribed, it was voluntarily withdrawn from the market.

Jogindranath Sircar still remains unrivalled in the field of juvenile literature.



Jogindranath Sircar

Krishna Prasad Basak

Srijut Krishna Prasad Basak died last month at the age of 70 years and seven months. Not to speak of places outside Bengal, even in Bengal he was not widely known. But though he was not famous, he was an enthusiastic and strenuous worker in the field of girls' and women's education—and successful, too, he was to the extent that success in such work is feasible under present circumstances in the country.

He was a teacher when he accepted the editorship of *The Advocate* of Lucknow, the late Munshi Ganga Prasad Varma's paper, and edited it for some 15 years. In 1910 he founded a girls' school at Giridih and devoted four years of hard and unremitting labour to its improvement. His most noteworthy work was done in connection with the Nari-Siksha Samiti, of which Lady Abala Bose is the devoted honorary secretary. He was its organizer and assistant secretary and the right hand man of Lady Bose. This society was founded in 1916 with the object of giving such training to the helpless widows of Bengal as would enable them to be useful members of society and to earn their living by teachership or some other kind of honorable remunerative work. Such training is given free to widows in the Vidyasagar Bani-bhavan. Scores of widows have become self-reliant after receiving education in this institution. Besides this central institution the Nari-Siksha Samiti has under its supervision and control some 200 girls' primary schools in different districts of Bengal, which owe their foundation to the energy, labours and organizing capacity of Srijut Krishna Prasad Basak. Even in his advanced age he trudged from village to village to promote the cause of girls' education. It was when engaged in such work in the village of Palong in



Krishna Prasad Basak

Faridpur that he had a stroke of paralysis, of which he died after remaining bed-ridden for 19 months. Even in such a prostrate condition he continued to do the work of the Nari-Siksha Samiti. He was always very methodical and optimistic.

International P. E. N. Congress at Paris

The Fifteenth International Congress of the P. E. N. Clubs of distinguished writers in more than forty countries was to meet in Paris from the 21st to the 25th of June last. The India Centre, which was represented at the Barcelona and Buenos Aires Congresses of 1935 and 1936, respectively, by its founder, Srimati Sophia Wadia, will be represented at Paris by Dr. Amiya C. Chakravarty, D.PHIL. (Oxon.)



Dr. Amiya C. Chakravarty

The last May number of *The Modern Review* contains a note on Dr. Chakravarty. He has specialized in English poetry of the post-war period. His book, by which he obtained his Oxford doctorate, is to be published shortly. He has been made a Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford. He is the only Indian, perhaps the only Asiatic, who is a Fellow of an Oxford College.

Another member of the India Centre, Mr. A. A. Kanekar, Editor of the Bombay Marathi weekly, *Chitra,* will attend the Congress informally.

The programme of the Congress includes a reception to delegates by the President of the Republic, visits to Chartres and Versailles and to the Paris Exposition, as well as a formal visit to the new P. E. N. International House at 66, rue Pierre-Charron, Paris (VIIIe). After the closing of the Congress and the farewell banquet, a few days have been set apart for optional excursions of the delegates to visit the chateaux of the Loire and in Normandy.

The following topics, arranged for discussion at the Congress, were to have been taken up by Committees whose reports were to have been submitted at the closing session :

(1) Has present-day world literature a distinctive style?

(2) How, aside from translations, can the universalization of culture be furthered?

How particularly to facilitate critical exchanges between different countries and the organization of an international *critique*?

(3) Possibilities and means of expressing collectivity in the literature of today and tomorrow.

(4) The future of poetry in the modern world. (Conditions laid upon poetry by the present organization of society).

Srimati Sophia Wadia's message to the P. E. N. Congress, cabled to its general secretary Mr. Hermon Ould, includes the following :

" May its proceedings help to bring concord and peace to Europe sick with war fever.

" I hope that Congress will support maintenance of free speech and of free thought everywhere, enabling each writer to express his heart feelings and each country to realize the ideals of pure liberalism."

Orissa States' People's Conference

The Cuttack correspondent of *Advance* has sent to it an account of the Orissa States' People's Conference held last month at Cuttack. It is given below in an abridged form.

The sessions of the Orissa States' People's Conference were held with great enthusiasm in the Cuttack Town Hall under the presidentship of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramyya. Delegates from Athgarh, Dhenkanal, Daspalla, Tigira, Keonjhar, Nayagarh, Mayurbhanj, Ranpur, Athmallik and some other States attended. Besides them a distinguished gathering participated in the Conference.

A number of resolutions were adopted in the conference.

The first resolution proposed to take all necessary steps for impressing on the rulers of Orissa to give publi-

city to all laws, enactments and codes which have been adopted for the administration of the States.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

The second resolution moved by Mr. Sarangdhar Das urged upon the rulers of the Orissa States the immediate necessity of conferring upon their subjects (a) rights of occupancy on their holdings and (b) fundamental rights of citizenship.

The third resolution invited the rulers of the States to contribute liberally to the proposed University of Orissa and to so organise their educational policy as not to affect adversely the cultural unity of the Oriya community.

Mr. B. Das, M.L.A., spoke on this resolution by the special request of the President and conveyed the will of co-operation and brotherhood on behalf of the people of British India to the Orissa States' people.

In another resolution the conference appointed a committee, consisting of Babu Satish Channdra Bose, Bar-at-Law, Cuttack, Sj. Balabantray Mehta, Secretary of the All-India States People's Conference and Babu Brajasundar Das, ex-M.L.A. (New Delhi) with Mr. Sarangdhar Das, as convener, to inquire into the irregularities, illegalities and acts of repression and place them before the Working Committee of the Orissa States People's Conference.

It recorded a strong protest against the serving of orders under section 144 Cr. P. C. on Babu Dayananda Satpathy for enrolling members for the Conference.

FEDERATION OPPOSED

The conference passed a resolution declaring inability to accept the Federation proposed in the Government of India Act, on the ground that there is no representation of the States people.

Resolutions were also passed urging upon rulers of States and the Government of Orissa to make no discrimination in matter of service etc., urging the abolition of the "Bethi" or forced labour system, and the demands of the All-India States People's Conference were accepted.

Then a permanent Committee, with Mr. Sarangdhar Das as Secretary, was formed and a constitution for it was accepted, the object of which is the attainment of responsible government.

Dr. Pattabhi, in his concluding remarks, thanked the people of Cuttack for the co-operation rendered to the people of the States and said, "A poor beginning always goes with a good ending, and a pompous beginning has a disastrous ending." He said that the conference was no longer a depressed class organization, but it would play a great part in our political life and so it was bound to prosper and be an asset to the country in order to achieve its goal.

Ramakrishna Mission Maternity Hospital and Child Welfare Centre

The Ramakrishna Mission has a maternity hospital and child welfare centre in Bhowanipur, Calcutta, under the name of Sisumangal Pratisthan. It has been doing excellent work. It is at present located in a rented house. But such institutions require buildings specially constructed for the purpose. This particular institution deserves all the help that may be necessary for acquiring a big plot of land and constructing buildings thereupon.

Forty-hour Week and Japan's Working Hours

Attempts are being made at Geneva to make textile factories adopt a forty-hour week. Japan has long ceased to be a member of the League of Nations. And she is an independent country. Can she be compelled or persuaded to reduce her hours of work? Even with a week of more than forty hours India is unable to compete with Japan. What will be India's position when a forty-hour week is introduced here? It should be borne in mind that the factors which enable Japanese industry to more than compete successfully in foreign markets despite high tariff walls, are a disciplined and hardy people, low wages, long hours and efficient factories. The people of no country can be hardy if its health conditions are as bad as they are in India. Sufficiency of nourishing food is a *sine qua non* of good health. But owing to her poverty India cannot feed her children properly. And she is also subject to many epidemic and endemic diseases, with utterly inadequate arrangements for medical treatment. Education of the right sort makes for efficiency. But there is no country in the world under a civilized government where educational facilities are so bad and so insufficient as in India.

As for the long hours of work in Japan, an editorial in the "Japanese Weekly Chronicle" states :

> "There is some hope of a 12-hour day. Osaka factory statistics recently revealed that in a few works a 19-hour day is now customary, while the majority run to 16-hour schedule."

We are for humane treatment of labourers But if the enforcement of a 40-hour week leads to the closing down of many mills owing to Japanese and other foreign competition, will that be good for the workers of those factories?

An Amateur Chinese Aviator

Mr. Khouw Ke-Hien is a young amateur Chinese aviator who is the first to fly from Batavia to Nanking in an aeroplane built by himself.

Women Workers in Mines

The Government of India has recently issued a press communique stating that it has been decided to suspend for a period of three months the operation of the New Regulations prohibiting women from working underground in mines. The New Regulations will, therefore,

come into force from October 1 instead of on the 1st July. Commenting on the Government's argument in support of this decision, *The Servant of India* writes :

The argument advanced by the Government for suspending the operation of the new Regulations is that the final exclusion of women should not coincide with the time when other labour is likely to be the shortest. In our opinion, this argument is untenable, in view of the fact that there is no guarantee of adequate supply of labour forthcoming even after the 1st of October. If the employers find it difficult to get a sufficient number of men to work in mines, it is their obvious duty to attract more labour by offering higher wages. The Government of India have admitted the fact in their communique that there has been a sharp rise in prices of coal due to greater industrial activity in the country. It is, therefore, all the more necessary that there should be a rise in the wages in order to attract sufficient labour and not the suspension of the new Regulations. By suspending the Regulations till the 1st of October, the Government of India have once again shown their readiness to help the industry at the expense of labour.

Indian Statistical Institute Examinations

Dr. H. Sinha, hon. joint secretary, Indian Statistical Institute, Presidency College, Calcutta, informs us :

Two examinations will be held in December 1937 for the award respectively of (1) Computer's Certificate Part I which will cover minimum requirements for posts of junior computers in agricultural stations, government offices, business firms, and scientific institutions, and (2) Statistician's Diploma Part I which is intended for officers and research workers who desire to acquire a general knowledge of modern statistical methods. It is intended to hold examinations for the award of Computer's Certificate Part II and Statistician's Diploma Part II in 1938 along with the examinations for the two junior certificates.

In order to maintain proper scientific standards the co-operation of statisticians from abroad has been secured for this work. Prof. A. L. Bowley (*University of London*), Prof. R. A. Fisher (*University of London*), Prof. E. S. Pearson (*University of London*), Dr. A. C. Aitken (*University of Edinburgh*), Dr. J. Wishart (*University of Cambridge*), and Dr. J. O. Irwin (*London*) have kindly agreed to act either as examiners or moderators for the two examinations in 1937.

For fuller information, one should write to Dr. H. Sinha.

Singapore and the Kra Canal

Ernest O Hauser writes in *Foreign Policy Reports* (issued on May 15, 1937) on "Anglo-Japanese Rivalry in Southeast Asia":

The growing importance of Singapore as an air base and vital link for commercial air lines adds to its state of preparedness for modern warfare. Singapore's "monopoly," based on geographic facts, has been skilfully used by Britain.

The chief danger which threatens Singapore is the disappearance of this monopoly. The opening of a second sea connection between the Indian and Pacific oceans would shake the entire position of the British Empire in the East, and questions regarding the possibility of such a connection have been periodically asked in the House of Commons. Britain has been particularly disturbed by rumors hinting at an agreement between Siam and Japan to cut a shipping canal across the narrow isthmus of Kra on the northern end of the Malay Peninsula. This isthmus, which is the divide between the Indian and Pacific oceans and represents the "neck" of Singapore, is only 25 miles wide at its narrowest point. The water level on both sides of the isthmus is the same, and the soft alluvial soil would present no particular technical or financial difficulties. The isthmus--politically speaking is part of the kingdom of Siam, the only independent native state in Southeastern Asia.

Japan's "Cultural Penetration"

The same writer writes in the same report :

Japan's cultural authority in southeastern Asia, in so far as it is a reality, is based to a large extent on a deliberate emphasis of religious unity. The idea of Pan-Buddhism propagated by the Shin sect, the most popular Buddhist organization in Japan, may prove an ideological force in this direction. Under the auspices of this sect, an international Pan-Pacific Youth Conference was held at Tokyo in 1934, with Buddhist monks of every Asiatic country attending it. Young monks of the militant Nichiren sect are busy going back and forth between Japan and Calcutta, boasting of contacts in Indian circles, notably Mr. Gandhi.

Japan and European Powers in Asia

The following is an extract from the same report :—

Japan's southward expansion threatens the colonial interests of European powers which, except for Britain, are too weak to hold their own against Japan. Britain, which has a vital interest in the preservation of the status quo, is assuming or is urged to assume the role of protector of the French, Dutch and Portuguese possessions. A tremendous effort has been made to enable the British Empire to face the changing situation in the East : Britain spent more than £10,000,000 in fortifying Singapore-- which today is practically impregnable and is willing to spend an additional £70,000,000 on an Imperial Pacific Fleet. Outlying British dominions, as well as the colonial possessions of Western powers friendly to Britain, feel a new security. Japanese statesmen have assured the world that in the penetration of southeastern Asia exclusively peaceful methods would be employed, and there is no reason to question their sincerity. But should this policy change, the firm stand and effective measures of protection taken by Western colonial powers under British leadership make the success of a non-peaceful venture on the part of Japan highly improbable.

Mysore Dewan's Address

The Address of the Dewan of Mysore to the Representative Assembly (budget session) is characterized by optimism. Regarding Mysore's recovery from depression he says :

In Mysore, we see signs of recovery in the greater readiness with which the *raiyat* is able to pay his land revenue, in the diminution of the burden of his arrears, in the improvement of prices. The results are evident on the one hand, in the wider use of amenities like water

and electric light and power, and, on the other, in an increased consumption of luxuries, such as the excisable articles. The improvement is also reflected in the increased return from railways, transport companies and private business as illustrated by the income-tax returns and in the rapid development of new commercial enterprises.

Of these signs of progress, I would single out for your special attention the remarkable increase in the consumption of electric power, which I regard as a sure indication of progress and prosperity.

He thinks that, with the building of a new generating station at the Shimsha Falls and the harnessing of the Gersoppa Falls, the Mysore Government "ought to be able to supply every nook and corner of the State with what is an indispensable necessity of modern life and industry," namely, electric power. When that day comes, Mysore will be industrially better equipped and more advanced than any province of British India.

Travancore Administration Report

The latest Travancore Administration Report, for 1935-1936 A.D., is an informative and interesting volume. Its Maharaja's proclamation throwing open all state temples to all Hindus, irrespective of caste, has recently brought it into special prominence. But even before that proclamation, it was noted for its progress in education and cognate matters.

Hinduism, the religion of the ruling family, is the predominant religion of Travancore. Yet, out of its 5,095,973 inhabitants 1,604,475 are Christians and 353,274 Mahomedans. That more than one-third of the population of a Hindu state ruled by a Hindu dynasty is non-Hindu is presumably due mainly to the prevalence in it of 'untouchability' and 'unapproachability.' This fact enables one to understand the importance of the Maharaja's proclamation, though he issued it because of his sense of justice and a liberal and enlightened understanding of the essence of Hinduism. During the decade ending in March 1931, the Hindus increased by 22.9 per cent., the Christians by 36.8 per cent. and the Mahomedans by 30.6 per cent. It will be instructive to note the future rates of increase of these communities.

Educational Expenditure in Travancore

One of the reasons why Travancore is one of the best educated regions of India is the liberal expenditure of that State on education. A coloured chart, facing page 21 of its latest administration report, shows the proportion of expenditure of the State under various heads to the total expenditure charged to revenue. Under no other single head is the expenditure greater than that under education, as the following figures show :

Head	Proportion of Expenditure to Total
Education	22.5 per cent.
P. W. D., Maramat and Protective Irrigation ..	14.4 ,,
Devaswoms (Temples), including Contribution and State Charities	11.8 ,,
Pensions	7.8 ,,
Medical, Public Health and Sanitation	6.3 ,,
Administration of Justice ..	5.9 ,,
Subsidy	3.9 ,,
Police	3.4 ,,
Army	3.1 ,,
General Administration .	2.8 ,,
Miscellaneous (Unclassified Heads)	18.1 ,,

Cochin Labour Department

The report on the administration of the Labour Department in the Cochin State for the year 1935-36 shows that "much useful work is being carried on by the department for the uplift of the depressed classes of the State, who number about a lakh and a quarter. All round improvements in their moral, material and intellectual conditions are clearly perceptible, and the good work thus begun. . . will continue until the fullest emancipation of these poor people is achieved"

"There was no change in the general policy or practical working of the department and the uplift work continued on the same lines as in previous years and comprised the following :

1. Organization and running of schools for the special benefit of the depressed classes.
2. Award of scholarships and stipends both literary and industrial for the promotion of their education.
3. Grant of special facilities for Collegiate education.
4. Provision of feeding and supply of school requisites and clothes.
5. Running of hostels for their students.
6. Provision of house sites for the purpose of freeing the depressed classes from oppression by landlords.
7. Building up of colonies or settlements.
8. Provision of good water for drinking and bathing purposes by sinking wells and tanks and repairing them.
9. Provision of pathways, burial grounds and sanitary requirements.
10. Construction of Bhajana Mutts for religious worship.
11. Organization and running of Co-operative Societies for the depressed classes.
12. Safeguarding the interests of depressed class labour."

The Servants of India Society

The Servants of India Society, founded by the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale on the 12th June

1905, celebrated its thirty-second anniversary last month and published its report for 1936-37. Its object has all along been to provide the country with a trained body of devoted workers for its service. That object is being fulfilled in increasing measure year after year.

On the 12th June last year the President of the Society ushered into existence the Women's Fellowship of Service which is inspired by the ideals and methods of the Society. By a rule of its constitution its affairs, including the admission and training of its members, are to be managed by the Society during the first three years. The Fellowship which consists at present of two foundation members, Miss Shanta Bhalerao, M.A., and Miss Godavari Gokhale, B.A., LL.B., made satisfactory progress during the year.

The members of the Society are whole-time servants of the country. One may not accept all their opinions, but their devotion and thoroughness compel admiration.

Some of them have done political propaganda work in India and abroad in speech and writing, on the political situation, stressing the inadequacy of the reforms. Some have been active members of legislative bodies. Problems of labour have shared the attention of the Society in due measure. It has promoted labour interests. The Civil Liberties Union, Bombay Branch, is located in the Society's home in Bombay and several of its members are among its office-bearers. Messrs. Patwardhan and Vaze, who were members of the Working Committee of the Indian States' People's Conference, continued to devote their attention to the improvement of the political status of the subjects of Indian States. Mr. V. S. Sastri, Mr. Suryanarayana Rao, and Mr. Kodanda Rao worked for Indians abroad in various ways, and *The Servant of India*, the ably conducted weekly organ of the Society, and other papers of the Society continued to devote special attention to the subject of Indians abroad.

Several members of the Society continued to give the best part of their time and energy to the very important work of rural uplift in its three own centres and many other centres. The promotion of the co-operative movement formed an important activity of several members. The place of co-operation in rural uplift is well recognised by all the members who are engaged in it.

The Harijan Sevak Sangh indented upon the services of several members of the Society. Mr. Thakkar as its general secretary with headquarters at Delhi looked after its office and toured extensively throughout the country to inspect and stimulate the work of the various branches of the Sangh. Mr. Venkataraman assisted him as joint secretary for some months. Messrs. Kunzru, Venkatasubbaiya and Nayanar looked after the work of the U. P. East, Madras and Malabar branches of the Sangh respectively. The Depressed Classes Mission, Mangalore, the oldest of its kind in India, [founded by the late Mr. K. Ranga Rao of the Brahma Samaj], continued to be managed by the Society, with Mr. Suryanarayana Rao as its secretary. A noteworthy event in its history is the receipt in the year under report of an endowment from a lady for giving maternity benefit to needy women of the depressed classes.

The Industrial (Criminal Tribes) Settlement at Jalgaon continued to be managed by Mr. Sharangapani on behalf of the Society. Mr. Bajpai gave the whole of his time, as in previous years, to the work of the Seva Samiti Boy Scouts Association, of which Mr. Kunzru is Chief Commissioner. Several members of the Society were actively connected in important capacities with the Annamalai, Allahabad, Benares, Agra, Lucknow and Nagpur Universities. The Society continued to publish from Poona the "Dnyanprakash," a Marathi daily, and the "Servant of India," an English weekly, and from Nagpur the "Hitavada," an English tri-weekly. Among other fields of the Society's work may be mentioned local self-government, temperance, women's education, etc. The Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics continued to do useful work under the direction of Mr. D. R. Gadgil. The Society possesses perhaps the best library on politics, economics and allied subjects in the whole country.

Chinese Information Bulletins

The information bulletins published by the Council of International Affairs, Nanking, China, give one considerable help to understand conditions in China. Through the dailies telegrams reach the public mainly in relation to other countries' designs upon or doings in and about China, or in relation to civil conflicts and revolutionary activities there. We hear little about constructive and organizational work in China. These bulletins tell us that much work of this description is being done. Some of them are about the New Life Movement, "One year of the Currency Reform," Public Health in National Reconstruction, Japanese concessions in Tientsin and the Narcotic Trade, Trends in Chinese Public Administration, Japan and Cotton Industry in North China, Economic conditions in China in 1936, Aviation in China, Development of Modern Chinese Press.

Nankai Institute of Economics, Tientsin

The Nankai Institute of Economics of Nankai University, Tientsin, China, is a very useful institution. Its history and work during

the first decade, 1927-36, is told in a pamphlet of 30 pages. We have also received a catalogue of its publications in English on economic and social China. It has published monographs in several series, industrial, statistical, etc. An important periodical publication of the institute is "Nankai Social and Economic Quarterly." We have before us its No. 4, Vol. ix (January, 1937). It is a bulky volume of more than 300 pages. Some of its contents are:

Life and Culture of the Shanam Boat People;
Manchurian Trade and Tribute in the Ming Dynasty: A Study of Chinese Theories and Methods of Control over Border Peoples;
The Organization of Co-operation: Integrated Society or Integrated Movement?
Industrial Organization in China;
A Bibliography of Western Literature on Chinese Journalism;
Recent Literature on Economic China.

The second item, with its sub-title "A study of Chinese Theories and Methods of Control over Border People," should give a wrinkle or two to the controllers of India's N.-W.F. border people.

The Bibliography of Western Literature on Chinese Journalism indexes 581 titles of publication. Of these 24 are in Russian, 24 in French, 20 in German, 3 in Malay, 1 in Italian, and the rest in English. Of the 250 authors mentioned 77 are Chinese.

Nankai Institute of Economics has also a Monthly Bulletin on Economic China and Nankai Weekly Statistical Service.

Has any University in India anything to compare with these various publications and activities of Nankai University in China?

Dictators Ancient and Modern

According to ancient Roman history, Cincinnatus, a favourite hero of the Roman republic was in 458 B. C. called from ploughing to be dictator. Having rescued the consul Minucius, defeated by the Æqui, he laid down his dictatorship and returned to his plough.

Modern dictators like Mussolini and Hitler and his followers would like the public to believe that they were poor and free from greed, as Cincinnatus was. The real facts are, however, different, as told in *World Events*, June 1st, 1937:

A survey made in Geneva shows that the average salary of Europe's conservative dictators is rather meager. Mussolini's official salary is $5,250; Dr. Schuschnigg of Austria collects $5,700 and Marshal Rydz-Smygly of Poland, $11,400. Hitler tops them all with an annual allowance of $20,000, but he does not draw the money.

By comparison, the President of the United States receives $75,000, while Mae West [film star] was paid close to $500,000 for a recent year's work in the movies.

But that is merely what appears on the surface. Let us dive a little deeper.

Pity the "poor" dictators! Not at all. Their official salaries are but small change to their other perquisites. They receive free homes, free cars, and free travel, all of them have secret state funds under their personal direction, and Hitler and Mussolini have large private incomes.

"Living Age" for May, 1937, analyses the personal earnings of these two. Take the Italian dictator first.

Mussolini is sole proprietor of the newspaper "Popolo d'Italia," which has a vast sale and steep advertising rates; he owns large farms and gets paid the highest sums in Italian journalism for any articles he writes. His speeches are printed in book form and it is not considered wise in Italy to refrain from buying the Duce's latest works. A particularly slick trick is being played in connection with the "Popolo d'Italia." This paper has the monopoly on first publication of important state documents and pronouncements. All other newspapers are forbidden to print these items the first day; the second day they announce that "Popolo d'Italia" carries such and such an important item; on the third day they are permitted to reprint, again citing their source as Mussolini's paper. A neat way of advertising and of monopolizing the news!

The German dictator's case is considered next.

Hitler is a partner in the Franz Eher Verlag, the publishing house of the Nazi Party. This firm issued Hitler's "Mein Kampf," of which at least 2,500,000 copies have been sold of the German edition. Royalties from these alone have been figured conservatively at $1,100,000. Every device of persuasion and pressure and many gift schemes have been used to push the sales of this "Bible of the Nazis." To this must be added the royalties from translations published in the United States, Great Britain, Italy, Denmark, Sweden, Hungary, Turkey, Spain, Portugal, and in Arabic. An unabridged French translation was withdrawn because it retained the sharp anti-French passages of the original.

It is to be noted that the huge personal incomes of these two men are not the result of mere honest work done in a straightforward manner.

Heroes of Peace

A movement has been sponsored by the Peace Heroes Memorial Society (Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio) to devote a day to the heroes of peace.

"Miners, railroaders, builders, electricians, mechanics, firemen, policemen, explorers, physicians, nurses, mothers, and others upon whose risks and sufferings life depends, form an army larger than any fighting force. It is an army serving without intermission and knowing no armistice, an army that endures both pain and privation. It numbers its losses of life by the tens of thousands every year and its other casualties by the hundreds of thousands. It goes to its battles without public recognition . . . It is the army of our real national defence defence against hunger, cold, sickness, exposure, disorder,

exhaustion, extinction. Ultimately perhaps it is our truest defence against foreign foes."

Professor Kalidas Nag at Hawaii University

It appears from the following United Press of India items of news published in *The Leader* of Allahabad and other dailies that Professor Kalidas Nag's lectures at the Hawaii University have awakened interest in India's civilization :

Prof. Dr. Kalidas Nag of the Calcutta University, who has come to the Hawaii University, Honolulu, for six months as visiting professor from India, delivered a lecture on 'India's contribution to world culture.' The lecture created such widespread interest that his class lectures are also being attended not only by the students of the University but also by many elderly ladies and gentlemen, including Mrs. Crawford, wife of the president of the Oriental Institute of the University, and her party, enrolling themselves as 'auditors.'

Prof. Nag is discoursing on India's civilization, religion and literature. Along with the students, some American, Chinese and Japanese professors of the University are attending the lectures as being a systematic serial treatment of India's civilization.

Dr. Nag has spoken also at the Institute of Pacific Relations, Pan-Pacific Union, etc. The Honolulu Academy of Arts made arrangements for a course of lectures by him on Indian art and archæology in April and May this year. These lectures also roused great public interest.

Outside the University, Dr. Nag's talks on Tagore and Gandhi have been followed by close and deep attention. He has spoken on the religious literature of India at the Hawaii School of religion of the University Faculty of Theology.

Mr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, has presented to the Hawaii University, a complete set of the Calcutta University publications, including its convocation addresses, valued at some Rs. 2,000. These arrived just in time for the silver jubilee of the Hawaii University, celebrated during the last week of March this year. That University has published a beautiful picture album to commemorate the occasion.

Perhaps in recognition of Dr. Nag's impressive lecture at the Pan-Pacific Union, he has been unanimously elected one of the honorary trustees of that body. Among its other honorary trustees are such men as Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, General Chiang Kai-Shek of China, his Majesty Ananda, King of Siam, the Prime Ministers of Australia and New Zealand, the President of Mexico, the Governor-Generals of French Indo-China and the Netherlands East Indies etc., etc.—*United Press.*

According to another message published in some dailies Prof. Nag was to deliver the convocation address of Hawaii University last month, on "Above all Nations is Humanity."

Capitalists and Cultivators in the Sugar Industry

Independent India, Mr. M. N. Roy's weekly organ, writes editorially :—

Having pointed out in his carefully prepared report that a huge quantity of sugar-cane is going to the waste, causing a total loss of Rs. 27,00,000 to the cane growers of the U. P., Mr. Mohanlal Saksena, M.L.A., makes the following scathing criticism of the capitalist mode of production : "The factories cannot escape their responsibility for this disaster. They have made huge profits from the cane of these very cane-growers in the past, and could easily have continued crushing through the month of June." But the capitalists run their factories for profit. They care neither for the welfare of the cane-growers nor for the requirements of the consumers. Certainly there is not a surfeit of sugar in this country. The per capita consumption is much less than the physically necessary minimum. But if the factories produced more sugar, the price would fall; there would be "over-production" in the midst of under-consumption. The Excise Duty has only aggravated the situation. The root of the disease is to be found in the pauperization of the masses. On this tragic background no industrial progress on the basis of capitalism is possible. Indian economy is caught in a vicious circle. Only the bold can ever find a way out of it.

Perhaps a little enlightened selfishness on the part of the sugar capitalists would have gone some way to the relief of the sugar-cane cultivators.

Indian Workers' Delegate at I. L. Conference on Unemployment

The Associated Press of India has sent to the dailies a summary of the speech of Mr. Satish Chandra Sen, Indian Workers' delegate, at the 23rd session at Geneva of the International Labour Conference, in the course of the debate on the annual report presented by the Director of the Indian Labour Organization to the Conference. From this summary we gather that he directed attention to the "activity" (?) of the Government of India in the sphere of unemployment relief, in the following terms :—

"In my own country, no comprehensive compilation of unemployment statistics has yet been undertaken by the authorities. Nevertheless, I venture to think that even the representatives of the Government of India at this Conference would not go so far as to deny that the problem has already assumed considerable magnitude and that the situation has been growing steadily worse during the last few years. Unfortunately, however, when the Indian Legislature urged the Government to take effective steps for putting an end to this state of things, it was stated that 'the Government was perfectly aware of the great distress in the villages and in the towns and of the acute state of unemployment among the educated middle classes.' The spokesman of the Government of India further observed : 'The Government has not lost its head. It has not gone in for wildcat schemes. It looks with no particular favour on your five-year plans. It does not understand what many people mean by economic planning. It doubts very gravely if anybody in fact does know what economic planning means.' That, in a nutshell, is an indication of the attitude of the Government of my country in regard to the great experiments in social reconstruction that are now taking place in most parts of the world!"

Mr. Sen proceeded to stress the need for co-ordinated remedial action in this sphere on the international plane.

"It frequently happens that unemployment and trade depression in one country are the result of forces operating elsewhere. This is nowhere more so than in oriental countries like India, where till recently cottage industries that gave employment to large numbers of people were the chief suppliers of the principal local needs. This traditional economy has been completely disorganized at present, mostly as a result of exports from abroad, and moreover, of late, in the promotion of their exports, some countries have freely resorted to such devices as the grant of special subsidies and other facilities, manipulation of currency and exchanges and evasion of tariff barriers. This process has led to considerable numbers of workers being thrown out of employment. Indeed, it would seem that countries bent on a policy of rapid or intense industrialization regard countries like India, where modern industrialism is a comparatively recent and gradual development, as the proper dumping ground for their goods."

It does not appear from the summary of his speech whether he referred to the practice of foreign capitalists of establishing factories on Indian soil and thus scaling the tariff walls. The British-made Indian Statute Book has deliberately left this device open for the advantage of foreign, particularly British, capitalists.

Mr. Sen urged that

An inquiry should be immediately undertaken to ascertain how far small groups of private trusts and cartels and some of the national Governments were manipulating the prices of goods and monetary policy to their own advantage, and thus creating disturbance in the general social equilibrium, and pointed out that the I. L. O. was the best agency to undertake the inquiry.

Plea for Asiatic Labour Conference

At the International Labour Conference at Geneva, Mr. Satish Chandra Sen made a strong plea for the convening at an early date of an Asiatic labour conference, under the auspices of the International Labour Organization. Said he:

"The importance of regional conferences has once again been emphasized in the Director's Report. In the Director's words, 'the Organization could not fulfil its function if America and Asia always came to Europe and if Europe never had the opportunity of seeing America and Asia.' It is essential that the I. L. O. should have closer knowledge of Asia, and should make the affairs of countries such as India its especial concern. It has been, therefore, a matter of great disappointment to the Indian workers that the Indian and Japanese Governments, which are in a position to act in this matter, have not come forward with their support to the efforts made by the I. L. O. in this respect."

He then extended, on behalf of Indian workers, a cordial invitation to the Director of the International Labour Organization to visit India at an early date, and observed:

"This is a most appropriate time for the head of the I. L. O. to establish direct contact with the Government as well as the employers and workers of India. As a consequence of the coming into effect of the new Constitution, the initiative in matters of social legislation will in future, for the most part, rest with the Governments in the provinces, and they will, I believe, welcome an assurance from the Director that they can count on receiving adequate technical assistance from the I. L. O. in the inauguration of programmes with regard to which they may require and ask for expert advice."

Protection to Meet Exploitation

Dwelling on the need for a sound protectionist policy for newly industrialized countries like India, Mr. Satish Chandra Sen observed:

"The spirit of exploitation on the part of some of the stronger nations and the consequent eagerness of self-protection on the part of the weaker nations are largely responsible for the favour with which autarkic policies are now regarded by countries like India."

Protest Against British Colonial Anti-Indian Policy

Mr. Sen entered a strong protest against the policy of discrimination against Indians pursued by many British and other Colonies.

"Many of the colonies which were practically developed by Indian workers have enacted various discriminatory laws against them; immigration laws in many countries against the workers of oriental countries are very harsh, inequitable and opposed to the fundamental principle of this Organization, *viz.*, that 'all labourers should be treated equally.' This organization is no doubt sending its message of hope, and working towards 'the establishment of universal peace based upon social justice.' That goal is still very far away."—*A. P. I.*

Retirement of Acharya Praphulla Chandra Ray

Though *Acharya* threatens to be almost a quite backneyed title, it is best to speak of Sir P. C. Ray as Acharya Praphulla Chandra Ray, for he is an acharya in the true sense of the word. He has lived like one, in a room of the Science College, with some pupil or other as his whole family.

After half a century's teachership he is retiring formally from the profession of education. We say 'formally,' because as long as he lives and even after he has left the world, he will continue to be a teacher.

Among Indians in modern times he was the first Indian chemist to make notable discoveries in chemistry. But his fame as a scientist does not rest on his research work alone. Successive groups of chemistry students have caught from him zeal for research work, with the result that he has become the founder of a school of Indian Chemistry. His claim to distinction as a

scientist would perhaps rest more on this fact than on his own individual researches. A favourite Sanskrit couplet of his is that in which it is said that one should wish for victory everywhere, but defeat at the hands of his son and his disciple.

A devotee of pure science, he has been also a devotee of science as applied to the supply of human needs. He has been the leading Indian pioneer in the field of chemical industries, as the history of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works shows. There are other industries, textile and of other descriptions, with which he is connected as a promoter and director.

He has not devoted exclusive attention to large scale industries alone. There is no greater, active and practical, propagandist of the cult of the charkha and khaddar in Bengal than he, perhaps with the exception of his former pupil and industrial colleague Srijut Satish Chandra Das Gupta.

Human misery appeals strongly to his tender heart, which lies concealed under a rough exterior. So when years ago North Bengal was flooded, he headed the signatories of an appeal for relief to the sufferers. Great was the response. He directed the relief operations, personally paying visits to the flooded areas. One form which help given took was the free supply of charkhas and the buying of the yarn spun. Thus began his charkha and khaddar campaign. It is still going on.

Up to date hundreds of students have received help from him in the pursuit of their studies. And for the last fifteen years his entire salary as University Professor has been devoted to the advancement of science in many ways.

He has been a teacher not by word of mouth alone. His life has been a lesson for all true students, and for others too.

Many have observed and commented upon his oddities, his egotism and the austere simplicity of his life carried almost to the verge of destitution. But he wears all his eccentricities and little weaknesses on his sleeve—when he has any; the man in him is sound at the core. Early in his professional career, he resolved to remain a bachelor. He has been true to his resolve. He has not cultivated the 'graces' of genteel society.

His love of village life has led him to spend his long vacations in his own native village or some other villages.

He is known as a scientist. But if he had adopted the career of a journalist, he could have easily made his mark in that profession. As a matter of fact, many articles, signed and unsigned, have been the work of his pen.

Not in ephemeral literature alone could he have shone. He could have written books in Bengali and English of enduring value—we mean in prose, of course. For it was at a meeting in Dacca which this writer was addressing and where Acharya Ray was present that the *proud*(?) declaration fell from his lips that he had never written verse even in boyhood. The occasion for this autobiographical self-revelation was furnished by a remark of the speaker that, like measles, poetizing attacks all children sometime or other.

He is intensely patriotic, intensely Indian, and some non-Bengalis would consider him a fanatical Bengali. But he is no parochial patriot.

A deep religious passion—a theistic passion, the outcome of pure life, scientific thought and extensive serious study—supplies the motive power for his activities in many a sphere of life. His religious and social views found expression in a concentrated form in his presidential address at the Tangail session of the East Bengal Conference last year over which he, as a Brahmo, presided.

And now in the evening of his days, he retires from one field of work only to labour in another, namely, the revivification and reconstruction of our villages. This is quite in keeping with his lifelong habits—for him recreation has always meant change of occupation.

May God vouchsafe him a full measure of success in his new-old and old-new pursuits and the bliss of spiritual vision.

Minimum Age for Child Labour

A convention for raising the minimum age for the employment of children to 15 years was one of the important questions discussed at the International Labour Conference last month. Theoretically we should be in favour of such a convention. But circumstances should be our guide in the application of abstract principles of child labour.

In countries where industrialization has reached an advanced stage, child labour can be dispensed with to a great extent. Industries are well established there, other labour is available to an adequate extent, and the expenses of the family can be met without even partial dependence on the earnings of children. In India,

where industries are still struggling to establish a footing, no rule can be safely followed which would raise the cost of production to such an extent as to make it impossible for our factories to compete with foreign manufacturers and would therefore lead to their closing, and adult labour may not always and everywhere be available to an adequate extent. This is not a plea for exploitation of children and their ruination. The minimum age must not be too low, but it may be safely lower than 15 in India.

But, nevertheless, we would heartily support the convention under discussion, provided children had free education up to the age of fifteen, as in many civilized independent countries. In those countries children up to the minimum labour age have something to do, have something to occupy their time, and that is schooling. Here most of our children receive no schooling. They remain idle, and idleness produces many evil results. If the older children have some remunerative work to do, that is advantageous in more ways than one: it is some training, it brings some money, and it prevents idleness. If you will neither educate them nor allow them to earn something, then *salaam* to your philanthropy. You know your interest, and often pursue that at our expense. We know our interest, but unfortunately have not the political power to pursue it without injuring others.

If the 15 years minimum labour age convention is to be adopted, a statutory obligation should be imposed on our government to give our children not only free education up to that age, but also free breakfasts for every school-child, as, according to Major Graham Pole in this month's "Musings" of his, every school-child in Oslo, Norway, a far richer country than India, has.

Question of Detenus' Release in Bengal

According to a Barisal communication of the United Press of India, dated June 28,

> An assurance that not a single detenu would be kept in prison if the exigencies of public peace and tranquillity did not forbid such release was given by the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister, in course of his reply to the welcome addresses presented on behalf of several local associations on the occasion of his first formal visit yesterday to his native district after assumption of office under the new Constitution.
>
> Continuing Mr. Huq opined that the questions of release of detenus and political prisoners bristled with difficulties, as in every case they have now to consider both sides of the shield. As a non-official the speaker used to criticise the Government adversely whenever this question cropped up for discussion. But then he saw only one side of the shield. Now as the Chief Minister of the present Cabinet he had opportunities of seeing the other side, which in his opinion was far more important than the side that was open to the gaze of the public. He informed the audience that along with other members of his Cabinet he was going through the records of each case and, after examining it on its merits, was recommending release, whenever possible.
>
> The Premier next said: "I am Indian first and everything else afterwards. As an Indian I realize that these detenus and political prisoners were bones of our bone and flesh of our flesh. It is no doubt true that the happiness and prospects of many families have been blasted by the indefinite detention of many young men in Bengal. But the position of the Government is that it could not look only to the interests of particular families and release all these young men at once. They had to look to the wider interests of 51 millions inhabiting this province."
>
> Mr. Huq next said that His Excellency the Governor would make a statement of Government policy on this question before the joint session of both the Houses of Bengal Legislature which the speaker hoped, would convince the most hostile critics of the Government.

We have no desire to be hard upon the ministers of Bengal, or, for that matter, of any other province. The constitution does not give them any real power over the executive and the police, and it is upon the judgment, convenience and pleasure of the latter that the release of detenus depends. They are the guardians of "law and order" and have the last word in all matters relating to "law and order." They have all along been against any general release of detenus, and the mere fact that a new constitution has come into force cannot have changed their attitude, particularly as the ministers, who are their nominal superiors, have no real power over them. On the contrary, the top men of these services have, legally, the ear of the Governor over the heads of the ministers.

It would be foolish to remind Mr. Fazlul Huq of his promise to release the detenus, if he became chief minister, before he had got that office. He is an exceptional man who honestly tries to keep his election pledges and is able to do so.

As to the statement that Mr. Huq and his colleagues are examining the records of the detenus and would release those whom they considered not guilty, one does not know whether this is literally true. Has Mr. Huq, have the other ministers individually, the leisure to examine the records of so many hundreds of unlucky young men and women? Mr. Huq as an experienced lawyer is qualified to sift evidence, every one of the others is not so. Mr. Huq knows that the evidence against the detenus consists for the most part of what spies and informers have reported against them or collected and what has been collected by the police. He knows that

in order to arrive at the truth all such evidence must be subjected to scrutiny and cross-examination by defence counsel and that evidence for the accused, if brought forward, must be considered. These pre-requisites for doing and obtaining justice are entirely absent in the case of the detenus. Therefore, without calling in question the veracity of any minister or anybody else who asserts that he has examined the records of all the detenus, one may be fairly entitled not to accept his verdict as gospel truth.

The ministers are and claim to be men of the people. If they want to convince the people, they should bring to open trial before a tribunal those detenus of whose guilt they think there is ample evidence. The ministers know that numerous persons have been tried in open court for the offences on suspicion of which the detenus have been deprived of their liberty for indefinite periods. If those men could be tried, why not the detenus who are considered guilty? If witnesses could safely depose against the former, why cannot witnesses be got to depose against the latter? If there be any mysterious reasons of state for not bringing guilty detenus to open trial, let the people know them from the ministers who claim to be of them.

Mr. Huq has said that the Bengal Governor will shortly make a statement on the subject which will convince the most hostile critics of the Government. Sir John Anderson did make such a statement before, claiming that he had personally examined the detenus' records. But that did not lead to the conversion of the public to the Government view. Mr. Huq evidently believes that His Excellency's next statement will have better luck.

Productive Irrigation Works in British India

Statistical Abstract for British India, 13th issue, published in 1936 by the Government of India, contains statistics from 1924-25 to 1933-34 The 14th issue has not yet been published.

Recently it was given out in the papers that the execution of two more irrigation projects, costing nine crores of rupees, would soon be taken in hand in the Panjab. We do not grudge the Land of the Five Rivers its good luck as regards irrigation. But the above news led us to look into the above-mentioned book of reference to find out what other provinces were similarly lucky.

We find that the total capital outlay, to the end of the year 1933-34, on productive irrigation works in the following provinces was as follows :

Madras	Rs.	14,70,02,367
Bombay (including Sind)	„	26,62,82,688
Bengal	„	1,10,37,055
United Provinces	„	22,18,20,969
Panjab	„	33,70,57,067
Burma	„	2,06,05,510
N.-W. F. Province	„	75,89,061
Total Productive Irrigation Works	„	101,13,94,717

No figures are given for Assam, Bihar-Orissa, Chota Nagpur, and Central Provinces and Berar. Presumably it is not an omission. No figures are given because there are no productive irrigation works in those provinces.

There are unproductive irrigation works in the following provinces :

Madras	4,37,16,726
Bombay	13,13,08,736
Bengal	84,92,053
U. P.	3,71,76,021
Panjab	59,59,065
Burma	1,99,10,499
Bihar and Orissa	6,27,71,456
Central Provinces	6,83,37,388
N.-W. F. Province	2,20,47,499

Taking productive and unproductive irrigation works together, it will be found that the smallest amount for such works has been spent in Bengal. There may be a wrong impression that Bengal does not require irrigation. But West Bengal does stand sorely in need of irrigation and is subject to regular periodic famines or scarcity of food. Some other regions of Bengal also require irrigation.

The irrigation policy of the British Government in India is dictated more by Britain's commercial and "imperial" requirements than by the needs of the people of the different provinces. If jute had been a West Bengal crop requiring irrigation, Bengal would have got sufficient irrigation works.

"Bombing and Kidnapping on the Frontier"

Under the above heading the Associated Press of India has sent to the dailies a statement made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the policy being pursued by the Government on the N.-W. Frontier and the military operations conducted there. We are quite at one with him in his criticism of bombing the civil population from the air, wherever it may have been and may be done. We are glad to note that the Congress has condemned the kidnapping of girls, though not too promptly. In Bengal, there are no border tribes, but kidnapping of girls and women takes place not unoften; and Bengal

Congressmen have not been distinguished for any active part in preventing such offences or in getting the offenders punished. The reason can be understood but not appreciated.

As regards the abduction of the girl Ram Kuar, which is said by some people to be at the root of the raids by the border tribes under the leadership of the Faqir of Ipi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's version according to the information he has received, is different in some respects from Bhai Parmanand's statement published in *The Tribune* for May 30, 1937. We have no means of judging which version is correct in all details. In any case, we believe with the Pandit that the Frontier operations have not been undertaken for the purpose of rescuing kidnapped girls.

His statement that "almost everybody is agreed that British policy on the frontier has been a complete failure" is, we believe, correct.

The so-called forward policy of the British Government will remind students of history that Afghanistan was long ago part of a Hindu Indian empire, and that Kabul was conquered and ruled by Akbar and later by the Sikhs. But the Afghans are now an independent people, and not even British imperialists—we hope—dream of conquering them. The case of the transfrontier tribesmen is different. They do not owe allegiance either to the King of Afghanistan or to the British Government. We do not really know to whom they pay homage. Whatever their political status may be, they are entitled to their freedom. But they must respect the rights of others also. They cannot be allowed to kidnap men and women and plunder their neighbours. The question is, how to effectively make them feel their responsibility in the matter. We do not think the policy of the British Government on the Frontier has anything or much to do with an intention to prevent plundering and kidnapping raids. Pandit Nehru's guesses as to the aetiology of the Frontier policy probably hit the mark. Probably he thinks the army authorities appreciate the value of a training ground for real warfare. In any case, he is on safe ground when he connects the frontier policy with "threats from Central Asia" and the "probable theatre of war" in the not distant future.

We believe with the Pandit that for a solution of the Frontier problem there is need for a friendly approach. Says he:

I am quite convinced that the trouble at the frontier can be ended by a friendly approach on our part, if we were free to make that approach. One man alone, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, loved on either side of the frontier, could settle it, but, under the British dispensation, he may not even enter his province. But even apart from Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, I can say with confidence that any approach by the Congress would meet with success. The chiefs of the frontier tribes would realize soon enough that our interests and theirs were not in conflict and they would co-operate with us in putting an end to the scandal of kidnapping and raiding expeditions. They would realize also that any other course than this would imperil the freedom that they have got, for British imperialism is determined to march further and further in pursuance of its forward policy. They play into the hands of this imperialism by giving it pretexts for action, and they create an unfriendly feeling in India by being parties to kidnappings and raids.

All that we can say is that Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, being what he is, should have influence with the frontier tribes. Apart from what the Congress would say to the tribesmen if it got the opportunity, Pandit Jawaharlal mentions the determination of British imperialism to march further and further in pursuance of its forward policy. Are not the tribesmen aware of this determination? If they are, what is their reaction?

Bhai Parmanand on Frontier Troubles

According to Bhai Parmanand, "The present war has nothing to do with the forward policy."

The Faqir of Ipi who is the real instigator (and who is personally interested in the abductor of the girl Ram Kuar) made it the chief point of his demand that the girl should be restored to the abductor. The question before the Government was whether they were to govern the country and keep the prestige of the decision of their highest tribunal or abdicate all their authority to the Muslim agitators. The Congress and its men are entirely misled and mistaken.

Bhai-ji says in the first paragraph of his statement:

In order to remove a serious misconception both with regard to the position of the Hindu Sabha and the real cause of the trouble on the Frontier I wish to make it clear that the present war on the Frontier has very little to do with the forward policy of the British Government. This policy has been in operation for the last ten or twelve years. The Government has spent crores of rupees from the Indian treasury on the construction of roads in the trans-border territory. The contracts for the construction of these roads have been given to the important *Maliks* of these tribes who have most liberally profited by them. The labour of these tribes has been very highly paid and a special service, called the *Khasadars*, has been employed as a regiment of guards on these roads. All of them have been recruited from among the tribes. If this policy was considered to be a sort of encroachment upon or interference with the liberty of these people, there was plenty of time for them to make a protest or adopt some offensive measures against this policy. But we know it as a fact that all this time has been a time of peace and quiet during which these settled districts have remained quite free from plunder or raids which were a very serious and common complaint before the adoption of this policy.

Pandit K. K. Malaviya on Frontier Problem

LAHORE, JUNE 25.

In a long statement Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya,

M.L.A., who has toured the Frontier Province, says the Frontier problem baffles solution. He suggests that *khasadars* should be replaced by regular troops. "We are spending" he says, "something like 40 lakhs on these *khasadars*. If we maintain 5 or 6 regiments of Gurkhas and Sikhs by spending the same amount, I am sure we shall have more peace and order in the Frontier. I would encourage the Sikhs and Gurkhas to settle down there when they have completed their term of service."

Pt. Malaviya further says 30 or 40 per cent of the Frontier constabulary should be manned by non-Muslims. Some sort of social service leagues should also work among the Tribal people. "A. C. F. Andrews, a Stokes, a Florence Nightingale or a Khurshed Ben may be able to achieve more than the military and civil authorities. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and those who may be able to command influence and respect among the Tribal people should be allowed to mix with them freely." He is further of the opinion that the tribal area should be industrialized.

Hindus and Sikhs in the Frontier, he says, can only remain in the villages at the mercy of their Muslim neighbours. The authorities should give them firearms liberally.—*The Tribune.*

If C. W. C. Be For Offie Accentance—

If at the next meeting, at Wardha, of the Congress Working Committee it decides in favour of office acceptance, there will be emulation or competition in doing good to the people between the Congress ministries in six provinces and the non-Congress ministries in the remaining ones. It would be interesting, first to guess who would win and next to record the result of the race when it is over. Would there be any betting? Perhaps the law against gambling would not prevent such betting.

Or, in case of the Working Committee's decision being in favour of office acceptance, would the Congress ministries concentrate their attention upon merely wrecking the constitution? In that case the public would miss the fun of watching the competition.

But should there be any competition, there must be competent referees and umpires.

Steps to Stamp Out Panjab Communalism

An all parties' and communities' conference, presided over by Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, Panjab's chief minister, was held last month in Simla to device means for stamping out communalism in the Panjab. A committee of all communities, including the six ministers, has been formed. The following resolutions have been passed :

Resolved that this conference records its sense of strong condemnation of the unfortunate recent communal incidents in the province and, while genuinely sympathizing with the innocent victims and the bereaved families who have suffered in these disturbances, appeals to the people, the press and the administration of the province to make their best endeavours to avert such deplorable incidents in future and to discourage anything which is likely to disturb communal harmony and good-will in the province.

This conference heartily responds to the appeal of the Premier of the Punjab for united action to restore and encourage communal harmony in the province and welcomes the proposal to set up a representative provincial board and divisional and local boards, where necessary, and to invoke their good offices to avert the possibilities of communal friction.

Resolved that this conference hereby constitutes itself into a committee with power to co-opt or appoint a sub-committee at the discretion of the Premier in order to explore all the avenues for promoting cordial and harmonious relationship between the various communities and enquire and examine into the causes of communal friction and after such inquiry and examination to make every endeavour to arrive at definite findings with regard to such matters on which the committee can reach an agreed settlement.

As regards the terms of reference of the committee, it was agreed that the committee should have full power to try to come to a settlement on all matters including those which were All-India, such as the Communal 'Award.'

We shall be glad even if the committee be only partially successful in its efforts. Complete success cannot be achieved without the doing away with the Communal Decision, the allotment of jobs in the public services according to religious communities, and other similar things. Greater cultural rapprochement, and spiritual awakening and liberal religious views are also essentially necessary.

"Illustrations of Indian Musical Modes"

We have published in this issue (p. 58) an article under the caption, "Illustrations of Indian Musical Modes", by Mr. O. C. Gangoly. The three plates accompanying the article contain the pictorial representations of Indian melodies. They have been grouped under a general heading, "Illustrations of Indian Ragas and Raginis." Each picture is the representation of a particular *raga* or *ragini*. By inadvertence the names of the six image-forms treated in the latter part of the article have not been printed along with the illustrations.

In the *first* Plate the picture on the left side is the representation of the Ragini *Pata-Manjari* or *Prathama-manjari*, that on the right represents Ragini *Lalita*. In the *second* Plate the two pictures on the left and the right represent Raga *Hindola* and Ragini *Kedara* respectively. In the *third* Plate, *i.e.*, the Plate facing the article, the picture on the left side illustrates Ragini *Bhairavi*, while that on the right represents Ragini *Patamanjari*.

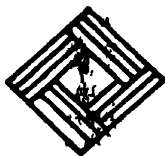
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A MUSICAL SOIREE
By P. Karmakar

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THE PROS AND CONS OF OFFICE ACCEPTANCE

By SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

Now that the Supreme Executive of the Indian National Congress has decided to permit members of the Congress to accept ministerial office in those provinces where the Congress Party is in a majority, it behoves us to be alert about the dangers ahead of us. Though there are going to be Congress Ministries in only six out of the eleven provinces in British India (*viz.*, in the United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, Madras Presidency, Central Provinces and Bombay Presidency), there is no doubt that the attention of Congressmen throughout India and of the public in general, will, for some time to come be riveted on the work of the Ministers and of the Provincial Legislatures. Constitutional activity will become the order of the day and extra-constitutional methods like civil disobedience, which have hitherto been the main political weapon in the hands of the Congress, will be relegated to the background. A psychological change in the mentality of the people will necessarily follow and a desire for the loaves and fishes of office will creep into the minds of many Congressmen. The "rebel mentality" which it has taken the Congress years to foster, will once again give place to self-complacence and inertia. These are some of the possibilities that are looming large today.

I am not one of those who consider that acceptance of ministerial office is wrong in principle. Entry into the Legislatures and acceptance of office no doubt involve taking the oath of allegiance to the British Crown. But I have always regarded such oaths as purely constitutional in character. Between 1922 and 1925, when the question of entry into the Legislatures was being hotly debated in Congress circles, the argument of the oppositionists that such entry necessarily implied swearing allegiance to the Crown, never appealed to me. I see nothing ethically wrong in Mr. de Valera's taking the oath of allegiance to the British Crown in order to go into the Dail and abolish that oath. The issues involved are not those of principle but of expediency and the standpoint from which I judge such issues is entirely realistic.

From my own experience of Municipal administration I feel sure that success in the administrative sphere demands a capacity for mastering infinite details. Whole-hearted devotion to administrative work therefore rarely leaves one any spare time or energy for tackling broader issues. Only seldom do we come across men who can go into the minutest details of administration and simultaneously think out the more fundamental problems. I remember very clearly that when I was the Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation in 1924, I was entirely lost to the Congress, so submerged was I in the details of Municipal administration. But I had gone into this work with my eyes open, because I had the assurance that there was no dearth of men to carry on Congress activities with unabated vigour.

I have always held the view that those who fight for freedom have to undertake the task of "post-war" reconstruction when freedom is won. There can be no shirking of responsibility on the pretext, "Our mission is over". Therefore, as soon as a political party is victorious, it has to throw itself heart and soul into the

task of administration and social reconstruction and thereby demonstrate that it can create as effectively as it can destroy. But before the Party can undertake that responsibility, it has to decide if the longed-for hour has arrived and freedom's battle has been won. Coming to the issue in hand, the question which confronts us is—"Does the Government of India Act, 1935, give what we have striven for? And leaving out the Central Government for the time being, does it even give us real autonomy in the provinces?" The obvious reply is—"No."

It will, of course, be argued, that in political as in military warfare, we have to occupy every vantage-point and consolidate our position, as we proceed towards our goal. Very true. But are we sure that in trying to capture the seats of power, for what they are worth, we shall not get lost in the labyrinth of administration and begin to renounce that "rebel mentality" which is the starting point of all political progress? The Congress today is clearly in the presence of a dilemma. In order to continue the fight for freedom which is less than half-won, it cannot afford to let all its front-rank men go in for ministerial office. On the other hand, unless really first-rate men become Congress ministers in the different provinces, we shall fail to make the fullest use of the seats of influence and power which the Constitution gives us. It was only a first-rate political genius like the late V. J. Patel who, as President of the Indian Legislative Assembly during the period 1925-1930, could uphold the popular cause, create a parliamentary tradition and keep the members of the Treasury Benches in their places. A lesser man would certainly have failed. And placed alongside of V. J. Patel, Shanmukham Chettys and Abdur Rahims appear like negligible invertebrates.

It can or will be also urged by the protagonists of office-acceptance that experience in administration is indispensable for a political party and that the new Constitution offers scope for acquiring such experience. But this argument may easily be overdone. Experience in administration is not the same as experience in organisation and while the latter may be an asset for any party, the former may be more of a handicap than otherwise. The greatest administrators in post-war Europe, as in all ages and in all climes, were comparatively young and also inexperienced in administration, when they took over the reins of office from their predecessors. One has only to look at successful administrators like Lenin, Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini and Kemal Pasha to appreciate the force of my argument. The fact is that after a revolution (whether violent or non-violent) the new administration requires principles and technique of quite a different order and, in order to cope with the new situation successfully, it is not experience that proves so valuable as courage, imagination and resourcefulness. Did "experienced" administrators produce the five-year plan for Soviet Russia or build up a new Republic for the Turks or found a new Empire for Italy or create a new Persia out of chaos and corruption?

There is no doubt that the central citadel of power and reaction (the Government of India) is still in the hands of the British Government and it is only the outposts, the Provincial Governments, that have passed into our hands —and that too, not wholly. In such circumstances, can we continue our fight for full freedom without being sidetracked from the main issues and without losing much of our pristine zeal, if an important section within our party choose to bury themselves in the details of administration? An *a priori* answer to this question is not of much value and events alone will furnish us the proper reply in the fulness of time. But if the faith of the pro-office party is to be justified, we have to be forewarned and forearmed against the disasters which are likely to overtake us in the near future and to which reference has been made in the first paragraph. My object today is not to reopen a question that has been decided once for all by the Supreme Executive of the Congress, but to indicate some of the rocks of which we have to steer clear, if we intend to further the cause of India's independence while making the most of the new Constitution.

The big problems which an Indian statesman will have to tackle are poverty, unemployment, disease and illiteracy. These problems can be successfully solved only by a national government with plentiful resources at its command. Once we have the will to handle these problems, we shall require the organisation and the money to do so. Will the Congress Ministers in the provinces find the necessary organisation and money to undertake nation-building work on a large scale? Regarding organisation, it may be pointed out that the superior services are manned largely by Britishers who have been brought up under a totally different tradition and who will always be conscious that their pay, emoluments and pension are safeguarded in the Constitution beyond the control of the Ministers. Will such officers fall in line with the new policy which

Congress Ministers will necessarily enunciate? If they do not, then what will be the fate of the Ministers? With the best of intentions, will they be able to struggle successfully against an obstructionist bureaucracy? It will be quite impossible for them to alter the personnel of the higher services because the latter constitute a "reserved" subject which the Ministers cannot touch. The Ministers will therefore have to carry on with them as best they can, though they may run the risk of seeing their work nullified through their obstructionist policy. Further, several of the provinces will present us with the paradoxical situation of a Congress Government being run largely by British officers and their erstwhile protégés.

The problem of finance is a problem even more formidable. The Congress Party is committed to certain measures which will cut at the sources of governmental revenue and will make it extremely difficult to launch on nation-building work on a large scale. After a reduction in land-rent and the introduction of a prohibitionist policy with regard to excise, the Ministry may even have to face a budget-deficit. In any other country, the Finance Minister would at once set about reducing expenditure. In the Indian provinces, the salary and emoluments of the higher services cannot be touched and the other ranks are generally too ill-paid to leave any room for economy. Consequently, retrenchment in this sphere will be out of the question. Army, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, Customs etc., being federal subjects, retrenchment in, or increase of income from, any of these departments will not be possible either. None of the provincial Governments can create more money through inflation—which is easily possible in view of the large gold reserve which India has—because currency is also a federal subject. In these circumstances, the only alternative open to a Provincial Government will be to float a big loan for financing nation-building activities. But will the Governor recommend such a loan for the approval of the Provincial Legislative Assembly and will the reactionary Central Government of Lord Linlithgow sanction such a loan, where such sanction is called for under the Constitution? If this is not done, then blank despair is likely to stare the Congress Ministers in the face.

In the light of the above considerations, let us see what tangible good the Congress Ministers can achieve. Firstly, they can release the political prisoners, repeal the repressive laws and ordinances and allow the people to have more freedom. Secondly, they can infuse a new spirit into the provincial administration and set up a new standard of public service for all classes of Government servants and especially the police. Thereby, they may be able to get more work out of the existing officers and employees of the Government and improve the standard of administration. Thirdly, they can give a fillip to the constructive activities of the Congress by offering goyermental cooperation wherever possible. Fourthly, they can give an impetus to indigenous industries and especially to Khadi (handspun and handwoven cloth) by preferring home-made goods to imported stuff when government stores have to be purchased. Fifthly, they can initiate beneficial legislation in several matters (*e.g.*, social welfare, public health, etc.), especially where such legislation does not entail additional expenditure. Sixthly, by a careful distribution of patronage, they can strengthen the nationalist elements in the province and incidentally weaken the reactionary forces. Seventhly, they can undertake a comprehensive economic survey of the province with a view to ascertaining the wealth of people, their taxable capacity and the extent of unemployment. Eighthly, they may effect a certain amount of retrenchment in some departments. Ninthly, they can utilise their official position for thwarting the introduction of Federation at the centre. Last but not least, through their example they may exert a wholesome influence on non-Congress ministries in the five other provinces.

But these are, after all, piecemeal reforms. They may satisfy the people for a time, but not for long. Before the first year is out, the basic problems—poverty, unemployment, disease, illiteracy, etc.,—will once again assume serious proportions and demand an urgent remedy. With a reactionary Government at the centre and with limited provincial finances, will the Congress Ministries be able to cope with the demand? Poverty and unemployment can be tackled only by an improvement of agriculture and a revival of national industries, along with a rapid extension of banking and credit facilities. All this will require more money. For the eradication of disease, large sums of money will be needed in connection with preventive and curative measures on the one hand and the promotion of sports and physical culture on the other. And the abolition of illiteracy will presuppose the introduction of free and compulsory primary education for young and old, which will be possible only when large funds are at the disposal of the ministers. These fundamental

problems, which have not yet been satisfactorily solved by the foremost nations of the day, can be successfully tackled in India only when there is a popular Government in power at Delhi and there is thorough cooperation between the central and provincial governments. Further, it is my firm conviction that the financial needs of a backward and impoverished country like India which has to make up leeway, can never be met by following the principles or conventions of orthodox finance. I can therefore visualise a time in the near future when the Congress Ministers, having gone through a substantial portion of their programme of piecemeal reform, will realise that no further progress is possible until a popular Government is installed at Delhi and there is complete transference of power to the people of the country.

But we need not think that it will be all smooth sailing for the Congress Ministers until we come to this stage. I have already hinted at two difficulties which will dog their footsteps throughout their official career—*viz.*, paucity of finance and the prerogatives of the superior services. The first point does not need any labouring, but I should like to illustrate the second. Take one specific instance, the Indian Medical Service. Under the old scheme, there were 386 Britishers and 263 Indians in the Indian Medical Service. Under the new scheme, the number of Britishers will remain constant, but the number of Indians will be reduced to 198 and out of this number, there will be 58 officers on Short Service Commission. The basic pay of the I. M. S. Officers will be reduced in future, but the Britishers will be more than compensated by an increase in the overseas allowance, which by the way will be denied to Indian members of the Service. Thus under the new scheme, the position of Indian members of the I. M. S. *vis-a-vis* the British members, will be worse than what it is today. And to make matters still worse, some of the best districts in the country and some of the best jobs in the Medical Colleges will be reserved for Britishers. Though the Congress Ministers will not be responsible for this state of affairs and though well-informed and educated men will appreciate the helplessness of their position, the man in the street will not absolve the Provincial Government from all blame for its inability to push on with the Indianization of the superior services or to reduce the exorbitant salaries and emoluments which they draw. The Congress Ministers in the six provinces will be in an anomalous position because, while they will nominally be the bosses of the I. M. S. Officers, they will not be able to touch a single prerogative belonging to the latter. The position of other branches of the superior services will be similar to that of the I. M. S.

If such be the prospect before the Congress ministries in the six provinces, one can easily imagine what the record of the ministries in the five other provinces will be, where the majority of the ministers are spineless creatures whose one ambition is somehow to remain in office. In Bengal, for instance, the achievements of the ministry—or rather the non-achievements—during the last four months are an augury for the future. They have not yet had the courage to tackle the first item in the programme of any popular ministry—*viz.*, the release of all political prisoners. What then can one expect of that ministry in the matter of handling the difficult jute problem of Bengal on the satisfactory solution of which depend the welfare and prosperity of at least thirty if not forty millions of people? I remember that when I was in Dublin in February, 1936, I was discussing with the Ministers of Agriculture and Industry, somewhat similar problems—*viz.*, the restriction of beet cultivation in the Irish Free State, its relation to the needs of the sugar-mill industry and the marketing of the sugar produced in that country. And I then realized how easy it was to solve the jute problem in Bengal, if only one had a national and democratic government ruling at Calcutta and at Delhi. I believe that a popular ministry in Bengal can achieve much even within the limits of the constitution in solving the jute problem, if it has the courage to fight the vested interests, though it will necessarily be handicapped where additional funds will be required for financing the jute-growers. But, of course, nothing can come out of the present reactionary ministry, which is poor in talent and lacking in courage.

Are we to conclude then that nothing substantial can come out of the policy of accepting ministerial office? Certainly not. Though, unlike the majority of Congressmen today, I have no hopes of far-reaching reforms through the instrumentality of Congress ministries, I nevertheless believe that it is possible to utilise the policy of office-acceptance to the fullest extent and advance the cause of Indian independence. But in order to accomplish that, we have to be wideawake and not allow the Congress to degenerate into a glorified Liberal League. There is no lack of people within the Congress who, left to themselves, would like to slide back into the more comfortable path of constitutionalism.

The greatest advantage accruing from office-acceptance will be that it will inspire the masses with the belief that the Congress is the natural successor to the British Government and that in the fulness of time the entire governmental machinery in India will pass into the hands of the Congress party. The moral gain resulting from this will be immeasurable and I consider it far more valuable than any material gain which may fall to our lot through the grace of Congress Ministers. Secondly, for weak-minded Congressmen a taste of power may be a powerful incentive to further activity involving suffering and sacrifice and may engender greater self-confidence. Thirdly, it will enable the Congress to oppose the introduction of Federation, not only from without, but also through the medium of the Provincial Governments—and if as a result of this two-fold opposition, the Federal Plan is finally smashed, the Congress will have a feather in its cap. Last but not least, through office-acceptance, the Congress Ministers will be able to demonstrate to India and to the world from their own administrative experience that there is little scope for far-reaching social reconstruction within the limits of the Constitution of 1935. This experience will prepare the Congress and the country at large, psychologically, for the final assault on the citadel of reaction at Delhi and Whitehall.

Personally, I shall be more than satisfied if this four-fold result follows from office-acceptance. Those of us who have no faith in office-acceptance as a policy, but have to abide by it as a *fait accompli*, have to warn our countrymen against the talk of a ten-year programme for Congress ministries which has been started by some Congress leaders who may possibly be feeling inclined to accept constitutionalism as a settled policy for the future.

It is gratifying to see that the foremost leaders of the Congress—Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Babu Rajendra Prasad and others—have kept aloof not only from ministerial office, but also from the Legislatures. This will be a guarantee that the Congress will not lose itself in the meshes of parliamentary activity and thereby sink into a purely constitutional body. (I am using the word 'constitutional' in its narrow sense.) These leaders will see to it that the Congress Ministers are kept in their places and carry out the instructions of the Congress High Command. Above all, the fact that Mahatma Gandhi, in spite of his temporary retirement, is as vigilant as ever, watching events with the closest interest, will convince everyone that should the occasion arise as in all probability it may—he will not hesitate to come out into the open once again and calling upon the Congress to discard Constitutional activity, will unfurl the flag of "mass Satyagraha," so that the Congress may fight its last battle for winning "Purna Swaraj" for India.

Truth in speech and truth in thought are very important. The more you can feel falsehood as being not part of yourself, as coming on you from outside, the easier it will be to reject and refuse it.

To recognise one's weekness and false movements and draw back from them is the way towards liberation.

SRI AUROBINDO



THE MEANING OF CULTURE

By S. N. DAS-GUPTA

We use the two words culture and civilization but we are not always conscious of their exact connotation and distinction. In ordinary usage the distinctive trait of the concept of culture is hardly brought clearly before the mind. Sometimes the word culture is also used in the sense of civilization; thus the German word Kultur-Stosse is used in the sense of "grade of civilization." But still there is an obvious difference between the two terms.

By civilization we understand all that we have externally achieved by way of self-protection and self-satisfaction as men, as members of a society and of a nation. Thus from our semi-animal condition we learnt the use of weapons. The invention of different kinds of weapons, the methods of cultivation, cooking and weaving and the discovery of various metals and beasts of burden and the invention of the various means of locomotion mark the advent of a superior type of civilization. Such a state of civilization naturally implied the devolpment of certain tribal institutions, including diverse kinds of vocational instruction. As the conditions of civilization gradually improved and city-life developed, we had various types of political, legal and educational institutions, together with the development of various kinds of arts and industries. Emulation of civilised communities for supremacy in politics or in trade led to the development of the art of warfare and of diplomacy and statecraft. We thus have a continuous history of the development of civilization in various countries among various nations.

From the commencement of the Renaissance we notice an extraordinary desire for the knowledge of the secrets of nature among certain notable persons in Europe which led to the discovery of many new scientific truths. The parallel development of technology led to a quickening of scientific investigation and discovery. These discoveries could often be utilized in the service of man for the alleviation of human misery. The enterprising activity of the Europeans led to the discovery of America and India and to the exploration of many new countries. This led to the opening of new markets. The scientific truths that were discovered led to the manufacture of many commodities which were used either for daily needs or for luxury. The capitalist and the politician were in alliance and came to the aid of the technologists and the scientists for the devising of new methods of transport and communication and the satisfaction of ever-increasing needs. Thus the discoveries of science, pursued and achieved through purely scientific enquiries, began to be transformed into various commodities which benefited the scientists, by the production of various scientific instruments, and also benefited societies and nations by the exchange of products, easy communication and easy transport. But side by side with the production of commodities of comfort, transport or communication, there are also produced deadly weapons, poison gases and the like for the destruction of neighbours and the exploitation of the weak and the helpless.

Civilization in the main has been the product of our efforts for self-protection and self-satisfaction. Within a particular society and nation it has resulted in the exercise of control in the interests of mutual protection and mutual satisfaction. Legal, political and educational institutions train up the people of a community to desist from the transgression of mutual rights and privileges and punish those that commit any actual violence. But the progress of civilization has not yet been able to produce any institutions which are effective in controlling the relations between two or more different nations. In unfortunate countries where there are diverse religious sects which are more or less equal in strength or in countries where there are different parties contending for supremacy in different ways we have a similar difficulty in evolving institutions which would work for mutual benefits. The evolution of civilization of a scientific type, such as we now find in Europe, has contributed immensely to the welfare and well-being not only of the people of Europe but of the whole world. But side by side with such contributions, the civilization of the Europeans has been a menace to themselves and to the people of the whole world. The power of science, the might of accumulated wealth and the energy of virile nations are being made subservient to motives of fear, greed and ambition. If our

civilization is thus baffling us, may we seek our salvation in any other quarter?

In the Oxford Dictionary culture has been defined as the intellectual side of civilization and also as the refinement produced through training and education. If we take the first meaning, culture would imply subjective intellectuality of which the objective institutions and products of civilization are external manifestations. But the mere intellectuality is a power without the necessary supervision and direction. Such a power may have produced the civilization, but by itself it is incapable of giving us any help towards emancipating us from the bonds of civilization or of attaining our salvation from its evils. The intellectuals of the nation may, unless they are controlled by moral considerations, produce organizations and instruments for the destruction of others which may ultimately be disastrous to themselves. Obviously then we cannot seek our salvation from the merely intellectual apparatus which is responsible on the subjective side for the production of civilization. The other definition of the Oxford Dictionary of culture as refinement produced from training and education is extremely vague. It is difficult to ascertain the limits of the connotation of the concept of refinement. On the one hand it has a shade of meaning tending towards aesthetic apperception; on the other hand it may signify moral and humanitarian considerations for the well-being of others. Ultimately the two senses are closely associated with each other. We are reminded in this connection of Shaftsbury and Hutchison's conception of morality. Hutchison adopted avowedly from Shaftsbury the widened use of the word 'sense' to denote certain mental feelings other than those incident to known changes in the bodily organs; and it is through his school that the term aestheticos, though still kept true to its proper meaning in the strict nomenclature of Kant, has been made to yield the modern conception of Aesthetics.

According to Hutchison the single quality of a body, *e.g.*, its shape or colour, produces in us a simple sensation. He regarded the sense of right to be in its nature as simple as the sense of beauty. It is this common element that induced him to apply to purely ideal states a word previously limited to affections through perception. Thus according to him the appeal of good actions was as simple and as unanalyseable as the appeal of beauty of a flower. The contiguity of the notion of the good and the notion of the beautiful is also well-known in Indian thought. It is said that the apprehension of beauty and the awakening of moral tendencies are grounded in the excitation of the *sattvaguna*. Thus the notion of refinement involved in the concept of culture may be supposed to involve within itself the notion of moral elevation becoming simple and instinctive like the apprehension of beauty. Refinement means fineness of feeling, taste or thought. Such a fineness necessarily involves a delicate and tender consideration for the feelings and interests of others—a consideration which no longer appears in intellectual modes but which has transformed itself into a simple sense-organ as it were.

The word culture is derived from the Latin word *cultura*, which means cultivation, tending and, in Christian authors, worship. Among the primitive meanings of the word we have the dominance of the sense of cultivation. Thus the word means cultivation or rearing of plants or crops, the rearing or raising of certain animals such as fish, oysters, bees, etc., or natural products, such as silk. It also means the artificial development of microscopic organisms, such as bacteria, the training of the human body, the cultivating or development of the mind, faculty, manners, etc., the general improvement or refinement of mind, taste and manners. It also means a particular form of intellectual development. Passing in review the various meanings of the word one is reminded of the fact that the mental improvement signified by culture is a composite product under various influences. If it involves the inward will or intellect of a person, it also involves the influences to which one is subjected through education by coming in contact with great minds and the general effect of the civilizing influence and atmosphere that may be all around us. A seed shoots forth not only by its own inner power but by the composite influence of its environment—the air, water, light etc. So the mental improvement signified by culture which is produced in a man as if it were a new organ can only do so under the most beneficent influences of internal gifts and external environment. Culture as refinement of tastes and manners shows itself in the spontaneous observance of good manners and etiquette in society which are all ultimately based upon a due consideration for the feelings of others and may therefore be regarded as being ethical in their nature, as has been well established by Wundt in his Ethics.

There is yet another important sense of the word culture. It means the entire spiritual asset of an individual or a nation. Thus w

we speak of Hindu culture, we mean by the term not merely the intellectual achievement but the moral and religious ideals, the nature of the sense of value and the goal of conduct, the relative sense of the subordination of intellect to the moral will or mystical intuition and the spiritual value of life as a whole being the sole determinant of all our actions. A study of the culture of the Hindus would not mean merely the study of the intellectual achievement of the Hindus, the study of their philosophy, their literature, their sciences and mathematics, their arts and crafts; but it would mean a study of them all or even a part of them as illustrative of the fundamental value-sense of the Hindus. To appreciate Hindu painting from the point of view of the tone and the blending of colours is not enough. It is necessary to go beyond the painting into the mind of the painter which conceived the work and to trace within him the value-sense of the nation that operated through him and quickened his artistic genius.

If we look at a human body or at an animal body we find there not only the flesh and the bones and the skin but we find them distributed over in definite proportions. It is this proportion that gives the man and the animal his distinctive form and beauty. If we look at various plants and trees, we do not find there merely the trunk, the branches and the leaves but find there also the form and rhythm which are unique to every plant. The distribution of the branches and the trunk, their proportion and harmony, the distribution of the leaves in a methodical manner—all manifest a restraint and subordination to some fundamental principle that determines the rhythmic grace of plant and animal body. When the plant grows its leaves round its trunk or branches, it seems as if it were conscious of some determining principle which it must follow in its outflow of the green of life. So also many are the ways in which the spiritual life of a nation manifests itself. Behind the actual products of civilization, there is a spiritual grasping which represents not only the intellectual side of civilization but the entire spiritual life involving the superior sense of value as manifested in morals, religion and art and the diverse forms of social and other institutions and forms and ways of life. The nature of this inward principle cannot always be definitely formulated but it can be realized in an intuitive manner in the various ways in which it may manifest itself. The charm of a beautiful poem cannot be located in any of the words or the sentences that form the structure of the poem, nor can it be defined and described; but yet it can be felt as forming the essence of the poem and as giving its very life and form.

So the cardinal principle or the soul of culture that manifests itself in the various spiritual activities of the self in the grasped and intuitively felt but cannot be defined. It is this, however, that gives the distinctive uniqueness of every culture. It may be indefinite in the sense that it cannot often be definitely described and yet it is so definite in itself that there is hardly any chance of its being confused with anything else. If you read two poems of two master poets or see two paintings of two master painters, the distinction and individuality are unmistakable, yet they are indescribable. So also the cultures of two nations may not be definitely described but may easily be distinguished, traced and illustrated in their concrete spiritual activities. Even in the same nation it is sometimes possible to discover two distinctive cultures which are different in character, temper and expression. Thus among the Aryan Indians for over a thousand years two distinctive cultures, the Hindu and the Buddhist, sometimes operated together in union and in other times came into clash or conflict. Looked at from this special point of view one may say that a particular culure signifying the animating spirit of a particular type of civilization, art, or religion may behave almost as an individual having its own uniqueness and peculiarity of expression. As one individual may influence another, so it is possible that a particular culture may influence another. It is also found that particular cultures sometimes become saturated with a militant self-consciousness and destroy other cultures and reinstate themselves in their place. The Muslim culture in the days of the Khalifat may be cited as an apposite example. In modern times a near approach to it may be found in the notion of the German Kultur, particularly in the time of the Kaiser and also under the present despotism of Hitler. With Mussolini in Italy we have the beginnings of the youthful days of another aggressive culture, namely, Fascism, and in Russia we have communism, socialism and Bolshevism.

If we compare the older notion of culture as represented in Hindu culture, Buddhist culture, Egyptian culture or Greek culture, or the culture of the Chinese, we find that it represents a special refinement or psychic improvement, the production of a mental harvest due to aesthetic, religious or moral impulses

which saturate the mental grounds and make them rich and fertile. In modern times, however, the spirit of nationalism produced largely by the demands of selfishness and self-interest of a group of people living under particular geographical areas has to a large extent spoilt the refinement of culture and made it subservient to itself. In fact national jealousy and national hatred, national ambition and greed are trying to destroy any culture that may oppose them. At the time of the last war even Bertrand Russell was imprisoned for giving expression to his pacifistic views. In Italy and Germany one can hardly give expression to his independent views or appreciation of internationalism or of cosmopolitan culture without running the risk of grave legal consequences. I hear that conditions are still worse in Russia, where it is difficult for a Russian even to come out of his country without paying heavy penalties for the same. Almost every Russian is a prisoner in his own country and every man is forbidden by the State to think in any other terms or manner than that prescribed by Stalin and his party. Thus intoxicated nationalism may not only try to defeat the possibility of international rapprochement through international cultural influences, but it also may be subversive of the evolution of any true culture in any country.

Nationalism in modern times is in a large measure economic in its concept. The securing of economic advantage for a special country, the maintenance and furtherance of its economic interests, are probably the strongest arguments in favour of nationalism. But in critical situations, nations, like individuals, may become nervous and defeat their purpose through anger and hatred, like a man in the street. This is particularly possible because of the fact that in international dealings for peace and war nations are not represented by cool-headed philosophers but by administrators who have seldom learnt to be generous and self-controlled through refinement of culture. I shall give one example—the peace deliberations of 1919. The peace council was a council of four, Clemenceau, Signor Orlando, President Wilson and the Prime Minister Llyod George. Clemenceau felt about France what Pericles felt of Athens, unique value in her, nothing else mattering. His principles for the peace can be expressed simply. He thought that the German understands and can understand nothing but intimidation, that he is without generosity or remorse in negotiation, that there is no advantage that he will not take of you and no extent to which he will not demean himself for profit, that he is without pride, honour or mercy. Therefore you must never negotiate with a German or conciliate him; you must dictate to him. On no other terms will he respect you or can you prevent him from cheating you. Keynes remarking on the subject says :

> "Clemenceau's philosophy had therefore no place for sentimentality in international relations. Nations are real things of whom you love one and feel for the rest indifference or hatred. The glory of the nation you love is the desirable end,—but generally to be obtained at your neighbour's expense. The politics of power are inevitable and there is nothing very new to learn about this war and the end that it was fought for; England had destroyed, as in each preceding century, a trade rival; a mighty chapter had been closed in secular struggle between the glories of Germany and France. Prudence required some measure of lip-service to the 'ideals' of foolish Americans and hypocritical Englishmen; but it would be stupid to believe that there is much room in the world as it really is for such affairs as the League of Nations or any sense in the principle of self-determination except as an ingenious formula for re-arranging the balance of power in one's own interests."

The councillors of the old world believed that, being based on human nature, which is always the same, the old order cannot change. If France and England had been victorious now, they might not be so in future. If now there is an opportunity of crushing Germany, the situation must be fully exploited. A peace of magnanimity or of fair and equal treatment based on such an idealism as the fourteen points of President Wilson could only have the effect of shortening the interval of Germany's recovery and hastening the day when she will once again hurl against France her greater numbers and her superior resources and technical skill. Hence the necessity of "guarantees", and each guarantee was taken by increasing irritation, and thus the probability of a subsequent revenge by Germany made necessary yet further provisions to crush. Thus a Carthagenian peace was concluded. The idealistic President Wilson was almost a puppet in the hands of Mr. Llyod George, who watched the company with "six or seven senses not available to ordinary men, judging character, motive and sub-conscious impulse, perceiving what each was thinking and even what each was going to say next and compounding with telepathic instinct the argument or appeal best suited to the vanity, weakness or self-interest of his immediate auditor." The peace thus concluded out of a spirit of revenge and future fears will be the cause of many devastating wars in future. 1870 was replied to in 1919 but 1919 must be prepared for its catastrophic reply in future. It is this peace that was responsible for the manner in which Germany and Italy are making

all their higher cultures entirely subservient to the demands of nationalism. Any one who has travelled through the continent in recent times must have noticed how even in the best and most advanced University circles the demands of nationalism in its narrow and aggressive sense are gradually clouding the illumination of cultures.

We thus see that, as there are different races, countries and nations, there are individual cultures which are often opposed to one another. In ancient times these cultures were closely associated with religion, morality and arts. But in modern times this culture is being impregnated by materialism as it appears in the current economic tendencies, and the spirit of nationalism in a higher sense as the welding together of the spirits of a group of people may be a spiritual fact, but it is always liable to grosser invasions of materialism from our lower natures. As such, nationalism may often be prejudicial to the interests of higher culture, which being internationalistic in spirit may be in conflict with nationalism in a narrow sense of the term. The invasion of nationalism into culture has been so large and so frequent that it is often difficult to distinguish the former from the latter, as in the case of German nationalism and German kultur. In the case of the religious culture of the past we see that a line of thought impregnated with humanitarian or God-intoxicated emotion as initiated by a religious prophet like the Buddha, Jesus or Muhammad, was gradually elaborated by the disciples inspired by them whose life and manners reflected the religious cultures of their minds. Such was the fire that enlivened their hearts that whoever came in contact with them caught the flame and immediately became the participants of that culture. These religious cultures not only inspired those who were particularly of a religious temperament but by their very presence induced a mental temperament around them that responded to the bugle call of the enthusiasts; new recruits flocked in and each contributed to the forward march in his manner. Thus art, industry, rituals of worship and even politics and political organizations and ways of thinking were all affected and coloured by the fundamental spirit of a religious culture. Asoka was a typical Buddhist emperor and the solicitude of his mind for the well-being of his people, as manifested by his appointment of religious superintendents and the publication of religious edicts, is almost unique in the history of the world.

That the religious culture of India, be it of Jainism, Buddhism or of Hinduism, affected even the mental temperaments of her kings is apparent from the lives of the three greatest kings of India—Chandragupta, Asoka and Harsha. Chandragupta retired and became a recluse, Asoka was a recluse even while he was a king and Harsha used to give away his all in charity after particular periods of accumulation. The systems of Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina cultures in spite of their differences have this common feature that they all attach a higher value to the demands of the spirit than to the demands of the flesh. If the old Vedic culture with its system of sacrifices set the well-being of life and happiness as the ultimate goal, the culture of the Upanishads and all that followed it, repudiated it in an emphatic manner. The result of this repudiation was the production of an oscillation which accepted the demands of the spirit either in a proportionate manner as may be consistent or consonant with the other demands of life or in a superlative manner almost ignoring all other demands of life. The oscillatory movement describes, as it were, a course between the normal satisfaction of the demands of the flesh and the supreme and all-denying satisfaction of the spirit, and this course represents the varying character of the Hindu culture. The spirit of Islamic culture seems to recommend the satisfaction of all normal demands subject to the restrictions imposed upon them by the religious commands of God or His prophet. But here also the demands of the spirit have often been over-emphasised at the expense of life on earth. The culture of the Sufis is often almost indistinguishable from the Upanishadic culture. Thus Jili says:

> Thine is the kingdom in both worlds; I saw therein none but myself, that I should hope for his favour or fear him. Before me is no 'before' that I should follow its condition and after me is no 'after' that I should precede its notion. I have made all kinds of perfections mine own and lo, I am the beauty of the majesty of the whole. I am nought but it. Whatsoever thou seest of minerals and plants and animals together with man and his qualities. And whatsoever thou seest of elements and nature and original atoms whereof the substance is a perfume. And whatsoever thou seest of seas and deserts and trees and high-topped mountains. And whatsoever thou seest of spiritual forms and of things visible whose countenance is goodly to behold. . . . . . .
>
> Lo, I am that whole and that whole is my theatre: 'tis I not it that is displayed in its reality.

The same mental approach is also to be found in Hallaj and Ibn'l-Arabi and others.

Even Omar Khayyam, who has been so wrongly delineated in Fitzgerald's version, describes the nothingness of the world in terms

which would suit a Nagarjuna, a Vedantist, or a Baul :

> "Duniya didi o har ch didi hic ast
> Oan nij kh gufti o shunidi hicast
> sar ta sare afak duidi hic ast
> oan nij kh dar khanah khijidi hiç ast."

> "You see them, but all you see is naught
> And all you say, and all you hear is naught,
> Naught the four quarters of the mighty earth,
> The secrets treasured in your chamber naught."

It is important, however, to notice that the intimacy and the feeling of fraternity that existed among the members belonging to a particular culture were not often extended to the adherents of other faiths and cultures. Thus Abusaid said :

> "Whoever goes with me in this way is my kinsman, even though he may be many degrees removed from me and whosoever does not back me in this matter is nobody to me even though he be one of my nearest relations."

In the Hindu, Buddhist and Christian cultures also we seldom notice the feeling of fraternity extended to one another in the same manner as it was extended to the adherents of the same culture. In Islam also it is a fact of great importance that, though whole-hearted fraternity is recommended among "the men of faith", it was done in a very remote measure among the people of the Book and was almost wholly denied to others.

It is thus seen that the different religious cultures did not observe a spirit of supreme friendship and amity among themselves. It was of course due to ignorance that the adherents of any culture found fault with those of other cultures. But it cannot be said that even when the adherents knew well the contents of one another's cultures, they would also appreciate it, for culture means a new outlook, a new orientation, a new angle of vision which may not have its appeal for another. The psychological differences, tendencies and temperaments are by themselves sufficient to explain this. But yet it has to be admitted that familiarity with different cultures may remove the primary feeling of hostility due to ignorance and consequent undesirable mis-attribution.

New types of culture may grow under various conditions and causes. Thus in modern Europe the growth of science and the consequent advance of knowledge have produced in us a faith in the application of the methods of science, namely, that of accurate observation, experiment and deduction, which is of a different nature from the faith possessed by a man of religion. It is often said that there is no opposition between science and religion. But such a proposition can only be true in the sense that science may be supposed to discover many new facts which may increase the scope of religion. But it cannot be denied that the angle of vision of science is widely different from that of religion. Religion proceeds largely from our faith in the prophets or books of revelation or from *a priori* inclination of our hearts which influences our powers of reason. The scientific culture may thus be regarded as greatly antagonistic to religion in its accepted sense. The former is not satisfied with the optimistic inclination of the heart and the articles of faith deduced therefrom but insists on accurate and tangible proofs and pins its faith on their results or on suppositions which are consistent with them. We have seen in our days how in order to keep pace with science some older religions have been re-interpreted in such a manner that they have become almost indistinguishable from a scientific spirit. The only concession demanded has been the association of some emotion of wonder and awe for the mighty unknown and unknowable towards which both science and religion are directed. It happens that a certain idea which in a distant epoch may have remained merely as an utopian ideal, may, in the course of time, continue to gather force in such a manner as to assert its supremacy over all things and show itself as the determinant of a mighty culture. Let us take an example

Plato in his *Republic* drew the picture of aristrocratic communism and a dictatorship of philosophic communism. In adition to communism of property Plato advanced the startling proposal that all should possess their wives in common. "No one shall have a wife of his own; likewise the children should be in common and the parents should never know the child nor the child the parents." Both sexes should be given the same education and should share the same responsibilities of the state. From Plato to Sir Thomas More of the sixteenth century we find that equality and common ownership were urged by philosophers, poets, theological writers and agitators in the belief that a communistic state of society was the first and 'natural state' and that civil law, creating inequality, private ownership and class divisions, had arisen as a debased substitute for the reign of God and nature. Thomas More in his *Utopia* strove to hold before men a commonwealth which honoured its citizen neither for wealth nor for ancestry but for their service to society. He attacked

the institution of private property and gave a scheme of government and commerce from which all money and money-transactions were abolished. Side by side with the English Utopians, we have the German and Italian Utopians like Andrea and Campanella, who wanted to abolish both riches and poverty and preached in favour of communism. The writings of Hobbes, Locke, Harrington and Chamberlain, as well as those of Babeuf, Cabet, Saint-Simon, Fourier, Louis Blanc, Proudhon, all moved in the same direction, though each of these writers had his own distinctive peculiarity. The ideal of all these writers was the establishment of equality. They all thought that the aim of society is the happiness of all and happiness consists in equality and that every man has an equal right to the enjoyment of all goods. Proudhon put forward a scheme in which he proposed to do away with all kinds of government which involved inequality and forced men to degrading levels. He also proposed that every man should have equal advantages with other men, whether he worked or not. It is unnecessary to go into further details, but through the influence of Owen and other writers in England and France and through the influence of the left wing of the Hegelians we come to Karl Marx and Engels. Karl Marx by his speculations in economics and knowledge of history attacked the Utopian socialism of the past and based it upon economic principles such as the conception of labour, value and the like. The communistic party organized by Marx could be distinguished from other parties in this that in the national struggles of the proletariats of the different countries, the communists point out and bring to the front the common interests of all proletariats independent of all nationalities and that in the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole. The communistic principle enunciated by Marx and Engels passed through many vicissitudes and sometimes departed largely from some of the main tenets of Marx but yet it followed different lines of progress in Russia, Italy, Austria, Germany, France and even in England.

The idea of communism enunciated by Marx differs from that of the Utopian communists of the past in this that here the central idea of the doctrine of equal rights and equal happiness is no longer an idle desire or an inactive ideal but it assumes here a new role of controlling the social and political activity of the people. There is another important point about this communism. It actively professes to be a scheme of unity which is much wider and broader than the schemes of religion and nationalism. A true communist works not for the people of his nation or for the people of any particular religion but he works for establishing throughout the world the fundamental principles of communism by which alone it can have a safe existence.

It may, however, be pointed out that the central notion of communism is being exploited in the interests of nationalism, such as the Bolshevism of Russia, National Socialism of Germany and Fascism of Italy. Marx's philosophical contention was that in every historical epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange and the social organisation necessarily following from it form the basis upon which is built and from which alone can be explained the political and intellectual history of that epoch; that consequently the whole history of mankind has been a history of class struggles, contests between the exploiting and the exploited, the ruling and the oppressed classes. Such an unqualified assertion is in my opinion as incorrect as to say that the quality of the mind depends upon the quality of the body. There is obviously some connection between the well-being of the mind and that of the body, but it will be foolish to suppose that the talents of a person are in any sense a function of his muscles. Again, Marx's ideal was the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the rule of the proletariat, the abolition of the old bourgeoisie society which is based on class antagonism and the establishment of a new society without classes and without private property. Thus, whatever may be the nature of the ultimate aim, the way in which this was to be attained involved class war. Though Marx himself wanted it to be bloodless, his followers could not have it so. Nevertheless the central idea of socialism and communism as it is going to affect the world today has a note of universality which transcends the bounds of nationalism.

We have made a brief review of some of the main types of culture. We have so far emphasised their distinctiveness, uniqueness and hence the aspect of separation. We have also seen that the word culture is often used in different senses. We have also seen that the pure content of culture becomes often associated with elements which are of alien origin. But inspite of the diversity of the different cultures due to different ways of the flowing of the mind

and the diverse circumstances and conditions through which they show themselves, there is a fundamental spiritual content—their attitude to humanity and their human interest. In whatever ways a particular culture might manifest itself in art, literature and religion or in diverse social institutions, manners or behaviour or in whatsoever ways the expressions of a culture may differ from that of another, there is one fundamental content which must be common to all cultures worth the name. This content consists in the delight that is felt by a spirit in expressing itself to another spirit and in realising another spirit as one with itself. The feeling of the spiritual fellowship of mankind, its expression and realisation, may thus be said to form the vital element of the concept of culture. It is true that nationalism, classism and the like, so far as they reflect the fleshly part of our nature as represented in the concepts of utility and advantages, greed or jealousy or ambition, will always try to vitiate the impulses of true culture and usurp its place. But still the spirit must always assert its need of self-realisation in and through other spirits and try to resist the invasion of flesh and dominate over it. The struggle between the true cultural instinct and the instinct for other types of federation represents the central strife between the spirit and the flesh. Many have been the failures of the spirit, but it is through the continual self-assertion of the spiritual that man has often succeeded in transforming many unspiritual elements into the spiritual and also in elevating himself from the level of animality.

Never has there been in the past greater opportunities for understanding and realising spiritual expression of man in diverse countries and ages and under diverse circumstances and conditions than in our modern times, when the whole world has been brought to our door and the separation of space and time has been dissolved.

The lower parts of our nature will no doubt still continue to create the limitations and barriers, divisions and classes and may raise nations, classes and religions against themselves. Still there will be some who in the milk of human sweetness will not only think that every man is equal but will regard him as a friend, and in the splendour of spiritual light will dissolve the darkness of all divisions and realise all cultures and all nations and people, the torch-bearers, as the diverse expressions of the same divinity that exists in all.

It is our egoism and self-conceit that obscure our view and separate us from God and our fellow-beings and is the cause of the miseries that are brought by us.

> "Iya rab ji kabuli, orj dum baz rahan
> mashgule, khudat kun, ji khudam baj rahan
> ta hushiarani ji, nik o vad nidonam
> mastam kun o az, nik o badam baz rahan."

> "O Lord, from self-conceit deliver me,
> Sever from self and occupy with Thee.
> This self is captive to earth's good and ill.
> Make me beside myself and set me free."

There is one thought, one culture, one religion that flows through all the ages, and all cultures and all religions, whatsoever may be their diversity in outward expression, must lose themselves in it. It is only through the supreme union of all cultures and religions that their claims to our acceptance can be recognised.

> **Yatha nadyahsyandamanah samudre**
> **astam gachhati namarupe vihaya, tatha**
> **vidvan namarupadivimuktah paratparam purusam**
> **upaiti divyam.**

"Just as the rivers flowing into the ocean are lost in it, losing their names and forms, so the wise man emancipated from names and forms passes on to the highest divinity."

Or as Omar Khayyam says :

> "Katre vagirist kh, aj vahar juda im hma
> vahar var katre vakhandid, kh ma im hma
> dar hakikat digri nist khuda im hma
> lik aj gardishe iknuktha khuda im hma"

> "The drop wept for its severence from the sea.
> But the sea smiled, for, 'I am all," said he.
> "The truth is all, nothing exists beside.
> That one point circling apes plurality."



CONGRESS MINISTRIES

By M. K. GANDHI

Since the Working Committee and other Congressmen have allowed themselves to be influenced by my opinion on the office issue, it is perhaps due to the public for me to explain my conception of office-acceptance and what is possible to do in terms of the Congress election manifesto. I need offer no apology for crossing the self-imposed limit in the conduct of *Harijan*. The reason is obvious. The Government of India Act is universally regarded as wholly unsatisfactory for achieving India's freedom. But it is possible to construe it as an attempt, however limited and feeble, to replace the rule of the sword by the rule of the majority. The creation of the big electorate of three crores of men and women and the placing of wide powers in their hands cannot be described by any other name. Underlying it is the hope that what has been imposed upon us we shall get to like, *i.e.*, we shall really regard our exploitation as a blessing in the end. The hope may be frustrated, if the representatives of the thirty million voters have a faith of their own and are intelligent enough to use the powers (including the holding of offices) placed in their hands for the purpose of thwarting the assumed intention of the framers of the Act. And this can be easily done by lawfully using the Act in a manner not expected by them and by refraining from using it in the way intended by them. Thus the ministries may enforce immediate prohibition by making education self-supporting instead of paying for it from the liquor revenue. This may appear a startling proposition, but I hold it perfectly feasible and eminently reasonable. The jails may be turned into reformatories and workshops. They should be self-supporting and educational instead of being spending and punitive departments. In accordance with the Irwin-Gandhi pact, of which only the salt clause remains still alive, salt should be free for the poor man but it is not. It can now be free in Congress provinces at least. All purchases of cloth should be in khadi. Attention should now be devoted more to villages and peasantry than to the cities. These are but illustrations taken at random. They are perfectly lawful and yet not one of them has as yet even been attempted.

Then the personal behaviour of ministers. How will Congress ministers discharge themselves? Their chief, the President of the Congress, travels 3rd class. Will they travel 1st? The President is satisfied with a coarse khadi dhoti, kurta and waist-coat. Will the ministers require the western style and expenditure on the western scale? Congressmen have for the past seventeen years disciplined themselves in rigorous simplicity. The nation will expect the ministers to introduce that simplicity in the administration of their provinces. They will not be ashamed of it, they will be proud of it. We are the poorest nation on earth, many millions living in semi-starvation. Its representatives dare not live in a style and manner out of all correspondence with their electors. The Englishmen coming as conquerors and rulers set up a standard of living which took no account whatsoever of the helpless conquered. If the ministers will simply refrain from copying the Governors and the secured civil service, they will have shown the marked contrast that exists between the Congress mentality and theirs. Truly there can be no partnership between them and us even as there can be none between a giant and a dwarf.

Lest Congressmen should think that they have a monopoly of simplicity and that they erred in 1920 in doing away with the trousers and the chair, let me cite the examples of Aboo Baker and Omar. Ram and Krishna are prehistoric names. I may not use these names as examples. History tells us of Pratap and Sivaji living in uttermost simplicity. But opinion may be divided as to what they did when they had power. There is no division of opinion about the Prophet, Aboo Baker and Omar. They had riches of the world at their feet. It will be difficult to find a historical parallel to match their rigorous life. Omar would not brook the idea of his lieutenants in distant provinces using anything but coarse cloth and coarse flour. The Congress ministers, if they will retain the simplicity and economy they have inherited since 1920, will save thousands of rupees, they will give hope to the poor and probably change the tone of the services. It is hardly necessary for me to point out that simplicity does not mean shoddiness. There is a beauty and an art in simplicity which he who runs may see.

It does not require money to be neat, clean and dignified. Pomp and pageantry are often synonymous with vulgarity. This unostentatious work must be the prelude to demonstrating the utter insufficiency of the Act to meet the wishes of the people and the determination to end it.

The English press has been at pains to divide India into Hindu and Muslim. The Congress majority provinces have been dubbed Hindu and the other Muslim. That this is demonstrably false has not worried them. My great hope is that the ministers in the six provinces will so manage them as to disarm all suspicion. They will show their Muslim colleagues that they know no distinction between Hindu, Muslim, Christian, or Sikh or Parsi. Nor will they know any distinction between high-caste and low-caste Hindu. They will demonstrate in every action of theirs that with them all are the sons of the soil among whom there is no one low and no one high. Poverty and climate are common to all without distinction. The major problems are identical for all of them. And whilst, so far as we can judge from actions, the goal of the English system is wholly different from ours, the men and women representing the two goals belong to the same human family. They will now be thrown together as they never have been before. If the human reading that I have given to the Act is correct, the two parties meet together, each with its own history, background and goal, to convert one another. Corporations are wooden and soulless but not those who work them or use them. If the Englishmen or Anglicised Indians can but see the Indian, which is the Congress, view-point, the battle is won by the Congress, and complete independence will come to us without shedding a drop of blood. This is what I call the non-violent approach. It may be foolish, visionary, impractical; nevertheless it is best that Congressmen, other Indians and Englishmen should know it. This office-acceptance is not intended to work the Act anyhow. In the prosecution by the Congress of its goal of Complete Independence, it is a serious attempt on the one hand to avoid a bloody revolution and on the other to avoid mass civil disobedience on a scale hitherto not attempted. May God bless it.

Editor's Note

We wrote to Mahatma Gandhi to kindly send us a short article on the policy and programme to be followed in the two groups of the eleven governor's provinces. The following reply was received from him :

" Dear Ramananda Babu,

I have anticipated you in a way. I am asking Mahadev to send you an advance copy of what I have written for *Harijan.*

I wonder if I wrote to you to say that your article in *Asia*......interested me deeply.

Yours sincerely
M. K. GANDHI."

Segaon-Wardha.
12-7-1937.

The advance copy of the article reached us on the 16th July and is printed above.

A POEM

In the springtime of wistful hours
they came into my garden path,
some with timid steps and shy hesitation
picking up fallen petals among wayside shadows;
and some whose loud foot-prints spoke of the trodden grasses,
bruised under a casual unconcern,
who in youth's arrogance tore away flowers
leaving a thrill of pain in the pillaged branches.

The boisterous season is over.
The bees have deserted the desolate lane,
and the laughter and hum of the flower-gathering
dies away into the dimness of a tired remembrance.
I wait now alone, my basket filled with reticent fruits,
like the night that has gathered its stars
for the far-away morning of an unrevealed sun.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE
in The Visva-Bharati News

CONGRESS POLICY AND PROGRAMME IN THE PROVINCES

By S. SATYAMURTI

I gladly respond to your request to write an article telling the public what Congress Members are expected to do in the six Legislatures in which they are in a majority, and in the five Provinces in which they are in a minority, and also an outline of the programme outside the Legislatures. I may begin this article by stating that I firmly believe that, in order that the next fight for Swaraj, whatever form it may take, may be the last and the most effective for achieving Indian freedom, there should be no elective seats in any Legislature open to Indians, which is not filled by Congressmen. I do not contemplate with equanimity another Swaraj fight, where Indian traitors may have the slightest claim to misrepresent themselves as representatives of the people. Even on the present limited suffrage, we should be able to tell the British and the world that the struggle for our freedom has the support of every elected Indian member, and, therefore, of the electorates and of the people. I believe that the most important work for the Congress members in the six Legislatures, in which they are in a majority, and of the Congress Ministries, is to so conduct themselves as to strengthen and unify the Congress and make it irresistible. All programmes must be subject to this major consideration.

I certainly believe that Congress Ministries must immediately introduce simplicity and economy in public administration. They will take only Rs. 500 a month, perhaps, with a small allowance for a house and a car. They will travel second class; they will go about as public servants; they will deprecate addresses and any forms of reception; they will be easily accessible; they will go about dressed in clean, simple khaddar. That by itself will raise the tone of the administration.

They should also undertake some immediate administrative reforms. I am in favour of introducing a human element in the administration of jails; of trying one's best to root out corruption from all public offices, and of increasingly substituting nationalism for communalism in all public affairs. The Congress Ministries undoubtedly will do everything in their power to encourage village industries, and especially khaddar. All the requirements of Government should be purchased in India, unless the things are indispensable, and no substitutes can be got in India. Khaddar should be the uniform of all Government servants, which are supplied by Government. The products of village industries ought to be strenuously encouraged.

The whole problem of Provincial finance has got to be examined. I am convinced that Provincial Autonomy can never succeed, unless the whole basis of Indian finance is reorganised. The colossal military expenditure, and the bloated Civil Services must be reduced in numbers and in salaries. There should be ruthless retrenchment in expenditure. Uuless money is made available, Congress Ministries cannot accomplish much. In the constructive side of our work, the demand is so great that, on a rough calculation, I am satisfied that an annual expenditure of about 5 to 6 crores is necessary in the major Provinces, and about 3 to 4 crores in the minor Provinces, for the next ten years, before we can claim to have done anything for elementary education, village sanitation and village improvement, and the encouragement of industries, especially cottage industries, and the relief of agricultural indebtedness.

Moreover, I am of opinion that the rich in the country are not taxed as heavily as they are in other countries, and as they ought to be. Government must also increasingly own and run public utility concerns, and make money. I am in favour of a monopoly on tobacco, cigarettes, matches, etc. These and other avenues must be explored. And, there should be ruthless retrenchment in our public administration. We cannot afford to pay our public servants more than Rs. 500 a month, except in exceptional cases. The whole problem of land revenue has got to be re-examined. The Permanent Settlement has no sanctity in my eyes. We must tax agricultural incomes on an increasing scale. All these mean time. The Congress Ministries must, however, attempt to tackle them at once. As part of our fiscal readjustment, we must contemplate the ultimate prohibition of the consumption of all alchoholic liquors, which means a loss of a considerable amount of our revenue. But a ten or a five year programme must be chalked out boldly.

The Congress Ministries will have to tackle the problems of elementary education, village reconstruction, and relief of agricultural indebtedness on a five or ten year basis. All these cannot be carried out in a year or two. We want well-thought-out schemes. We must get the advice and assistance of experts. I am hoping confidently that retired Indian Government servants will place their rich experience at the disposal of the Congress Ministers. We must be able to carry on as best as possible with their co-operation. The Congress Ministries in the six Provinces must so conduct themselves, as to earn and retain in a large measure, the goodwill and the affection of all minority communities. The Services must also feel that, while they are loyal and carry out the decisions of the Ministries, they can expect fair-play and justice from the Congress Ministries. The Governors in the Provinces should no longer be autocrats. They should become merely constitutional Governors, even as the King of England.

I am deeply concerned with the position of the Congress parties in the Provinces where they are in a minority, especially Bengal. I know the heart of Bengal beats sound to the call of the Congress. The land of Deshabandhu Das can never be false to the high ideals of the Congress; but, owing to various causes, into which it is not— necessary to enter at present, Bengal to-day is not in the forefront of Indian Congress politics. Bengal can soon be, in spite of the Communal Award and the Poona Pact. I am even in favour of a coalition between the Congress and the progressive elements and a nationalist ministry being formed. Naturally, our ambition is that even in Bengal Congressmen should become a majority and accept office. I have no doubt that in the Bengal Legislature to-day, the Congress may become a majority. They must attempt to do so, or they must force a dissolution and face a new election, and on a perfect Hindu-Muslim understanding, capture the majority of the seats and get power.

Similarly, in the Punjab, I am confident that Congress should get a majority as in other Provinces. Unless we have got majorities in all the eleven Provinces, the next fight for Swaraj cannot be as fruitful of results, as I want it to be.

The basis, however of this is a communal settlement. I know the strong feeling in Bengal against the Communal Award. I entirely sympathise with it. Bengal, is perhaps suffering most from the Communal Award. Every effort must be made to oust the communalists—Hindus and Mussalmans. I am one of those who believe that we should pay almost any reasonable price for achieving joint electorates. Once we get mutual consent amongst the Hindus and Mussalmans, joint electorates can be accomplished soon. I trust the genius of Bengal will tackle this question very soon.

The Congress work outside the Legislatures must be such as to make the Congress coterminous with the 7 lakhs of our villages. I am anxious that there ought to be a Congress Committee in every important village, or a group of villages, and intensive propaganda should be carried on. Congress having accepted office, it must be felt by every Congressman or Congresswoman that he or she has accepted office. They must carry out the constructive programme of the Congress, with the help of the Congress Ministries. For example, prohibition must be made a reality. It cannot be made a reality, unless there is a strong purposeful public opinion behind it. I am hoping that there will be a perfect synthesis between the work inside and outside the Legislatures, so that the Indian National Congress may be the one dominant political body in the whole country.

How far the Congres Ministries will be able to carry out this programme, and how far we shall be able to achieve our object in the minority provinces, only the future can decide. In the meantime, I express my profound and sincere conviction that in the Congress Ministries the country will find people disinterested, patriotic, independent, and selfless. Let us all wish them the strength, the humility, and the spirit of team work, so that even our enemies may say the Congress Ministers have opened a new chapter in the history of parliamentary government in this country and in the fight for Swaraj.



MINISTERS' USEFULNESS DEPENDENT ON GOVERNORS' GOOD GRACES

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

The discussions relating to the assurance of non-interference with the constitutional activities of the Congress ministries which the governors of six provinces were asked to give, concentrated public attention on the special powers which the governors can exercise at their discretion, in their individual judgment, or in the discharge of their special responsibilities. But the ordinary powers which the Government of India Act of 1935 has conferred on the governors are such that the usefulness and beneficence of all ministries, whether consisting of members of the Congress or of other parties, depend to a great extent on the good graces of the governors.

Ministers can do useful work for the welfare of the nation and the country if they have sufficient money at their disposal and if they can modify or repeal existing injurious laws and pass new laws for the good of the country, if necessary.

Let us first see whether the ministers can command sufficient financial resources.

It is well known that political leaders in all provinces have complained that the provincial governments do not possess sufficient financial resources.

They can have more money at their disposal for the "nation-building" departments by means of retrenchment and economy and by increasing existing taxes and levying new ones. Let us see whether this will be feasible if the governors be not propitious.

Perusal of the Government of India Act of 1935 shows that, though ostensibly dyarchy has ceased to exist, the separate allotment of the revenues to the reserved and transferred departments exist in another form, as will appear from sub-section (2) (*a*) and (*b*) of section 78 of the Act reproduced below.

78.—(1) The Governor shall in respect of every financial year cause to be laid before the Chamber or Chambers of the Legislature a statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Province for that year, in this Part of this Act referred to as the "annual financial statement."

(2) The estimates of expenditure embodied in the annual financial statement shall show separately—

(*a*) the sums required to meet expenditure described by this Act as expenditure charged upon the revenues of the Province; and

(*b*) the sums required to meet other expenditure proposed to be made from the revenues of the Province.

and shall distinguish expenditure on revenue account from other expenditure, and indicate the sums, if any, which are included solely because the Governor has directed their inclusion as being necessary for the due discharge of any of his special responsibilities.

(3) The following expenditure shall be expenditure charged on the revenues of each Province—

(*a*) the salary and allowances of the Governor and other expenditure relating to his office for which provision is required to be made by Order in Council;

(*b*) debt charges for which the Province is liable, including interest, sinking fund charges and redemption charges, and other expenditure relating to the raising of loans and the service and redemption of debt.

(*c*) the salaries and allowances of ministers, and of the advocate-general;

(*d*) expenditure in respect of the salaries and allowances of judges of any High Court;

(*e*) expenditure connected with the administration of any areas which are for the time being excluded areas;

(*f*) any sums required to satisfy any judgment, decree or award of any court or arbitral tribunal;

(*g*) any other expenditure declared by this Act or any Act of the Provincial Legislature to be so charged.

(4) Any question whether any proposed expenditure falls within a class of expenditure charged on the revenues of the Province shall be decided by the Governor in his discretion.

"The sums required to meet expenditure described by this Act as expenditure charged upon the revenues of the Provinces" will amount to a big total in every province. It is to be borne in mind that all the highly paid services are to be recruited by the Secretary of State and their strengths and emoluments fixed by him. So there is little power of retrenchment and economy in these matters left in the hands of the ministers. They can only themselves take small salaries and fix the salaries of their parliamentary secretaries, etc., if any, at moderate figures. The advocate-generals, appointed by them, may also be given a salary as small as their own.

But all this would not mean any substantial retrenchment.

If the governors be merciful and do the ministers the favour of reducing to some extent "the sums required to meet expenditure . . . .

charged upon the revenues of the provinces," then there can be retrenchment to that extent in these items, otherwise not. The Legislative Assembly will have no power over these items of expenditure, as section 79, quoted below, shows :

79.—(1) So much of the estimates of expenditure as relates to expenditure charged upon the revenues of a Province shall not be submitted to the vote of the Legislative Assembly, but nothing in this subsection shall be construed as preventing the discussion in the Legislature of those estimates, other than estimates relating to expenditure referred to in paragraph (*a*) of subsection (3) of the last preceding section.

(2) So much of the said estimates as relates to other expenditure shall be submitted, in the form of demands for grants, to the Legislative Assembly, and the Legislative Assembly shall have power to assent, or to refuse to assent, to any demand, or to assent to a demand subject to a reduction of the amount specified therein.

(3) No demand for a grant shall be made except on the recommendation of the Governor.

The next section, quoted below, should also be read to understand what power the governors possess to prevent economy.

80.—(1) The Governor shall authenticate by his signature a schedule specifying—

(*a*) the grants made by the Assembly under the last preceding section;

(*b*) the several sums required to meet the expenditure charged on the revenues of the Province but not exceeding, in the case of any sum, the sum shown in the statement previously laid before the Chamber or Chambers :

Provided that, if the Assembly have refused to assent to any demand for a grant or have assented to such a demand subject to a reduction of the amount specified therein, the Governor may, if in his opinion the refusal or reduction would affect the due discharge of any of his special responsibilities, include in the schedule such additional amount, if any, not exceeding the amount of the rejected demand or the reduction, as the case may be, as appears to him necessary in order to enable him to discharge that responsibility.

(2) The schedule so authenticated shall be laid before the Assembly but shall not be open to discussion or vote in the Legislature.

(3) Subject to the provisions of the next succeeding section, no expenditure from the revenues of the Province shall be deemed to be duly authorised unless it is specified in the schedule so authenticated.

Section 81 gives governors the power to obtain supplementary grants.

Having shown briefly what limited scope there is for retrenchment and economy, I pass on to point out that without the consent of the governor no tax can even be proposed to be increased or imposed, or any loan raised, as the following provisions show :

82.—(1) A Bill or amendment making provision—

(*a*) for imposing or increasing any tax; or

(*b*) for regulating the borrowing of money or the giving of any guarantee by the Province, or for amending the law with respect to any financial obligations undertaken or to be undertaken by the Province; or

(*c*) for declaring any expenditure to be expenditure charged on the revenues of the Province, or for increasing the amount of any such expenditure, shall not be introduced or moved except on the recommendation of the Governor, and a Bill making such provision shall not be introduced in a Legislative Council.

As regards legislation in general, it should be clearly understood by the public that provincial legislatures (I am not at present concerned with the federal legislature) do not possess any final powers. So "nation-building" legislation on the part of ministries would depend on the good graces of the Governor, the Governor-General and His Majesty. Sections 75, 76 and 77 are quoted below in support of this statement.

75. A Bill which has been passed by the Provincial Legislative Assembly or, in the case of a Province having a Legislative Council, has been passed by both Chambers of the Provincial Legislature, shall be presented to the Governor, and the Governor in his discretion shall declare either that he assents in His Majesty's name to the Bill, or that he withholds assent therefrom, or that he reserves the Bill for the consideration of the Governor-General :

Provided that the Governor may in his discretion return the Bill together with a message requesting that the Chamber or Chambers will reconsider the Bill or any specified provisions thereof, and, in particular, will consider the desirability of introducing any such amendments as he may recommend in his message and, when a Bill is so returned, the Chamber or Chambers shall reconsider it accordingly.

76.—(1) When a Bill is reserved by a Governor for the consideration of the Governor-General, the Governor-General shall in his discretion declare, either that he assents in His Majesty's name to the Bill, or that he withholds assent therefrom or that he reserves the Bill for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon :

Provided that the Governor-General may, if he in his discretion thinks fit, direct the Governor to return the Bill to the Chamber, or, as the case may be, the Chambers, of the Provincial Legislature together with such a message as is mentioned in the proviso to the last preceding section and, when a Bill is so returned, the Chamber or Chambers shall reconsider it accordingly and, if it is again passed by them with or without amendment, it shall be presented again to the Governor-General for his consideration.

(2) A Bill reserved for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure shall not become an Act of the Provincial Legislature unless and until, within twelve months from the day on which it was presented to the Governor, the Governor makes known by public notification that His Majesty has assented thereto.

77. Any Act assented to by the Governor or the Governor-General may be disallowed by His Majesty within twelve months from the date of the assent, and where any Act is so disallowed the Governor shall forthwith make the disallowance known by public notification and as from the date of the notification the Act shall become void.

THE CONGRESS AND THE CONSTITUTION

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

Now that the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress has authorised the Congress party to accept office in the provinces in which it is in a majority in the legislatures a brief summary of the situation may prove of public interest.

It is instructive to note the development of the Congress from the time that the late Lord Dufferin, then Viceroy of India, designated it as a 'microscopic minority' in an alliterative phrase to its present position when the present Viceroy has publicly recognised it as a great organisation and the eyes of India and England are focussed upon it. During this period the Congress has passed through many trials and tribulations. There is scarcely any man of any importance in the Congress who has not been imprisoned, some more than once. Mahatma Gandhi, the soul and embodiment of the Congress, has suffered imprisonment in India and South Africa. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the President, has spent several years in prison. In the days of Civil Disobedience the Working Committee was declared an unlawful body and all the members were imprisoned. The annual gatherings of the Congress were dispersed by force. Repeated and violent lathi charges were made upon unresisting and perfectly peaceful crowds. Perhaps it would not be right to say that attempts were made to suppress the entire Congress organisation, but only to put down what were considered its unlawful activities. Any way, the Congress has lost nothing but gained a great deal by the treatment it has received. It has passed from strength to strength and grown in volume and mass till it has become a telescopic majority. Lord Dufferin did not possess the foresight to realise the future of the Congress, nor is that gift possessed by any British statesman today. It is not realised that the light of the Congress is not that of a candle which can be snuffed out. It is the light of the rising sun and it cannot be shut out by the open palm.

There is no doubt whatsoever as to the ultimate aim of the Congress. It aims to compass the independence of India as a free nation and nothing will make it swerve from its path towards the attainment of that goal. If it has survived lathi blows and long and repeated terms of imprisonment, it is not likely to be killed by the denunciation of minority ministers who have been in office because they have not had to face Legislative Assemblies.

Of what avail are the cartloads of free advice that is offered to the Congress? These advisers are chiefly Indians who have been very careful of their skins and have taken very good care to keep out of the struggle in which the Congress is engaged. Their breath would be better used in cooling their porridge. It is a very grim and very stern task upon which the Congress is engaged and those who are standing aside need not pose as advisers.

As regards parties a single instance may be quoted. One hears constantly of the Liberal leaders. They are interviewed, photographed and are in the confidence of the highest authorities in the land. Some of them, at any rate, were Congressmen at one time. It is unnecessary to enquire why they seceded from the Congress. There are the Liberal leaders but where are the Liberal followers and voters? How many Liberals have been elected to the Legislative Assemblies and Councils? It is unchallengeably clear that, though there are individual Liberals, there is no such thing as a Liberal party.

There is not a single Indian, no matter what his political creed, who approves of the constitution that has been imposed upon India. What is the use of instituting constitutional comparisons when India has nothing whatever to do with the constitution she has been called upon to work? There were three sessions of the Round Table Conference but the deliberations of those gatherings are not incorporated in the Act of Parliament of 1935. Only a single session was attended by Mahatma Gandhi as the single accredited representative of the Congress and he was arrested and imprisoned directly on his return to India. India had no share or part in framing the constitution which she has been called upon to accept and work. The Congress made no secret of its determination to wreck this unwanted constitution.

Under the new Act the electorate has been created without the slightest reference to India. It has been constituted not on national but on communal lines. There are separate electorates for Hindus, Mussalmans and Christians. A Hindu cannot vote for a Mussalman, nor a Mussalman for a Hindu. Communal distinctions are accentuated. Nevertheless, the elections conclusively proved that the Congress has the strongest hold upon the country and the electorate. The most astonishing feature of the elections was the clean sweep made of Liberal

leaders, knights and other title holders, Rajas and Maharajas. In some cases the majorities for the Congress candidates were astounding. In the new legislatures of six provinces the Congress was in a majority. Assam, Sind and the Frontier Province are not major provinces and these did not have Congress majorities. Bengal and the Punjab are the only two major provinces in which the Congress has not obtained a majority. In Bengal this is due partly to the constitution of the electorate, which has a large Mussalman majority and partly to the constant squabbles and divisions in the ranks of the Congress. In the Punjab it is due to the strange apathy and indifference of the people. Neither the memory of the Jalianwalabagh affair nor the achievements of martial law have stirred the Punjab to a real national awakening and the Punjab Government is just what it was before the new constitution. The Chief Minister has officiated as Governor and is intimately associated with the bureaucracy.

Failing an assurance of non-interference from the Governors the Congress majorities in the six provinces declined to accept office and form Ministries. It was then open to the Governors under Section 93 of the Act of Parliament to suspend the legislatures and to assume all powers themselves. That, however, would have meant the complete breakdown of the constitution and the establishment of an undisguised autocracy. Accordingly, instead of having recourse to that extreme step, the Governors invited the leaders of minorities in the legislatures to form Ministries. In one instance, at any rate, the Muslim League, which had representatives next in number to the Congress, declined to form a Ministry. Other parties, however, were not so particular and they agreed to form Ministries. There is one Minister in Bombay who has no seat in the Legislative Assembly.

While Ministries were formed in the provinces wherein the Congress was in a majority but had refused to accept office care was taken to defer the calling of the legislative bodies as long as possible, for otherwise votes of no confidence would have deprived the Ministries of office at once. Meantime, high officials from the Secretary of State for India downwards publicly stated that although the Governors could not divest themselves of their special powers under the Act they would be careful not to interfere with Congress Ministries exercising their legitimate powers. Finally came the elaborate and conciliatory statement by the Viceroy. Even if not quite satisfactory it justified the decision of the Working Committee of the Congress to sanction the acceptance of office by the Congress.

Here, again, the worst and the most thoughtless critics of the Congress are Indians, one of whom has characterised the decision of the Congress Committee as an abject surrender to the Government. Otherwise, that decision has been welcomed on all hands and the statesmanship and wisdom of Mahatma Gandhi have been recognised and justly praised. The Congress itself is completely unanimous.

It must not be supposed for a moment that the struggle is over or that the Congress has been muzzled by the acceptance of office. There has been no change in the outlook and ultimate aim of the Congress. If the goodwill of India is to be retained there must be a constituent assembly and India must be allowed to draft her constitution. It must be remembered that every day will bring fresh accession of strength to the Congress. It is already in the air that the Congress will come into power in the Frontier Province. Notwithstanding the communal composition of the electorate the national awakening in India is unmistakeable. It is useless to characterise the Congress as Hindu. Mussalmans and Parsis have been among its shining lights. Mass contact is being established. Who advised the Congress to shift its venue from the city to the village? Secure in the hold it has obtained over six provinces the Congress will now concentrate on converting the remaining provinces to the national creed.

Suffering and sacrifice and fearlessness have made the Congress a perfectly disciplined and most powerful organisation. It is not a party but the living emblem of Indian nationalism. There is no such thing as self-seeking anywhere. The country will soon witness remarkable changes in the provinces in which the Congress will come into office. No Congress Minister will accept a salary of more than Rs. 500 a month. Officials of the legislative bodies will have the same salary. Khaddar and chappals will decorate the official benches. No Congress Minister will put on a political uniform. He will not appear at official social functions. The Honours Lists will not contain the name of any Congress Minister or Congressman. One wonders what will become of the other aspirants for such honours. Probably they will be dealt with by the services and the permanent officials. People will begin to learn what real democracy means.

COME WITH ME THROUGH BURMESE SONG-LAND

By Prof. DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

I

I met Oo Maung Myah, a spirited young Burman, in an outlying street of Mandalay. He told me that he was born in a village, about ten miles off the highroad towards the Shan country, and that he was not feeling at home in Mandalay. I remember his words: "I am like a caged bird here." "Why don't you return to your native village then?" I asked. "Even that is not very easy," he returend, "What can I do? I will surely be a misfit there. My education has been such. Still I like to smell the familiar scent, wafted from the ripening fields of my village. I do not find my familiar breeze here. The small joys



The Rhythm of Burmese folk-dance.
"Ours is the best dance in the world," sings the Burman

of village-life can never slip out of my memory. How gaily I walked in the fields! The peasants sang beautiful couplets. I would listen to them with joy and appreciation. And I committed to memory a good number of these songs without any special attempt to do so."

I heard him patiently and smiled an artless smile.

"Now come with me through Burmese Song-land," he suggested, "I can offer you first-hand knowledge of our folk-poetry."

"Very good of you," I said.

He began a song very softly. I appreciated the tune and translated the words with his help:

Like a wave of the Irrawady river
My sweet-heart is free.

"There is nothing slavish about the Burmese woman," he commented, "She is very seldom unfaithful, but when she finds her husband undersirable, she goes before the village-elders and declares that she is no more his wife. She leaves him and takes the property, she brought from her parents, with her. She is then free to marry another man of her choice."

I did not make any counter-remark. I was prepared only to enjoy the song and I appreciated the folk-poet of Burma who compared his free-natured sweetheart with a wave of the Irrawady river.

"I must have been a song-bird in my previous birth, for now I can sing so well," he remarked.

"But that is not the case with you alone, Mr. Myah," I suggested, "All the people of Burma must have been song-birds in their previous births. That is why they are so fond of songs now."

"Yes, yes," he returned, "You have followed my point correctly."

He gave me another song and helped me to translate it:

Beautiful are the hills
Of our dearest land.

Many are the forests,
All green and charming.
The trees beyond number
Their close-knit branches interlacing.
Beautiful are the hills
Of our dearest land.

We see yon Eastern hill, beloved,
Whence I brought these yellow flowers.
How golden do they look!
Wear these flowers, my shy darling.

Beautiful are the hills
Of our dearest land.

"Who gave you this beautiful song, Mr. Myah?" I asked.

"I heard it for the first time from a newly married girl in my village." He began, speaking in soft voice, "She seemed to have the spirit of patriotism in the refrain of the song: 'Beautiful are the hills of our dearest land.' Patriotism, I believe, is not the monopoly of the highly educated and cultured people in our country. Many of our love-songs, and other songs of daily life, directly or indirectly, bespeak the common people's love for their country."

Mr. Myah was right in his view. In order to illustrate his remark further, he gave me a few short songs, generally sung by the Burmese boatmen:

Irrawady, my Irrawady!
My dearest Irrawady!

All other rivers are sweet,
But the sweetest is the Irrawady.

Irrawady, my Irrawady!
My dearest Irrawady!

In another song, which opened with an address to the boat: 'O my gem-studded boat,' I found the boatman comparing his boat to a dancing girl. He sang that the waves of the Irrawady cannot keep pace with the boat when it swiftly skims the waters The burden of another song: 'The Irrawady is a river of love,' too, was noteworthy One more song ran as follows:

All day I am boating
On thy waters, dear Irrawady.

The boatman's life is a song
On thy waters, dear Irrawady.

The last song of this set introduced us to the waves of the Irrawady itself, addressing the boatman:

Won't you stop?
Won't you listen to us?
We are the dancing waves
Of the Irrawady.

One day Mr. Myah took me to his native village, and asked his mother to give me some songs. With a sweet smile on her wrinkled lips, the grand old lady looked towards me She was not sure of even my little knowledge of the Burmese language. Mr. Myah understood her and assured her: "Our friend will first enjoy the tunes of our songs, then I will help him to understand their themes."

"But I have no voice, my son, in this old age," she said.

"Voice or no voice, mother, some songs you must give," suggested Mr. Myah.

The old lady again smiled and expressed her helplessness.

"Mother, mother, sing at least one song," he went on to request, "if you don't sing even one song, my friend will be disheartened."



Mah Na Hatohn (Sunshine), the sister of a friend of Mr. Myah. She is seen here fetching water. In the evening she gave us songs. "A red red rose is just blossoming," she sang

"All right, my son, I will sing one, but tell me which one should I choose?" she enquired.



A group of Padoung people. The Padoung women sing in their own dialect

"You'll sing a song of *Ko Yin* ritual," he suggested, "but let me first describe this ritual to my friend."

Then I knew that it is necessary for every Burmese boy to be a *Ko Yin*, or a probationary member of the religious order, and that it takes place when the boy is about 7 or 8 years old. Preceded by a musical band, he is taken in a procession to the monastery. Some girls, who offer him personal attendance, make the scene all the more poetic with flowers and golden bowls, which they artistically carry in their hands. When the procession reaches the monastery, the boy's head is shaven and he is given a yellow robe to put on. Thus he lives in the monastery for a few weeks and then returns to his home to attend the normal life.

"Now my mother will give you a *Ko Yin* song," Mr Myah said.

I had only to wait for two or three minutes. "What is there in my voice? But I will sing one when I have promised," she said in an undertone. Then she sang her little song. Her voice was not so bad. The tune was gripping me. Then I translated the words of the song with Mr. Myah's help:

My grandson is a Ko Yin,
Not a single hair
Is left on his head,
With golden bowls and flowers
In their pretty hands
The girls have come.
Smile, my grandson, smile,
Don't be sad
Your yellow robe makes me glad.

It was a Bazaar-day in Mr. Myah's village. "Now we'll go to the bazaar," he suggested, "there you'll see men and women come to the place from a radius of twelve to fifteen miles."

We went to the bazaar near the outskirts of the village. The shops were all temporary sheds. I was told that every fifth day is a bazaar day, and that it brings an extraordinary charm and activity to the village.

"Apart from the business side," he began, "the village bazaar in our country has a holiday spirit about it. Among many of these happy visitors, who move about before our eyes, some must be new sweethearts; it is the occasion when the youthful girls and village-swains feel the rhythm of love; and this gives rise to many a love-story."

Then he gave me a song in support of his remark:

A red red rose, is just blossoming.
It must go to the girl I love.
O I must take it to the bazaar
She must be waiting for me there.

For the shop-keepers the bazaar is a business place. But the boys and girls go there to fall in love. I was told that the turn of each village bazaar is well-arranged and care is taken that it should not clash with some other bazaar within a particular radius.

Slowly the bazaar began to lose its activity as the evening approached and we returned. "How did your friend like the bazaar?" asked



The village-bazar. Every fifth day is a bazar day. "For the shopkeepers the village-bazar is a business place, but the boys and girls go there to fall in love" says a Burmese song



Another scene of a Burmese village-bazar. "The village-bazar in our Burma" Mr. Myah told me, "has a holiday spirit about it."



Peasants coming homeward.



A Burman finding shells



Burmese children



Buddhas in the Pagoda. "Blessed is Burma, our country, the smiling land of pagodas."



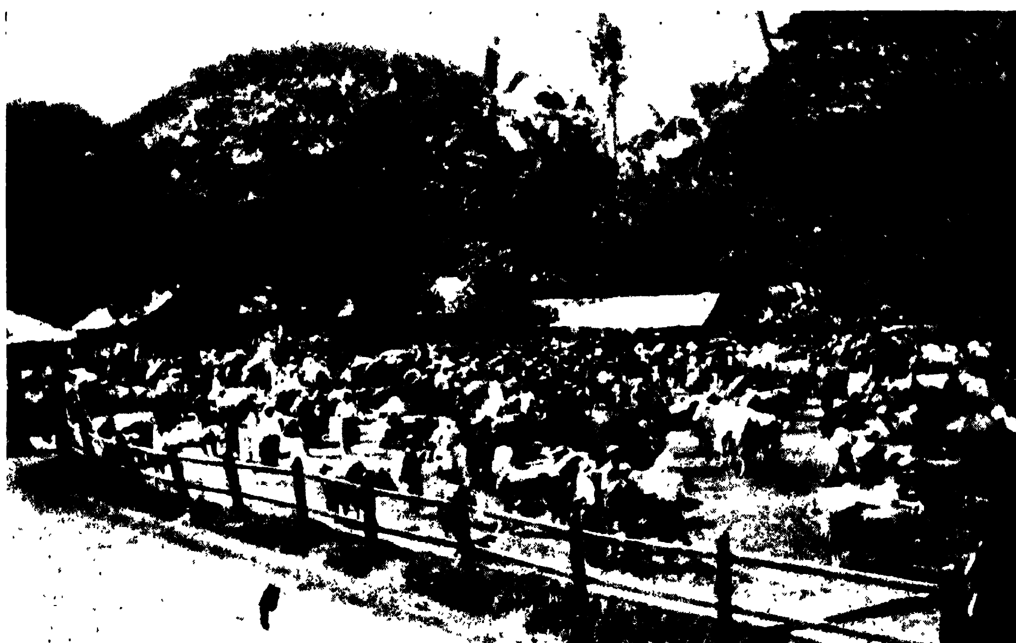
Riding on his buffalo the Burman sings



The peasants. The Burmese peasant is his own poet



A Village in Burma



A Cattle-fair in Burma

the old lady. She was glad to know that it was no less a treat for me.

Mr. Myah introduced me to the sister of a friend. She was a young girl, and I had already seen her in the morning fetching a water pot. She looked very pretty. A more touchingly youthful and pure face I could not imagine. On Mr. Myah's request she began a popular melody :

Towards the East I clearly see
A long long range of hills.
Mother, get back my brother
From the Shan country that lies afar.
Like me, my brother is a pure Burman,
But his Shan sweetheart will convert him.

It was an extraordinary melody. So elemental! So powerful and gripping! "How do you find it," Mr. Myah asked. I did not speak a word. Only a smile touched my lips, and it was enough to inspire the girl to begin her new song :

My heart ever goes to Mandalay,
That happy city of beautiful girls.

"Well done, Mah Na Hatohn!" remarked Mr. Myah.

Burmese names sounded so strange to me, but the name of this girl was all the more peculiar.

"What is the meaning of Mah Na Hatohn?" I enquired eagerly.

"It means Sunshine," Mr. Myah said; "How do you like it? And the word Mah, used before the proper name, is a term of respect; it can be used before the names of both married and unmarried girls."

Mah Na Hatohn was smiling. "You are indeed the smiling sunshine," I remarked, looking towards her with joy.

I remembered the words of V. C. Scott O' Connor :

When young the Burmese girl is "full of laughter, and fun, and the enjoyment of life, witty and self-possessed, seldom, if ever, brazenfaced, frank to a degree . . . And later in life she is of great dignity, and exquisite manners . . . a delicately silken skirt, a white muslin jacket with silken scarf thrown over her shoulders, and flowers in her hairs."

All this I could see in Mah Na Hatohn.

"The Burmese names and terms of love and respect make a long story," remarked Mr. Myah; "You must know it, if you want to know the Burmese people."

Then he told me that the lover as well as the husband adores his woman as Mee, and that this term denotes that she is a sweet sixteen. A friend, or an elderly man, is generally addressed as Koh. And Bah and Poh can be applied to any man with no regard to his age. Shava denotes politeness and affection on the part of the speaker. Nga, generally used in the law-courts today, implies rather superiority, apparently claimed by the man who uses this term.

"One specimen of the girl's name you have already got," Mr. Myah began, "Let me give you a sample of boy's names as well. Why not give you the meaning of my own name? Now you know that my full name is Oo Moung Myah. Myah means emerald, and Moung, means brother. You know now that I am Brother Emerald. Let me also tell you that the term Moung is now freely used in the sense of Mr."



A village-swain from the Shan country. He takes every care to get the girl of his heart. He sings, "Her cheek is like the dawn."

Mah Na Hatohn was about to leave. But Mr. Myah told her that she could not be allowed to go before she gave at least one song more. She was not inclined to sing any more. She got up.

"No, no, this cannot be," Mr. Myah said in a soft voice.

Tense was the expression on Mah Na Hatohn's face. But then she, perhaps, felt that she should not be rude before a stranger like me. Her voice turned out to be very sweet and deliberate when she sang :

Oh, I am helpless to guess my path
In this second half of the night.
Dark dark clouds have covered the sky.

"Let me now go......at once," with these words she got up. I could see an unmistakable expression of sincerity in her eyes. Her people must be waiting for her, I imagined, so she is eager to retire. I thanked her for her songs with a smile, as she left the room.

At ten o'clock next morning, we were to leave for Mandalay. But news arrived that a Pwe performance is being given at night near the village pagoda.

"I think we should attend it," Mr. Myah suggested.

"As you please," I remarked without exactly knowing what a Pwe performance would be like.

Then I knew that Pwe is Burma's national theatrical performance and that it has four types. ' First type of Pwe is known as Zut Pwe," began Mr. Myah, "Singing, clowning and dancing are its three factors. Then comes Yokhe Pwe which offers a feast of song and marionette-play. The third one, Yein Pwe is more or less a ballet performed by young men and women. Then last of all comes Anyein Pwe, the Burmese Melodrama."

The man who had arranged the Pwe sent us special invitations in the form of palm leaf packets of pickled tea by the hands of his sister and daughter. It now came to my notice that Mah Na Hatohn's father had arranged the Pwe. "Last night I gave you songs," she said and smiled coming near me, "Now I give you this packet of pickled tea; this is how we invite. You must come to the Pwe, which my father is going to give tonight."

We got special seats in the Pwe. It was in the open air. The host received us in his private box. On my right side was sitting Mah Na Hatohn, dressed in gay clothes. "Here is Sister Sunshine, though it is night now," Mr. Myah joked looking towards Mah Na Hatohn. She seemed to enjoy the fun very well. The moonbeams, falling on her pretty face, gave her a poetic look. And she smiled as the Pwe began. It was the Zut Pwe. The opening, song, sung in a semi-comic tone, came to me as a treat :

O old man, walking with bended back,
Why should you die at all this year?
Next year we'll perform a grand Pwe
Die enjoying it, if die you must.

The whole village was welcome. There was a big yard, packed with people. No one paid any money. The host bore all the expenses.

There was a scene of almost wild excitement when the dance reached its pitch. And the song was in praise of the Pwe dance :

Ours is the best dance in the world.
A reel of songs we have to sing.
The dancers are the fresh-blown flowers
Blossoming near the Irrawady.
Shouldn't we call it Pwe ?
Ours is the best dance in the world.

Mah Na Hatohn and Mr. Myah looked towards each other. The magic of song and dance overpowered them. 'Dance, dance,' Mr. Myah repeated several times; and it all seemed as dance to him, everything Burmese life—everything human, especially everything Burmese. "I think the joy of song is still greater," remarked Mah Na Hatohn, "I like this song. It is pure poetry."

The dancers were going on singing another song :

Oh, she is a girl from Rangoon.
Who can pace with her in dancing?

Mah Na Hatohn was very much delighted to hear this couplet sung in an enchanting tune. Mr. Myah had already told me that she was not only a good singer, but was well-versed in the art of dance as well. This song, in praise of the dance-art of some Rangoon girl, perhaps, made her jealous. And she laughed to hide this feeling.

The dance ended with a popular love-song :

These jessamine shrubs are four in number,
Standing so closely, don't you see?
You come so late when flowers are no more.
Only some buds are left, O choice of my heart,
Dress your hair, if you would wear them.

We all felt joyful. "Oh, this is a treat, a real treat!" I remarked as we got up. "You are right to say so," returned Mah Na Hatohn, showing her delicate profile to me.

II

On our way to Mandalay next morning, Mr. Myah told me that Burma being a Buddhist country is a land of pagodas, the temples of Buddha.

"Almost all the pagodas,' he remarked, "have their annual festivals. But the Bazaars and feasts of song and dance far outstrip these festivals, and the worship of Buddha, in its proper sense, is only for a select audience. Men and women assemble, dressed in gay clothes, and the crowds look so smiling."

He gave me a couplet in praise of Burma, the pagoda-land :

Oh blessed is Burma, our country !
It is the smiling land of pagodas.

Two pagoda festivals, I was told, are of great importance—one falls in spring and the other

in autumn. In the Shan country, where even a hamlet has its own musical band, the country-side people, preceded by the bands, go together to the village, where the festival is to take place. The men join in a ring dance, before the monastery. Tradition has not yet tempted the women-folk to join the dance on these occasions; they go inside the pagoda for worship. Mr. Myah sang a song, originally sung by some Shan woman :

O Lord, I am your devotee.
While they all sing and dance,
Your blessed face I have come to see.

The Shan dancers, I was told, move from right to left. Backwards and forwards, and from side to side they bend waving their arms. The festival is celebrated for three days continuously and the feast of song and dance goes on. The music grows rather monotonous. when the constant exertion tires the dancers, they retire with a queer shout and go inside the pagoda. Then the next group of dancers, with its own band, begins its part. Thus turn by turn, all groups dance.

Evening shadows were closing on us when we reached the outskirts of Mandalay. A young woman passed by us, singing a popular refrain :

From these hills towards Mandalay
How my eyes long to see
My native village.

At Mandalay I met Mr. Myah almost every third or fourth day. I found him a veritable mine of information about the Burmese folksongs and their background. I felt so every time I met him. Every time I heard him with all the ardour of a heart that loves for the first time. Every time I plunged into the torrents of the Burmese song.

One day he told me that an average woman of Burma believes that her child is born with love in his heart and song on his lips. The cradle song, she thinks, is necessary to awaken the spirit of love and song in the child.

On my request he gave me a few cradle songs. The first one lent importance to a frog of the Matila Lake :

Hushaby, baby, hushaby.
Oh, I'll get you a frog
From the royal lake of Matila.

Another song was about the dove :

My baby cries for a dove.
Just catch him one.
O it is hard to catch
A dove, white or black.

One more song was very poetic :

The fairies sing a lullaby.
The dreams dance to their tune.
You are my gold, baby darling,
Keep quiet as nice boys do,
Even the stars would love you.
Pray, don't cry, and keep quiet.

The last one depicted the mother's anger : "Why shouldn't the father of the child come soon? Why is he gossiping among his friends? Shouldn't he come soon to kiss the baby?" But how could the mother keep her anger when the father came and actually took the baby in his lap? Then she sang :

Now smile, my prince, thy father has come.

"When the child passes the stage of hearing the cradle song, he is sometimes given a story," Mr. Myah went on to say, "Stories are no less interesting. Some of them are even told in song."



The Shans. "The whole Shan country sheds tears," runs a Shan dirge

"Let me have one," I said rather eagerly.

"Any number you like I can give you," returned Mr. Myah.

Then he was out with a popular story :

"Once upon a time almost all the animals assembled in a forest to pay their homage to the lion-king. The little ant, too, was present. But some animals did not tolerate its presence and the result was that the humble ant was driven out. When the news went to the ant-king, he got annoyed and ordered an insect to enter the ear of the lion-king and then bite it. When the insect bit the delicate part of the ear, the lion-king cried bitterly. All the animals came to his help but no one could find out the cause of trouble. Then he got the clue from a message sent by the ant-king. The lion then made a formal apology, and the

insect came out stealthily when one day the lion was asleep. Since then the ants got the privilege of living wherever they liked."

Then Mr. Myah told me the touching tale of Pa We, a common bird of the Shan country.

"The bird Pa We was first a human being. When still a child, he was deserted by his cruel parents. Most pathetic turned his voice: when wandering in the forest he cried continuously: 'Pa We, Pa We,' (Oh father, Oh father). For months together he wandered with this innocent cry. Soon he passed away. After his death he was transformed into a bird, and its notes, 'Pa We,' 'Pa We' still denote its pathetic cry."



A s r et scene

Next we talked about the Burmese peasant and his songs. "The Burmese peasant is a good rice-producer," Mr. Myah observed "About 11,000,000 acres of his soil are under rice-cultivation." Then there must be some paddy songs," I suggested. "Yes, here and there in his songs we come across the peasant's love for the paddy field."

He gave me the burden of a popular song:

Paddy field, my paddy field !
My golden paddy field !

The harvest songs, he told me, are full of such thoughts. Even the paddy field itself is supposed to talk to the peasant in the words of a song:

I am a paddy field
How lovely do I look !
Old peasant, don't you
Look towards me ?

The peasant is his own poet. Some of his harvest songs are simple love songs. One song that Mr. Myah sang rythmically introduced me to an old peasant going to marry a young girl. But she did not like him and said:

Your harvest is rich, it is good,
But you are an old fellow.

The old peasant, proud of his rich harvest, turned optimistic all the more:

I will put on silk clothes,
On a golden boat I'll go to her village.
There I'll sing a song--
'Marry me my darling princess,
Don't you know ? Don't you see ?
My harvest is so rich!'

The girl refused him straight away:

How can I marry an old man ?
Am I to marry your harvest ?
Am I to marry your golden harvest ?
It cannot be so, it cannot be so.
How can I marry an old man ?

Our talk about the peasant songs then slipped, and we discussed the personality of the Burmese girl.

"No Burmese girl would, of course, like to remain unmarried throughout her life," observed Mr. Myah. "Marry she must. 'As a fish is to a river, so is a girl to a youthful boy,' says a Burmese proverb. But her parents cannot press her to marry a man of their own liking alone. She must be free to make her own choice. So she sings:

My mother cannot press me to marry
A young man, whom I do not love.
O I'll choose whom I will.

"Tell me more in detail about her," I said.

"Before her ears are bored," Mr. Myah went on to say, "She is not considered to be independent. The ear boring ceremony, called Noh Twin Mingla, is an occasion of festivity in our country. The needle used for the ear boring is made of gold or silver. A brass or iron needle is never used. After this ceremony the girl is no more a child. She should know what is love. She sings and takes part in the folk-dances. She smiles and laughs. Her day-to-day life does not lack fun. Folklore tells her how to ascertain the innermost character of a young man. If he is lustful, his heart's blood is dark-red. If he is quarrelsome, his



A Burmese girl in kitchen. She can marry a boy of her own choice. She sings: "O, I will make my own choice."

blood is darker still. But if he is charitable, his blood is sure to resemble the Mahah Hlayga flower in colour. And if he is well-educated, his heart blood should be lovely as the ruby. Then she must be careful to know the day of the young man's birth. It should be an auspicious day. If the bridegroom is born on Saturday and the bride on Thursday, their life is considered to be short. Again if a boy who is born on Friday and a girl on Monday, marry, they are supposed to lead a sad and pessimistic life. So on. There is a long story of these national superstitions."

"Is it the girl alone who makes her choice?" I asked.

"The boy, too, takes every care to get the girl of his heart," Mr. Myah remarked, "It is a custom in the Shan country to take the help of the professional letter-writer. After a village-swain has found some one in whom he may get a bride, he goes to the letter-writer and asks him to write for him some letters, which are, in fact, long love-poems. The village-swain keeps them with him and sings them to his lady-love, whenever he pays a visit to her place."

Mr. Myah sang to me an old love letter:

In the whole village
You are the fairest girl.
Your worth is much more
Than many a ruby.
Now listen to me, my darling,
In a fit rhythm and soft cadence
I sing to you my sweetest song.

Your graceful form is tall and slender
Like an expert archer's finely wrought bow.
Your eye-brows, dark and heavy,
Shade your eyes, that outshine the doe's.
So soft is your skin, my darling,
Like the silk-jacket you have put on.
Now you are a full-grown girl,
Incline your love towards me.

I am a hard-working peasant boy.
The fruit of my labour will ever keep
Your bowl full of the sweetest rice.
Listen to me, my darling,
You are the choice of my heart.
How glowing is the flame of love?

If I see you drowning in a pool,
Reckless of myself I'll plunge
To your rescue, as none else would do.
Pray, decide in favour of me,
Then soon will come our wedding-day.
Fate should unite our stars
Just like San Law and U Pym —
Our well-known lovers.

"Let me know in detail the story of San Law and U Pym" I said eagerly.

"The love tale of San Law, the lover, and U Pym, the beloved, has touched a good many Burmese folk-songs," observed Mr. Myah. "The story goes to say that, when the second year of their happy married life commenced, U Pym met her death at the cruel hands of her jealous mother-in-law. The story further developed when San Law stabbed himself with his sword and fell beside the dead body of his sweet-heart. It is believed that, due to their

love and faithfulness, San Law and U Pym were then transformed into stars and they meet whenever their paths cross one another."

"I would like to hear one song from this love-tale of Burma," I said.

Mr. Myah was out with a popular fragment:

She is U Pym, my sweet-heart
Her cheek is like the dawn,
Deeper than the river pools are her eyes,
On her shoulders, when she spread her hair,
It looks like night coming over the hills.
She is U Pym, my sweet-heart.

"Some sad songs, of course," Mr. Myah went on to say, "Appear on the scene when the parents refuse to give their final consent to a marriage. Let me give you a set:

1. **Twelve is the number of my sorrows.**
If I sleep I may get some relief.
So I recline on my bed.
But the sorrow will not spare me.

2. **The moonbeams are touching**
This thatched roof of my hut.
Separated from my love,
I feel so restless.

3. **Ah me, my love is out**
To bring a heap of flowers for me.
Did you miss your way, my darling?
I waited and waited for you.

In case of refusal from the parents, the girl and the boy often run away to some forest corner. It is not difficult for them to provide proper food there to pass some days. Among the Shans the run-away marriage is very popular. The happy couple soon returns to the village and is generally forgiven by the parents Let me also tell you that when a wedding is blessed by the parents' consent, the bridegroom's father is bound to pay a sum to the bride's father; this sum varies according to the complexion and culture of the bride."

Now we bordered on the dirge, the song of death that must touch every living being one day. When a full-grown unmarried girl in the Shan state dies, I was told, the village swains come beside her dead body to play sad tunes on their gourd-flutes to the escaping soul. The people like to knock the bier, in some cases the coffin itself, against some tree on the road, while the funeral procession goes to the burial ground. The tree is an emblem of fertility and its last touch is supposed to save the girl from dying without a child in her future births.

Mr. Myah gave me a specimen of the Shan dirge:

Alas! my young son died!
Here the people return:
He is given his burial.
The whole Shan country
Sheds tears for him.

The people in the Shan country, I was told, bury their dead, and it is only in the case of a monk that the dead body is burnt. The dirge is preceded by the beating of drums, which is believed to save the escaping soul from evil spirits.

I got a good variety of the Burmese dirge. One is extraordinarily touching:

Silken were your wings, beloved.
Death came and took away your soul.
O you were my butterfly!
Silken were your wings, beloved.

"Burma is celebrated as the Silken East by V. C. Scott O'Connor," Mr. Myah remarked; "Every body should come to Burma to hear for himself the Burman calling his wife a butterfly with silken wings."

Then I myself had to say goodbye. "Come with me through Burmese song-land," my friend had said, and I had been with him. Now it was time to return.*

* It was in 1932 that I travelled in Burma to make a collection of the Burmese songs. While passing through villages and small towns from Rangoon to Mandalay I collected many folk-songs. At Mandalay I stayed with my Gujarati friend, Mr. Niranjan Galliara. It is my greatest pleasure to acknowledge here Mr. Galliara's hospitality. He introduced me to many Burman scholars, with whom he is, unlike many Indians in Burma, quite at home.



CONCLUDING NOTES ON JAIL PSYCHOLOGY

By P. SPRATT

The re-ordering of ethical standards and the compulsory indulgence of primitive passions, as in killing the enemy, to which importance is given in relation to the war-neuroses, seems *prima facie* to lack any counterpart in jail life. It is true that there is nothing which is likely to be so shocking as thrusting a bayonet into a fellow-man or blowing him to pieces, or still worse, being trained to glory in these acts. But the atmosphere of jail is not an elevating one: if it lacks the extreme brutalities of the battle-field, it lacks also its compensating heroism, self-sacrifice and comradeship. I think it is possible that the almost unrelieved egoism, pettiness and furtive immorality of jail, to which one is forced to some extent to adapt oneself, may be effective in shaking one's standards, in the same sort of way, though not in so great a degree, as the immoral morality of war.

The situation is thus productive of conflict in several different ways. But the impact of jail upon the personality, while in some respects similar, is less violent than that of war. Correspondingly, it may be, the psychological symptoms are less dramatic. But a more important difference here is that of aim. It is agreed that one of the unconscious purposes fulfilled by the war-neuroses was to save the subject from continued exposure to danger by incapacitating him for active service. Men would become blind, or unable to walk, and so forth. The possibilities of this sort of thing for criminal prisoners are very limited. Sickness, mental or physical, is not effective as a means of obtaining release. But some advantages short of release can sometimes be obtained, and it may therefore be that some of the rather mysterious aches and pains from which long-term prisoners tend to suffer are of mental origin, and their general ill-health is to be interpreted as a defence-reaction against the more extreme rigours of the life. This is not the case however for political prisoners. In some circumstances it is possible to achieve release by confessing, or turning "approver," and it may even appear possible to do so by abandoning one's political beliefs.

But here we see a further difference. For the soldier, the aim of escape from danger is unconscious. The war-neurotic is in a different category from the malingerer or the man who deliberately incurs disabling wounds. His conscious mind is dominated by a fear of appearing cowardly and of showing his incapacity. The political prisoner also feels bound in honour or pride to stick to his principles whatever may be the outcome, and so far this conflict may develop in just the same way as in the war-cases. But the aim cannot be achieved by an unconscious action, such as an attack of psychological blindness. Confession, giving evidence against accomplices, or change of political beliefs, are necessarily conscious acts, though the preparation for them may be unconscious. Hence the breakdown must be mental. Physical symptoms will not be important.

But the "gain from illness" is regarded as a secondary motive. The primary motive is said to be to achieve the satisfaction of some instinctual urge, in an indirect, not in its usual way. In the case of the war-neuroses, it is maintained, the libido has become regressively and narcissistically attached to the self, and satisfaction accordingly takes the form of treating oneself like a child—weeping, soliciting sympathy, displaying a childish incapacity for normal occupations and for self-control, childish outbursts of rage, self-pity, indulgence in over-eating, and in other such ways.

Finally, it must be noticed that even among conscripts, certain types only are said to be liable to war-neurosis. These are men who in civil life had been ill-adapted, lacking in self-confidence, unable to perform their duties, and such as give rise to the suspicion, which in the war-cases could sometimes be verified, that there had been in childhood some aberration of development of the type which Freud has made familiar.

I happen to know two cases in which this condition is fulfilled. I should not however like to imply that other kinds of serious psychological trouble do not occur in jail. Indeed another case suggests that they do. I shall dismiss this exception first. This case is that of a man of definitely different type, quite free from suspicion of introversion, inferiority or timidity: he was thoughtless, hasty, given to riotous good-humour, alternating with spells of violent bad temper, was accustomed more than most to a life of activity, change and varied company, unaccustomed to self-suppres-

sion, and relatively lacking in the intellectual resource which might enable such men to provide substitute gratifications. Jail obviously irked him extremely. After nearly three years he had two similar attacks, some months apart, during which he passed slowly into a state of semi-consciousness or unconsciousness, lasting a few days, during which he remained motionless. Recovery took place gradually, attaining completion in three days or so. No physical cause was discovered, and the view—obviously mistaken—of the authorities was said to be that it was malingering.

I should guess, further, that jail-suicides are not generally of the type suggested by the analogy of the war-neuroses, but are perhaps of the more impulsive type of the case just referred to. War-neurotics never committed suicide, I believe.

Both of the two cases which I have known best however, which showed what can be considered fairly serious mental breakdown, seem to conform closely to the analogy of the war-neuroses. In addition I know a number of cases in which suffering, presumably of a no less, if not more acute character, and of as great or greater duration, produced no such effects, and the explanation seems obviously to be that the persons in question were not of the mental type required by the theory.

In the first case the history is one of an unhappy home life—I know no details except a story of running away—followed in the usual fashion by resort to unconventional politics. The man is incapable: whether through lack of ability, or because of inhibitions and an impossible temper, he has never achieved anything. He was aware of this, but hid his consciousness of it under a fantastic egotism and sensitiveness to criticism. But he was in no way the tough, extroverted egotist whom one usually meets in politics of whatever colour. His was obviously a distorted personality. He was the most thin-skinned man I have ever met, suspicious, capricious, tortuous, secretive, plagued by the inconsistency of his ego-ideal with reality.

After four years in jail, eighteen months of liberty, a second arrest and three more years in jail, he learnt that he had, as he no doubt thought, been discredited with his political party. Now this party stood for many of us, I suspect, as a father-surrogate. One of its older luminaries was commonly referred to, half in joke, as "grandfather," and his most eminent successor, by implication, though the term was less used, was "father." It may be that this event acquired some of its psychological importance from this substitution. But such speculation is unnecessary. To so self-centred a man the political set-back was sufficient. A few days later he suddenly began to weep, and continued to do so for some hours. He spent the next three or four days weeping or in silence in bed, and then gradually recovered. At first he seemed to ask for sympathy: he represented himself as suffering from a mysterious nervous disease, and complained of other apparently imaginary symptoms. Generally however he displayed even more reserve than before—the behaviour of the man whose self-confidence has been undermined. His conduct also became markedly eccentric. He began to smoke incessantly—he had previously smoked very seldom—to walk about in a moody manner, to bathe in cold water at midnight, and so forth. He began to write what purported to be a book, of a style and matter of such fatuity that it might almost have been deliberate, and can justly be called childish. Finally, some two months after the onset of these symptoms, he abandoned politics altogether, and in an obvious attempt to secure release from jail, turned upon his friends with malicious accusations. He was unsuccessful, and recovered after some time, but unfortunately I have no further particulars. In this case the occasion of the breakdown was an incident originating apart from jail. But it owed its significance to a great extent to jail. For, like many political prisoners, this man had no doubt fortified himself with the reflection that when he was again released his imprisonment would be counted unto him for righteousness. The news received by him shattered this prospect, and rendered his period in jail mere profitless suffering and waste of time. Accordingly he had to get out of it, and his unconscious devised this means of trying to do so.

The other case is my own. I write here with even greater hesitation. How far is it proper to inflict upon my readers a gratuitous autobiography? I shall however spare their yawns, and my blushes, being as short as possible.

My mental type is in some respects quite different from my friend's, but we are similar in those respects which, it is said, would render us liable to war-neurosis. I also start with a history of obscurely felt, but definite, hostility to my father, which resulted in many abnormalities, and must have helped to determine my political prejudices. But I lack my friend's tendency to paranoia. Indeed quite the reverse is the case. I have been unable to disguise my

self-distrust, and remain shy, yielding and timid.

Some account of my reactions prior to the breakdown is necessary. For a long time I was happy in jail, only dreams revealing that all was really not well. I began early to abandon my political party attachment, though until the breakdown this process was represented in consciousness only by a growing indifference to current politics, some distaste for the subject generally, and scepticism about some more abstract philosophical and economic doctrines. I should not have admitted any diminution in my desire for the success of the principles I still professed, though I expressed doubt about the prospects of their success.

This change may be ascribed to two separate causes. First, it is a general characteristic of my type of mind that any loyalty or attachment can be maintained only for a short period. Just as such a man revolted against his father, so he revolts against everything else. Under capitalism he is of course a socialist, if an unorthodox one. Under socialism he would be an oppositionist, if not a wrecker. (Here perhaps we may find the explanation of some of the remarkable cases of apostasy made public in the recent trials in Moscow.) This line of development was suggested by dreams in which those who had first influenced me towards politics of this type were identified with my father, and I engaged in violent quarrels with them. Changes of this kind had been familiar to me throughout my life, and in this case it was at least not surprising. In jail it was encouraged by the fact that all my companions were keenly interested in politics, which could therefore no longer be my principal interest; but it was also checked by shame and the feeling of hostility to those who persecuted me.

The second cause, of which I remained unaware until long after, was the desire to escape from the entanglement which had brought these unpleasant consequences. The conflict with pride and the sense of duty was sharp and was shown by many dreams, which however I failed to interpret, in which I found myself at liberty, and felt that I ought to resume co-operation with my old political associates, but through forgetfulness or some obscure cause failed to do so, and developed a strong feeling of anxiety. I was aware at the time that this dream revealed a conflict, but I could not divine its nature. I have little doubt that the interpretation I have here given is correct.

After four years our sentences were pronounced, and all were far heavier than had been expected. We were affected in various ways. Two forthwith fell sick of fever. Three fell into a state of semi-stupor, which however was replaced after a day or two by something approaching their usual cheerfulness. Like the majority I was conscious of no strong feeling, to my own surprise. But as I have narrated, dreams revealed that I was much affected, and my health began to decline. After some months I developed a mysterious fever, which persisted for several weeks, reducing me to a state of extreme feebleness, and giving rise to various alarming symptoms. I had a number of dreams which I interpreted at the time, whether correctly or not, as revealing fear of death.

While I was still convalescent, the High Court judgment was delivered, by which all our sentences were greatly reduced, and this was for me the decisive event. It is said that in the war, neurosis was seldom occasioned by a serious wound, which would itself provide means for the dissipation of libido but it was often occasioned by a slight wound, or the experience of being blown up and then finding oneself uninjured. It is tempting to see an analogy in my case.

Instead of reacting to the announcement with joy, as, so far as I am aware, everybody else did, I was immediately plunged into the most profound depression. I have since been reminded of this event by accounts of the end of the war in 1918, when for a day or more the troops were markedly depressed, and refrained from outbursts of joy, while those who had been in any way concerned in the direction of the war were suddenly made aware how great the strain had been. I retained sufficient self-control to force a smile as the others shook my hand, but I felt inclined to weep, and especially when alone had great difficulty in controlling myself. This depression continued apparently unchanged for two weeks or more, and thereafter gradually lightened, until about three months later I was again fairly normal mentally. The physical health also improved, though more slowly.

The depression was very acute indeed, sleep was much interrupted, and I often thought of suicide, and planned how to commit it. But when with others I never lost self-control, and so far as I know they were unaware of my abnormal state. Moreover I always knew, as it were in one corner of my mind, that however great was the relief I

obtained by planning suicide, I should never carry it out.

The principal cause of my collapse of which I was conscious was regret for the loss, through their unexpected release, of some of my companions, to whom I had become closely attached. But again it was clear to me, as I noted at the time, that this was far from enough to explain the whole matter, and that even if they had come back to jail I should not have recovered.

In addition to this sentimentality, and what I can call this element of make-believe about the whole affair—though it was serious enough—there were other indications of childishness. When reading a somewhat sentimental essay of Sister Nivedita's I had to stop to control my tears; when reading a commonplace prediction by a geo-physicist that the earth would become uninhabitable some millions of years hence I felt so desolated that again I could not go on. I felt a strange nostalgia for the jail in which our undertrial period had been passed; I was much distressed at the waste of time which had been involved in the case, and had sharp attacks of conscience when I remembered how little I had read during that period. (It is characteristic of the son of a schoolmaster that he believes at the bottom of his heart that all time not spent in reading and writing is wasted.) It was during the recovery from this collapse that I had the "mystical" experience referred to earlier. It will be noticed that in relation to that event also, this same make-believe, or mental duality was observed.

The event was also an intellectual turning point, though the situation was by no means completely cleared up. During the whole period of imprisonment a conflict had been rising, but had hitherto remained largely unconscious. Now it was partially revealed and resolved. On the one hand the old loyalty, if not enthusiasm, had remained to a large extent, bound up with self-respect, and personalties to some, and the dominance of other personalties. On the other hand an antagonism had developed, hitherto represented in consciousness only by a certain critical attitude towards the theoretical structure of my beliefs. During the crisis abstract loyalty weakened, and it was revealed to me how greatly my continued attachment had depended on personal relations. With separation from all those in question, subordination to the one group turned to antagonism, and attraction to the other faded, so that little was left. But what was left was subject to the dual, or dissociated attitude which was found elsewhere. At times scepticism would triumph, until the bare bones of a few abstract ethical and political principles alone remained; at times the main case would seem to me defensible, if restated with different philosophical foundations. At times would occur a feeble revival of enthusiasm; at others I should feel indifference, or even impatience and a malicious delight in criticism. These variations depended largely upon the people with whom I was in contact, and more simply, upon the book I was reading—my attitude would tend usually to be the opposite of the author's. (It is a mistaken policy which leads the authorities to allow only conservative books and papers in jails.)

It will be seen that this breakdown, while exhibiting the primary aim of allowing the discharge of narcissistically attached libido, appears to show no secondary aim, the "gain from illness." This aim was strongly repressed, but it was obscurely present. Several times in phantasy I imagined myself weeping in the presence of the Jail Superintendent or other superior officials, and in some undefined way melting their hearts. In practice however I was careful to conceal my state from the officials as well as my companions. Probably another subsidiary motive was to differentiate myself, in my normal way, from the others, by mourning when they rejoiced. I think that I derived an almost conscious satisfaction from this.

To complete the account I should record that about 3½ months after my release I was again arrested and interned in almost complete isolation for an undefined period. The shock of arrest was severe. It took me a few days to regain my composure, and physical symptoms almost at once set in which with some intermission continued throughout my period of internment. In addition to solitude and the indefinite period, an important cause of mental disturbance was the consciousness of innocence. After some months of relative equanimity my mental state again approached that of the crisis in jail. I experienced almost uncontrollable fits of anger, alternating with depression and sometimes laughter, and became at times quite afraid of insanity. On the worst days depression was perhaps as acute, and suicidal impulses were more realistic—the opportunities were greater—but even now the internal witness remained cynically aware that I should not carry them out. I again began, but with the same limitation, to flirt with religion. At this time also a new symptom showed itself—for so I should now regard it.

On several occasions, sometimes very vividly, it flashed across my mind that I had forseen the situation in which at that moment I found myself, as might happen on the fulfilment of one of Mr. Dunne's prophetic dreams.

In this period it was possible for me to secure release, but only by submitting to conditions which in waking life I could never seriously consider. The knowledge of this possibility however had psychological effects. I had many dreams, strongly tinged with anxiety, which hinted more or less clearly that I should submit.

On this occasion the secondary motive of gain from illness was more clearly present. It is possible that the physical symptoms had this significance, and after some time, in my requests to the Government for release, I made use of them, and stressed the point that the strain upon my mind of solitary confinement was very great. Further, in my correspondence, which was censored, I admitted that my political views had changed. But here the duality previously remarked is again to be seen. I was questioned on the point, and denied it. Again after some months, in reply to questions I admitted it, but in a final reply qualified my admission by stating that I could give no guarantee that in future my views would not be of any given character.

I was released after 1½ years, and immediately the worst physical symptoms disappeared. Some psychological effects however remain. Shyness and the feeling of incapacity are more pronounced, I am more introverted, more self-centred, and solitary, less emotionally tied to external things, whether personal or general, more pessimistic, and more timid, and I have nightmares or similar dreams more frequently. I have no doubt that I am less able than before to face life and to adapt myself to the world. My state now can be considered, I fancy, in some respects like that of a man prepared for conversion, but whom the positive achievement, the new conviction, is denied. It would be interesting, if the material were obtainable, to investigate the process of conversion in those numerous cases in which political prisoners have emerged from jail religious devotees. I have unfortunately no information about the permanent effects of experiences of this sort upon others of mental type similar to mine.

I have devoted much attention to this type, because I am familiar with it, but I should not like to imply that the results of imprisoment upon people of other types may not be equally or more severe. In some cases probably they are so. I am doubtful for example whether a man of the type here dealt with could be driven to suicide, at least by the normal treatment of confinement and deprivation. I am however unable to discuss any other type.

It is evident that the subject could be much developed, and that if prisoners are to be properly treated this needs to be done. It would require however a systematic collection of material and discussion by competent psychologists.

Unfortunately psychologists seem seldom to be imprisoned—perhaps we shall get new light on these questions when the Nazis' concentration camps are opened. Meanwhile even the inexpert prisoner's point of view may be of value, and I have therefore thought it permissible to publish this account of some aspects of the subject.



THE COMING SLUMP

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

"The general view in the City yesterday," wrote a City Editor this week, "was that the international situation was about as ugly as it had been for a very long time. Naturally no one was anxious to buy any stocks or shares and naturally prices drifted lower all round." City people are not the only ones who feel they are living with a sword hanging over their heads. Everyone is waiting impatiently to see what is going to happen! And mixed up with their impatience is a sense of foreboding. For wise men, as Shakespeare remarked, ne'er sit and wail their woes but presently prevent the way to wail. But what exactly are we doing to prevent the situation going from bad to worse? Merely trying to believe the best of the two nations that have *caused* all the trouble—of Italy and Germany! (And while we believe, they act.)

The Government say over and over again that they have no concern in what is happening in Spain save to prevent war there becoming a general war. They urge all peacelovers to stand outside with them and resist the temptation to take sides. In pursuit of this ideal they keep the Non-Intervention Committee in being, although they know, and every country that has a free press knows, that Italy and Germany are intervening all the time. They even openly admit Italian and German intervention—but take care to mention Russia in the same breath so as to keep the Non-Intervention game going. Yet they know, and we know, that Italy and Germany can run troops and material into Spain while Russia's geographical position is such as to make any contribution from her comparatively negligible. If the Spanish Government itself could not get arms across to Barcelona, how can Russia possibly do so? The only effective help which Russia could give would be money, money to enable the Government to buy arms. But the Spanish Government is shut out and cannot buy arms abroad because of Non-Intervention. General Franco can get all the arms he wants, not to mention personnel, from Italy and Germany. Italy and Germany deny him nothing. Only the Spanish Government, fighting for its life, is starved of munitions because of this Franco-British thing called Non-Intervention.

Is the part of a peacemaker out of fashion and have we instead this new thing Non-Intervention? The Prime Minister said in the House this week that the state of the times is such as it is sometimes in the mountains when an incautious move, or even a sudden loud exclamation may start an avalanche. It was a picturesque comment but how long are we to go on like this, just hoping we won't say anything or do anything to precipitate the disaster? It is the opinion of the Spanish Embassy in London, echoing the Spanish Government at Valencia, that the war will last until 1939. Two more years of this. Besides the metaphor doesn't hold. There is something to be said for remaining passive in the presence of vast natural forces. But the Dictators aren't natural phenomena. They are beggars on horseback intent on riding to the devil and will ride to the devil unless they can be headed in a different direction.

It is so strange that present day politicians seem to be quite incapable of reading the signs of the times. We live in an age of a new imperialism but they will do nothing to meet or modify it but only go on burying their heads in the sand. When Japan was invading China Mr. Lansbury called her a brigand in the House of Commons and was reproached for doing so. None the less Japan got away with Manchuria. When Italy was threatening Abyssinia, we begged Abyssinia to do nothing to exacerbate the situation but to put her trust in the League of Nations. None the less Italy ravaged and annexed Abyssinia. When Italy and Germany are invading Spain, we hunt for bouquets we can hand to Germany. (Italy we feel we can now safely discount. Abyssinia will keep her fully occupied.) But just as Japan had her reasons for being in China, Italy hers for being in Abyssinia, so Italy and Germany have their reasons for being in Spain. What are those reasons and can we possibly afford to let the 80,000 Italians and 20,000 Germans, who are now fighting in Spain for General Franco, defeat the Spanish Government? When the Spanish Government is defeated, what will the new puppet Fascist State cede to Italy and Germany?

It should not be difficult to read the signs and to see why Italy and Germany are

intervening in Spain. And only a few minutes' reflection surely will bring us to the point that if the small amount of Russian intervention is sympathetic and "ideological," the Italian and German intervention, decisive at Bilbao and soon to be decisive at Madrid, is a definite imperialist gamble—a definite recourse to war as an instrument of national policy—and a gamble that may come off. Italy and Germany want Spain's raw materials and minerals. As Herr Hitler in his speech at Wuerzburg, in Northern Bavaria, said on Sunday (27th June): "Germany needs to import ore. That is why we want a Nationalist Government in Spain—to be able to buy Spanish ore." They also want to emasculate and then oust Britain in the Mediterranean. Just as the Abyssinian War left Italy menacing the Suez Canal, so this Spanish War is going to leave Italy and Germany menacing Gibraltar. We can go on saying until we are blue in the face that Russia is intervening in Spain just as Italy and Germany are intervening. But the two kinds of intervention are not the same. Russian intervention is directed solely to the end of maintaining the Spanish Government. But Italian and German intervention, in the final analysis, is aimed not at the Spanish Government but at Britain.

Will we go on then, to the end of the Spanish tragedy, with nothing to offer but that hollow thing Non-Intervention? Signor Mussolini, it might be added, does not even pay lip service to that policy. While the Italian delegate continues to attend the meetings of the Non-Intervention Committee, his leader boasts, actually boasts, of Italian intervention! Writing in the *Popolo d'Italia* yesterday, under the title "The Shout and the Avalanche," he boasts:

> **"If Europe has not hitherto entered a period of deeper crisis, it has been due to the Authoritarian States which have not wished to push things to the extreme. . . In this great fight, which has brought face to face two types of civilization and two conceptions of the world, *Fascist Italy has not been neutral but has fought, and victory will also be hers.*"**

Reading this outburst another thought arises. It is this version of Italian imperialism which is being put before the Italian public. They are being made to think that they are taking part in a sacred war between Communism and Fascism. Whereas everyone knows, who can read a free Press, that the Spanish Government was never Communist. If it has become more Left as the war has become more bitter, it is because the Fascist States of Italy and Germany are making war upon it. (Revolutions it is said are made by their opponents. Equally, there is no surer way of driving a people into extremism than to harry and ravage them in the name of saving them from that extremism.) But to return to the Italian public, and for that matter to the German public, it is appalling to think that in times like these their eyes are shut to what is going on in the world. They can only read what it suits their Dictators to let them read! It doesn't matter so much perhaps what these Dictators say. But the really serious thing is that people living in dictatorship countries do not know what the outside world is thinking of them. There is no corrective. Dictators even go so far as to show, in the news reels, only news of accidents or strikes or disasters as news of what is happening in democratic countries. The undoubtedly higher standard of life, the better clothes and food and well being, to be found in democratic countries, are never allowed to appear. Thus films of the Coronation were boycotted—but the 'bus strike which took place over the Coronation was featured . . . How can any living being, one wonders, ever admit for a single instant the possibility of a fettered press? To keep from adult men and women the knowledge of what other adult men and women are thinking is to make nonsense of existence. Instead of their own consciences, their arbiter is a General Goering or a Signor Mussolini. Even if it were Solomon himself it would be a pity! And yet, according to a calculation made some time ago by the Geneva Correspondent of the New York *Editor and Publisher*:

> **"75 per cent of Europeans are not allowed to read in their newspapers more than what their Rulers permit."**

The Prime Minister fears that a sudden exclamation may let loose the avalanche. Even so it is to be hoped that someone in authority in England or in France will dare to breathe the word *Geneva*. Or if the word Geneva is too dangerous, then that some other way is found of reviving the idea of collective security. Perhaps England is in too sensitive a position to take the initiative now with any success. But there are other Powers besides those which have come to detest each other at the Non-Intervention Committee. (Such is the dusty answer of Non-Intervention.) Why cannot the United States take the initiative? If she has never become a member of the League of Nations, she has never refused to co-operate in vital League Conferences. Prominent liberal-minded people in this country

believe that the Ottawa Agreements, and the whole caucus of tariffs introduced by the British Government in 1931, are a contributing cause to the present Italian and German imperialism. At the present moment the United States is very anxious to initiate a low-tariff programme. Isn't there a ray of hope there?

In any event can an avalanche be averted indefinitely? Even if we mind our P's and Q's now, and leave Spain to her doom as we left the War in the Mediterranean? And supposing, when that war begins, Japan, Germany's new Ally, should make war upon us also . . . In this connection mention should be made of a book which has just been published. It is called *The Defence of the Empire* and is by Sir Norman Angell. It is concerned to show that nothing but a collective defence system can save us. Lieut.-Commander R. Fletcher, reviewing it this week, makes such very pertinent remarks that they are worth quoting. Says he :

"There is not a staff officer in the Ministries of the three fighting services who imagines for one moment that the British Empire can be defended save by some form of collective peace system. What would be our position if, as might well happen, we were attacked by Japan, Germany, or Italy. Does anyone imagine we could maintain the Fleet and armaments for war in the Far East, the Mediterranean, and the North Sea simultaneously? While preparing to spend £1,500,000,000 on armaments the Tory Government declines to make any move to organise such a system, although it is the only means of defence against those Dictators before whom we are retreating to the very edge of the cliff. Unless we organize our friends and potential allies into a collective defence system, we shall see them eliminated one by one by the dictator States until we remain as the last, isolated victim. To say that a collective system means commitments, and that commitments mean war, is the exact reverse of the truth. We had no commitments before the War, yet war came. Mr. Lloyd George and a cloud of witnesses have testified that had Germany known beforehand of the combination of forces which would take the field against her, she would never have risked the War. To leave the Dictators in similar doubt today is to court the same disaster."

It is indeed strange that we concentrate all our energies on preparing for war and neglect the one thing that could save us—Collective Security. The Beaverbrook and Rothermere Press are largely to blame for this. They have kept on bawling, in season and out of season, that Britain should "keep out of continental entanglements." And the seed they have sown is proving to be dragon's teeth! We can keep out of "continental entanglements" all right—keep on keeping out until one day we shall wake up to find ourselves face to face with the swollen all-conquering Dictators.

Which will come first, war or a slump? Sir William Beveridge, Director of the London School of Economics, has just made a speech in which he deplores the general unpreparedness of Governments. The only eventuality, he says, for which preparation is made systematically in advance is war.

"But there are other eventualities, definitely more probable than war, for which no similar preparation is made. The first is the slump which we may expect after the present boom."

And he went on to advocate that machinery should be set up, both for the central Government and for local government, whose sole purpose and duty it should be to secure forethought in public affairs.

Leaving aside this novel idea for the present —with a passing wonder that it should be "novel"—let us contemplate the coming slump. Perhaps the first thing which an unemployed man might reflect would be how hollow even the present boom is in reality. It is the best in the way of booms that he is like to see—being a rearmament boom on top of a trade boom—and yet even so there are still 15,000,000 persons in Great Britain unemployed. There is not much to be glad about surely.

The strangest thing to him must be that, in face of such a dead weight of unemployment, politicians on the one hand are urging him to increase the birth rate—while on the other the Salvation Army is putting all its best brains into a scheme for Empire Migration. (At this point no doubt he will see the wisdom of Sir William Beveridge in wanting to introduce organs of forethought into public affairs!) But the Salvation Army Report at any rate is valuable for several constructive ideas and here is one of them. At present, it points out, *it takes the interest on £2,000 to keep an average family in idleness.* And it asks : Would it not be far better to set aside, say, half this capital sum towards a fund for sending that family overseas?

And before the same unemployed man turned from the present boom to face the coming slump, perhaps one other reflection would come into his mind. This must be the most golden age that he will see—an age in which, if ever, it should have been possible to introduce the 8-hour day (advocated by Saint Thomas More four hundred years ago), and allow the workers holidays with pay. But what would he note? That at Geneva the British Government has fought tooth and nail against the Eight Hour Convention. As for holidays this is the position : It is estimated by the Trades Union Congress "that out of a total employed population of about 18,000,000 there are not more

than 4,000,000 who now receive holidays with pay, not more than 2,000,000 of whom could be described as manual workers. Of those 2,000,000 hardly any received a paid holiday of more than one week, and many of them not even that."

But to pass on to the slump. First of all, alas, there can be no doubt that it will come for the very good reason that it is already here. The Building Trade, which employs about one-sixth of the insured population, and which for obvious reasons (it is an octopus in its ramifications) is always held to be a trade barometer, is beginning a slump. A year ago plans for dwelling houses began to fall off. The rearmament boom has given it more factories to build but plans for these too are now diminishing. When rearmament ceases there is of course bound to be a bad slump. Not only will numbers of men be thrown out of work and come on unemployment assistance. Payment for these arms will have to be met out of taxation.

Rearmament indeed, the more you look at it, the less you trust it. Not only does it bring a slump at the end, it deflects men all the time from ways which could mitigate slumps. It was remarked by someone the other day at the Amalgamated Engineering Union Conference that as a result of the arms programme foreign trade is being neglected—and that is where we may find the greater part of the slump will occur. It is worth while getting the facts straight. Two slumps are coming—a general slump and a rearmament slump. And the rearmament venture has disarmed us for meeting slumps!

More and more we see the wisdom of Sir William Beveridge's organs for forethought. What *is* the Government's preparation to meet the coming slump? Two avenues are much mooted now but mooted outside Government circles. The first is that a real effort should be made, in co-operation with the United States, to revive world trade. But this presupposes a hearty desire to cut loose from tariffs. And who can see this Government, headed by a Chamberlain, embarking on such a policy? At home the avenue suggested is that the Government should prepare a programme of public works—this programme to be put into operation whenever there is an appreciable fall in the employment figures. (Though there are still that 1,500,000 out of work now.)

There are so many economists, and they say so many different things, that one is often tempted to follow the advice of Omar Khayyam and "leave the wise to wrangle." But every now and then they say something which is not only valid but easy to grasp. As such the following may be commended: *Borrowing for public works at the onset of a slump is sound for precisely the same reason that borrowing now for rearmament is unsound.* The one is borrowing for investment in works of real value which would increase the capital wealth of the community; the other is borrowing for things which are of no economic value at all. The writer it should be added is Mr. Geoffrey Crowther.

But at the present there is still little hope of any forward-looking changes in the Government's policy. The boom is still to all intents and purposes with us. Few have noted that the barometer is already falling. And the result is that the by-elections show little change and the only change seems to be a deepening apathy. Apathy, what a strange thing it is in politics! The present Government got in by deliberately deceiving the people as to their intentions regarding Rearmament. Mr. Baldwin has said so in so many words. And yet the tricked electorate only grows more apathetic.

But will they be apathetic when the slump breaks upon them. In 1931, all over the world, whether a Government was Left or Right, the slump put it out of office. Will the coming slump put the present British Government out of office? Will it be succeeded by a Popular Front Government and, if so, can that Popular Front Government save the world from war? It almost makes one pray that the slump may come quickly . . . Since the present Government came into office we have seen Manchuria ravaged, Abyssinia conquered and submitted to the most ghastly massacre since that of St. Bartholomew's Day, Spain invaded by Italy and Germany. Yet at the last General Election seven and a half million people did not even bother to go to the poll. What is the reason for this deadly apathy?

London, 28th June, 1937.

RAMMOHUN ROY AND ENGLISH INTELLECTUALS

BY PROF. S. N. RAY, M.A., Ph.D. (London)

AN Indian student of English literature who makes the first half of the 19th century the subject of his special study cannot but be surprised when he discovers numerous references to his illustrious countryman, Rammohun Roy, in places where he least expects them. With such feeling at least I came upon the scattered notices about the Rajah which form the basis of the present contribution, while working in the British Museum on another subject.

England of course knew India and her affairs sufficiently well at a time when we hardly knew even her geographical position. Innumerable books, pamphlets and tracts were published in the 18th century to familiarize the English people with the problems of their newly acquired dominion. The English educated mind was greatly interested in Indian affairs when Warren Hastings was impeached, and even the vulgar were roused to great enthusiasm by the East India Company's war with Tipoo Sultan. By the first quarter of the 19th century, our rulers knew almost everything that was to be known of us. The West had thus long come to the East. But the East had not responded to the call of the West till the momentous arrival of Rammohun Roy in England in April, 1831.

It is not a fact that Rammohun was the first Indian to go to Europe. Many an Indian sailor probably had done that before[1] him. There is evidence that even an educated person named Mirza Abu Talib Khan[2] went to England before him and wrote an account of his travel in Persian on his return in 1803. These neither influenced England nor India, for India did not become incarnate in them. Rammohun was not the first Indian to go to England, but the first ambassador of India to that country, literally as well as metaphorically. This is why his visit is regarded as a landmark in our history. India had lain stupefied for nearly three quarters of a century since the beginning of her political subjugation. Her soul first woke in him, as it were, and proclaimed to the world that she must live again. In him England first became acquainted with the resurrected India. He received tremendous ovation in England not only because he was one of the greatest living men of the world at that time but also because he was the representative of new India—India with a will to fulfil her mission in the world. Much of the wonder that his visit evoked was again due to the fact that Europe saw in him the physical embodiment of a culture about which they had known so much from the researches of the western scholars, travel books and translations of Sanskrit classics. Sir John Bowring, the friend and biographer of Jeremy Bentham, while welcoming him, expressed a sense of wonder[3] which reminds one of the similar sentiments of Keats on reading Chapman's Homer for the first time. The wonder in both cases was born of the impact of two great civilizations.

In understanding the nature of the interest which Rammohun Roy's visit created in England, one must also remember the age. The effect of the French Revolution was still being felt. It had liberalised the English mind, and had keenly roused the sympathy of the English people towards the suppressed and down-trodden and curiosity for the remote and strange. The doctrines of liberty, equality and fraternity had taken a firm hold of their mind. Most of the people who extended a hand of friendship to the Rajah had lived through the stirring days

1. It is well-known how in 1817, the boy Thackeray was accompanied by a "black servant" to England who showed him the exiled Napoleon at St. Helena, and said that he "eats three sheep every day, and all the little children he can lay hands upon."

2. Mirza Abu Talib Khan or Abu Talib Londoni who was for six years in the service of Nawab Muzaffur Jang lived in Bengal for a considerable time and went to Europe in 1798. He came back to Calcutta in 1803 and wrote a narrative of his journey to Europe. The manuscript of his work, *Masir-i-Talibi fi Bilad-i-Afranji*, is in Khudabaksh library, Patna.

3. Sir John Bowring said: "I recollect some writers have indulged themselves with inquiring what they should feel if any of those time-honoured men whose names have lived through the vicissitudes of ages, should appear among them. They have endeavoured to imagine what would be their sensation if a Plato or a Socrates, a Milton, or a Newton were unexpectedly to honour them with their presence. I recollect that a poet, who has well been called divine, has drawn a beautiful picture of the feelings of those who first visited the southern hemisphere, and there saw, for the first time, that beautiful constellation, the golden cross. It was with feelings such as they underwent, that I was overwhelmed when I stretched out in your name the hand of welcome to the Rajah Rammohun Roy."—Collet's *Life*, p. 177.

of the Revolution, or had sat at the feet of those who regarded it as the triumph of reason, the glorious dawn of a new era. Rammohun's enthusiasm for the Revolution is well known. We all know with what exultation he went to salute the French republican flag at the Cape of Good Hope, and how he sought the company of, and was entertained by, Louis Philippe, whose accession to the French throne was a recognition of his revolutionary ideas. The fact stands out, therefore, that both the Rajah and his English friends were greatly influenced by the French Revolution. In the unity of common sympathy lay their affinity.

I am not however trying to minimize the greatness of the visitor whose representative character itself speaks of his importance before the world. Years before he went to England his name and fame were well known to the English people of light and culture. Of these Jeremy Bentham (1747-1832) was undoubtedly the most notable.[4] The Philosopher's influence over the first half of the 19th century was so great that it would not be far wrong to call it by his name. Two of his close associates, Colonel J. Young and Colonel Leicester Stanhope, had come to India as secretaries of the Marquis of Hastings. If Bentham is to be believed, they were the real powers behind the throne of the Governor-General. Young was in charge of military affairs, and was, according to Bentham, a man of "most transcendent worth, in respect of morality, intellectuality, and active talent,—uniting the accomplished utilitarian statesman with the man of letters, the mathematician etc."[5] Stanhope, a son of the Earl of Harrington, Captain of the King's body-guards and governor of Windsor Castle, besides being an able administrator was a "highly distinguished Philohellene," and suffered for the cause of Greece when she fought for freedom.

It appears that the two Colonels who assisted in so conspicuous a manner the Marquis of Hastings in building up the British empire in India, were singularly free from Anglo-Indian prejudice. They even denounced the usual European attitude of hatred towards the Indians. When Rammohun's advocacy of the cause of India's social and political freedom alienated most of the English officials,[6] Colonel Young not only befriended him but introduced him to Bentham and other English intellectuals. To Bentham he wrote:

> "Not only has he no *equal* here among his countrymen, but he has none that at all *approach* to equality, even among the little 'sacred Squadron' of disciples whom he is slowly and gradually gathering round him."

From another letter written by "a highly valued correspondent" to Bentham (dated Calcutta, 14th November, 1830) which the Rajah carried with him, it appears that Lord William Bentinck too gave him letters of introduction to "friends of rank, and political and Indian influence." The correspondent regarded these letters as "no small compliment to such a man," because the Governor-General, though a man of the most honest intentions, suspected everyone, and trusted nobody, and knew that Rammohun Roy greatly disapproved of many acts of the Government.

Furnished with such letters, and already known to a large circle of friends with whom he had corresponded before he left India, the Rajah arrived at Liverpool on 8th April, 1831. On his arrival, as expected, he was received by a considerable number of friends and admirers. He received more invitations than it was possible for him to accept. These were not merely from Unitarians, but people of all denominations who vied with each other in the expression of their friendliness. He was introduced to a circle of Quakers by his English agents, Cropper and Benson, themselves wealthy Quaker merchants of Liverpool. Amongst the literary men at Liverpool who showed great cordiality to him was William Roscoe (1753-1831), the historian. He was drawn to the Rajah by reading the latter's *Precepts of Jesus*, a work very similar to Roscoe's *Christian Morality as contained in the Precepts of New Testament in the Language of Jesus Christ.*

Even people who had little knowledge of Rammohun came in their hundreds to give him a fitting reception. He had a triumphal march through Manchester where the mill hands struck

4. All references to Bentham and his friends are from his Biography edited by Sir John Bowring.

5. Col. Young was one of the contributors to the *Bengal Annual* of D. L. Richardson. In the issue of that periodical, for 1830, his name appears with Derozio, Harachandra Ghosh, Kasiprasad Ghosh and Rae Man Kisen.

6. "He is a very sincerely modest man—far too different indeed for the remarkable and *unique* station he fills among his benighted countrymen. His whole time almost has been occupied for the last two years in defending himself and his son against a bitter and virulent persecution which has been got up against the latter nominally—but against himself and his abhorred free opinions in reality—by a conspiracy of his own bigoted countrymen, protected and encouraged, not to say instigated, by some of ours—influential and official men who cannot endure that a presumptuous "Blackman" should tread so closely upon the heels of the dominant white class, or rather should *pass* them in the march of mind." [Colonel Young to Bentham, Calcutta, Sept. 30, 1828.]

work to see "the king of Ingee."[7] His London friends were no less ardent. They had, in anticipation of his arrival, engaged rooms for him in an expensive hotel in Bond street. Bentham too weak to move about, was so swayed by his admiration for the distinguished visitor that he thought it an occasion to come out of his retirement. But as the Rajah had taken up residence elsewhere, he left a note of welcome for him at his Bond street address. The philosopher's estimate of Rammohun may be well understood if it is remembered that when he and his friends started the Parliamentary Candidate Society in 1831 for directing public attention to the men who were most likely to forward the popular interests in the House of Commons, he thought of recommending the Rajah for election to Parliament. Bentham also introduced him to Del Valle of Gautemala in South America who too like him was fighting against social and religious prejudices in Latin America and working for the renaissance of his country.

Towards the end of the 18th century, and in the first half of the 19th, Unitarianism exercised great influence on English society, literature and politics. At one time there were as many as sixteen Unitarian members of Parliament. Among the writers of the time there was a considerable number who professed Unitarianism, or were inclined towards the Unitarian belief. On account of his previous Unitarian connection, Rammohun found a ready access to Unitarian homes and welcome in the Unitarian chapels.

I need not, in this connection, enumerate the names of those leaders of the Unitarian church who received the illustrious visitor with great warmth, and stood by him to the last breath of his life. Collet's *Life* gives a copious account of them. I propose to bring forward only those Unitarian writers by whom Rammohun was entertained and introduced to other literary men and women of the age. It does not seem probable that he had any opportunity of meeting the great poets of the time. Wordsworth was living in Grasmere, Coleridge in his drugged seclusion, Scott, who died within a short time of the Rajah's arrival, was in Edinburgh. Byron, Shelley and Keats had died a long time ago. Moreover, Rammohun's passion was theology and law, not poetry, though he had cultivated it.

Among the Unitarian writers, the Aikins deserve a respectable place in the history of English literature. Dr. John Aikin, M.D., was an author of considerable importance. He edited the *Athenæum* for a long time. His sister, Mrs. Anna Laetitia Barbauld,[8] well known as a miscellaneous writer and poet, was the wife of the Rev. Rochemont Barbauld, minister of the Rosslyn hill Presbyterian church, Hampstead, then a strong centre of Unitarianism. It seems clear from the memoir and letters[9] of Lucy Aikin, daughter of the doctor, herself a distinguished writer whose biography of Addison is a work of considerable importance, that the Rajah was a coveted guest in the family, and that he had inspired the lady with great veneration. Writes Lucy Aikin to Dr. Channing of Boston,

"Scarcely any description can do justice to his admirable qualities, and the charms of his society, his extended knowledge, his comprehension of mind, his universal philanthropy, his tender humanity, his genuine dignity mixed with perfect courtesy and the most touching humility. He is indeed a glorious being."

She says elsewhere,

"A true sage, as it appears, with genuine humility of character and with more fervour, more sensibility, a more engaging tenderness of heart than any *class* of character can justly claim."

The Aikins were in friendly intercourse with a wide circle of English intellectuals such as Joanna Baillie, Maria Edgeworth, Samuel Rogers, Jane Austen and Harriet Martineau.

At the Aikin house Rammohun met Joanna Baillie, the poet and dramatist, whom Wordsworth held up as the model of English womanhood. He had purposely come there to discuss with the authoress the Arian tenets of her writings, and drove her into such an uncomfortable corner that, alarmed by his erudition, she "slipped out at last by telling him that his interpretations were too subtle for an unlearned person like herself."

At this time, the Rajah, it is said, met Robert Owen,[10] the father of British Socialism. But the acquaintance of the two reformers did not mature into anything permanent, for, the economist, an impatient idealist, soon lost his temper in an argument with the Rajah, and the latter was left unconverted. Probably his mind was not prepared for a doctrine which aims at the demolition of all forms of privileges, economic, social or intellectual.

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7. Collet's *Life*—Testimony of Mr. Sutherland, the Rajah's fellow traveller, p. 173.

8. *Memoir of Mrs. Barbauld including letters and notices of her family and friends* by her great niece Anna Letitia Le Breton (1784).

9. *Memoirs, Miscellanies and letters of the late Lucy Aikin.*—Ed. by Philip Henry Le Breton.

10. This fact however is nowhere mentioned in the biography of Robert Owen.

It is not easy to trace how Rammohun came to know William Godwin, the author of *Political Justice* and Caleb Williams, the father-in-law of Shelley. The philosopher was a frequent visitor of Basil Montagu with whom the Rajah became friendly. It appears from a letter the latter wrote in reply to one from Godwin that the celebrated author sought his help in writing his *Lives of the Necromancers*.[11]

Harriet Martineau, whose *Autobiography*[12] is a rich storehouse of information about the great authors of the first half of the nineteenth century, met Rammohun at a meeting of the Unitarian Association in which he was presented with an address. There was a huge crowd in the hall, and people "actually stood on the benches to catch a glimpse of him." The platform and the reporters' seat were filled to overflowing. Even the windows were crowded. Robert Aspland, the editor of the *Monthly Repository*, presided. The Rev. W. J. Fox, Dr. Carpenter, and other prominent Unitarian leaders were present. Miss Martineau was a severe critic of men and things, and did not spare even Wordsworth, whose friendship she valued so much that she went to live near him at Windermere. One, therefore, reads with great surprise her sentiments about the Rajah. She wrote to her mother :

> "There is something about Rammohun Roy that melts one irresistibly, and the more, the more one looks at him."

She wrote again :

> "He always leads the conversation, and expects others to follow; and he talks to people in their own way or what he thinks such, with exquisite politeness, and a knowledge which appears almost miraculous. With all this cultivation, the most remarkable thing about him, his finest characteristic, is his intensity of feeling."

Another literary man whose admiration the Rajah won about this time was John Towill Rutt, the biographer of Priestley, one of the greatest liberalisers of Eighteenth Century thought. It is interesting to note that Rutt dedicated his biography to the Rajah. I believe the biographer was struck by the similarity between the two characters, for, both of them were persecuted for their revolutionary ideas, both worked for the reform of society and religion, and both were impressed by the fact, that the historical religions of the world have elements of truth common to all.

Mrs. Anna Letitia Le Breton, a niece of Lucy Aikin's has presented in her *Memories of Seventy years*[13] a nice little cameo of our distinguished countryman and his adopted son, Raja Ram.[14] As she was a neighbour of John Hare, brother of David Hare, with whom the Raja lived at 48, Bedford square, she saw much of him. She often met him at large parties and even at balls, where he conversed on the Trinity and other sacred things. He must have gone to England with exaggerated notions of the spiritual condition of the English people, and did not realise how very unsuitable were his topics to such convivial gatherings, and this particularly at a time when the traditions of George IV had not yet died out. At this time, Rammohun often went to a literary club held at the house of Basil Montagu M. P. (1770-1851), who lived at 25 Bedford Square. Montagu was a legal and miscellaneous writer and philanthropist. He was on intimate terms with Wordsworth and Coleridge, whose juvenile enthusiasm for the French Revolution he shared. His house was for many years a centre of reunion of London literary society. Here the Rajah met among others Fanny Kemble[15], the niece of the celebrated Sara Siddons, who, with Garrick, had revolutionized the English stage. As there is some misconception about the social position of Fanny Kemble amongst people whose acquaintance with the history of the English theatre is negligible, I think, I should give here some details of her life and character. She was the last of the histrionic Kembles and was a woman of unusual talent, intellect and versatility. She was a poet, dramatist,[16] novelist, critic, musician and actress. Above all, she was a vivid and engaging personality. For a long time, she remained the idol of the play going public. Shop windows presented reprints of her portrait. Gentlemen proudly displayed scarfs and ladies plates and saucers ornamented with her picture in miniature. As Fanny was a staunch admirer of Dr. Channing, it seems probable that she too was connected with the Unitarian church in some way or other. The Rajah first saw her acting Isabella in Southerne's *Fatal Marriage*, in which she appeared in a medieval nun's costume. In the trial scene, she was standing with folded hands and pitiful eyes between two guards, and was looking the very picture of womanhood in

11. *William Godwin* by Charles Kegan Paul (1876). The letter was dated, Bedford Square, August 10, 1833.
12. *Op. cit.* with memorials by Maria Weston Chapman (3 vols.), 3rd ed., 1877, London.
13. *Op cit.*, London, 1883.
14. *Vide* Modern Review for October, 1936, p. 446, for my paragraph on Raja Ram.
15. *Record of a Girlhood*—by Frances Ann Kemble, 3 vols. (1879).
16. She was the author of *Star of Seville* and *Francis I*, two historical dramas.

distress. It appears from an entry in the diary of the actress herself that Rammohun was in the Duke of Devonshire's box and "went into fits of crying." Later on they met at a party given by Basil Montagu. The Rajah introduced himself to her and presently began a "delightful nonsense conversation" which was very much enjoyed by the actress, who, though the darling of the stage, must have thought his acquaintance a great honour. She thus recorded her impression of the distinguished guest:

"His appearance is very striking; his picturesque dress and colour make him of course, a remarkable object in a London ball-room; his countenance, besides being very intellectual has an expression of great sweetness and benignity; and his remarks and conversation are in the highest degree interesting, when one remembers what mental energy and moral force and determination he must have exerted to break through all the trammels which have opposed his becoming what he is."

This reference to the moral qualities of the Rajah is significant, for, Fanny Kemble was conscientious perhaps to a fault. She too, like the Rajah, refused compromise with anything which she conceived to be wrong. It was for these traits of her character that Queen Victoria received her at court. The conversation between the two guests of Montagu Basil, however, was interrupted by the latter's interesting discourse on the analysis of the causes of laughter. The Rajah drew the attention of Miss Kemble by saying:

"I am going to quote the Bible to you: you remember that passage. 'The poor ye have always with you, but Me ye have not always.' Now Mr. Montagu you have always with you, but me you have not always."

So they resumed their conversation, and kept up a brief interchange of persiflage, a specimen of which has been given above. The Rajah had not yet read *Merchant of Venice* of which Fanny spoke to him. Later on she sent him a copy of the book. He in reply presented to her some Indian books which probably included a translation of *Abhijnana Sakuntalam*.

It appears from Miss Collet's *Life* that he was introduced to Lord Brougham by William Roscoe and became very intimate with him. In order to understand the importance of this relationship one must remember the position of Brougham in the politics of the time. He was a young man of unique abilities. Justin Macarthy[17] is of opinion that no character was stronger and stranger than his in the modern history of England. He was gifted with the most varied and striking talents, and with a capacity for labour which sometimes seemed almost superhuman. His services to the cause of popular education, legal and political reform and religious equality were simply inestimable. He was one of the greatest opponents of Lord Melbourne during his prime-ministership. The Rajah's friendship with such a man must have been of singular service to him.

I am not sure if Rammohun was acquainted with the Duke of Devonshire. Fanny Kemble mentions in her diary that he saw her acting from the Duke's box. This is not however enough to establish a connection between them. But in view of the fact that the family was Whig, and that the Duke's father, the fifth Duke was one of the ardent champions of Fox, it does not seem unlikely[18]. The present Duke, William George Spencer Cavendish (1790-1858) was Lord Chamberlain of the household of George IV and William IV, and was wellread in Old English dramatic literature.

Rammohun lived about a year and a half after his arrival in England. Every one of his English friends noticed that his health and spirits were broken. They all say that the malicious suit brought against him by his relations was greatly responsible for this. In England too he threw himself heart and soul into work instead of taking rest, which he badly needed. He had to meet all classes of people, and worked strenuously for creating public opinion in favour of India. Unfortunately his sojourn was cut short by his untimely death, and his mission was not fulfilled. But it was a personal triumph for him. It is remarkable that he won so many friends in such a short time, and the more so that, single-handed he succeeded in rousing such a widespread sympathy for India.

17. *A Short History of Our Own Times.*

18. Georgiana, the Duchess of Devonshire allowed herself to be kissed by a butcher while canvassing for Fox in the borough of Westminster.



CONGRESS AND OFFICE-ACCEPTANCE

By Dr. CHOITHRAM P. GIDWANI

To those, who from the beginning have been advocating office-acceptance on the part of the Congress parties in the provinces, not out of any reconciliation to the slave constitution imposed upon the nation in utter defiance of all principles of self-determination and self-government, but as a piece of fighting policy to assert the will of the nation as evidenced by the brilliant victories at the poll and as a tactics to further consolidate our forces for freedom's fight, the decision of the Working Committee at Wardha will be a relief. It is easy to imagine the confusion and demoralization of our forces that would have set in if any contrary decision had been taken. The result would have been the total suspension of the constitution at its very inception and the only alternative left for the Congress in that case would have been to inaugurate another mass struggle—probably on the lines of previous Civil Disobedience movements. It would be losing sight of the realities of the situation to suppose that with our present strength it would have been wise to precipitate prematurely another struggle.

Now that the decision has been taken, and in some provinces the ministers have actually taken office, it is for the Congress to see that the new positions of power captured are utilised to the utmost for the fulfilment of the dual policy of the Congress to resist the inauguration of the reactionary federal scheme and to immediately proceed to enact legislations meant for giving some measure of relief to the poverty-stricken masses. On both these vital questions there can be no question of any compromise. The resolution of the Working Committee and the President's subsequent pronouncements are quite clear on the point. It is sometimes argued that the desire to enact beneficent legislation is inconsistent with the policy of "wrecking" so often proclaimed by the Congress. If it is seen from a larger perspective as a step in our fight for complete freedom, both political and economic, it is clear that the task of the Congress is to consolidate its strength by identifying itself more and more with the interest of the masses. It is the masses which have reposed faith in the Congress by giving it majorities in 6 provinces and efforts directed towards ameliorating their condition, even though they may not fructify within the frame-work of the present Imperialistic structure, are sure to bring the masses nearer and nearer to the Congress, and ultimately make them active fighters for India's freedom under the Congress flag.

This brings us to the necessity of extra-parliamentary activities so much stressed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. We have not only to carry on our programme as concretely formulated in the election manifesto and the subsequent Wardha resolutions in the legislatures, but have to link it up with the activities of the Congress committees in the country outside. Larger and larger masses of people are to be made to understand the various items of the Congress programme through meetings, conferences, etc.; and not only to appreciate them but also to solidly back them. Thus only will the nation's forces be organized for our struggle; and thus only will the demands of the nation be irresistible.

It may be quite legitimately argued that all this applies to the provinces where the Congress commands a majority of seats in the Assembly. It is true that the Congress strength varies in certain provinces. Bengal, Punjab and Sind particularly have returned Congress members in too small a number to be effective. It will be undesirable to advocate office-acceptance in these provinces, as it can be done only in alliance with other groups of varying reactionary policies. It will necessarily lead to compromises involving serious watering down of Congress demands. Human nature being what it is, it will lead to a lowering down of the morale of the Congress members to some extent with the result that the whole object of Congress accepting office will be frustrated. No parliamentary party which desires to further build its strength for the future can afford to do it. Rightly therefore has the Wardha decision been interpreted as not permitting office-acceptance in provinces where the Congress is in a minority. Being in opposition the Congress parties in these provinces can stick firmly to the Congress programme and always press for its acceptance. If their demands are properly backed by the agitation outside, it is possible that some of the suggestions may actually be adopted by

those in power. In Sind it has been found through experience how a handful of only seven members in a house of 60 with some agitation in the province has been powerful enough to compel the ministers to accept lower salaries. In the three provinces of Bengal, Punjab and Sind, the majority of the population are Muslims, mostly poor illiterate masses easily susceptible to the false cries of communal reactionaries. The Congress in these provinces must break the power of these and make special efforts to bring Muslims organizationally into the Congress fold and penetrate deeper into the Muslim masses with the message of freedom and emancipation from all bondage. Congress, if it is truly the sole representative of the people of India, irrespective of religious labels, must seriously in its own interest undertake the task of bringing Muslims into it, specially in the Minority provinces of Bengal, Punjab and Sind, so that if there are fresh elections at any time the Congress may be able to secure majorities in these provinces also.

Karachi, 19th July, 1937

THE PUBLIC SERVICES UNDER THE NEW CONSTITUTION

By Dr. NANDA LAL CHATTERJEE, M.A., Ph.D. *Lecturer, Lucknow University*

Even a cursory examination of the Government of India Act of 1935 makes it abundantly clear that it has been largely determined by the avowed purpose of safeguarding the rights and privileges of the public services in India. In fact, the extent to which the services have been secured in advance in all matters wherein there could be the least suspicion regarding their future position in the new regime illustrates the anxiety of the authorities to make the public servants absolutely independent of the popular Ministries and the Legislatures. This is an aspect of the Act, which has justly aroused the strongest opposition among all the non-official classes in India, as in no democratic constitution in the world, indeed, could the public servants dream of, much less claim, extraordinary statutory rights which have been formally conceded to the Indian services.

No other part of the Constitution appears to have attracted a closer and more prolonged and anxious consideration of the Joint Select Committee than the safeguards meant for the public services. The authorities were convinced that the whole scheme of responsible government, to be successful in practical working, required the willing co-operation of an independent and contended civil service, and therefore they were careful to incorporate in the Constitution provisions explicitly guaranteeing the safety as well as the emoluments of the public servants in India. In defence of this step the authors of the Joint Select Committee Report characteristically urge:

"If, as we believe, the men who are now giving service to India will still be willing to put their abilities and experience at her disposal, and to co-operate with those who may be called upon to guide her destinies hereafter, it is equally necessary that fair and just conditions should be secured to them . . . This does not imply any doubt or suspicion as to the treatment which they are likely to receive under the new Constitution; but since in India the whole machinery of government depends so greatly upon the efficiency and contentment of the public services as a whole, especially during a period of transition, it is a matter in which no room should be left for doubt. It is not because he expects his house to be burned down that a prudent man insures against fire. He adopts an ordinary business precaution, and his action in doing so is not to be construed into a reflection either upon his neighbours' integrity or his own."

The justification for the specially entrenched position of the services may be thus briefly summed up. Firstly, it was admitted by the authorities that the public servants in India had reason to entertain apprehensions about their future position, as they had represented that under the popular Ministries their rights, privileges, and emoluments might not be kept inviolate. It was therefore considered necessary to allay such apprehensions by all possible means. Secondly, it was maintained that during the period of transition the services must be assured of the fullest safety and protection in the interests of efficient administration. Thirdly, it was urged that the protection of the rights of the services should not be taken to imply distrust of the popular Ministries. Lastly, as the Joint Select Committee Report put it,

". . . . the civil servants are the servants of the Crown, and that the Legislature should have no control over their appointment or promotion and only a very general control over their conditions of service. Indeed, even the British Cabinet has come to exercise only a very limited control over the services, control being left very largely to the

[illegible] Minister, as, [illegible] the [illegible] adviser to the Crown in regard to all service matters. . . .”

The Act provides absolute security of tenure to the public servants so specifically that there is no room left for any doubt about it. Under the new Constitution, every person who is a member of a civil service, or holds any civil post under the Crown, will hold office during His Majesty's pleasure. It is because the services had to be assured of complete security that a special emphasis seems to have been laid on the principle that all the services in India are essentially Crown services. Under Section 240, no such person as aforesaid shall be dismissed from the service of His Majesty by any authority subordinate to that by which he was appointed. Again, no such person shall be dismissed or reduced in rank until he has been given a reasonable opportunity of showing cause against the action proposed to be taken in regard to him. The only two exceptions where this Section shall not apply are, firstly, when a person is dismissed or reduced in rank on the ground of conduct which has led to his conviction on a criminal charge, and, secondly, when the authority empowered to dismiss a person or reduce him in rank is satisfied that it is not practicable to give to that person an opportunity of showing cause.

In addition to the protection granted to the services in the Section cited above, it is further provided under Section 258 that no civil post which, immediately before the commencement of Part III of the Act, was a post in, or a post required to be held by some member of, the Central Service Class I or II, or the Railway Service Class I or II, or a Provincial Service, shall be abolished, if the abolition thereof would adversely affect any person who immediately before the said date was a member of any such service. Again, no rule or order affecting adversely the emoluments of a person appointed before the coming into operation of part X of the Act to a Central Service Class I, to a Railway Service Class I, or to a Provincial Service, and no order upon a memorial submitted by any such person, shall be made except by the Governor of the Province, or the Governor-General exercising his individual judgment.

Section 259 further provides that the salary and allowances of any person who was appointed before the first day of April, 1924, otherwise than by the Secretary of State in Council, to [illegible] a post which at any time between that date and the commencement of Part [illegible] was classified as a superior service or post shall be charged on the revenues. It merely means that the salary and allowances of such persons shall not be subject to the vote of the Legislature.

As if the safeguards mentioned above were not adequate. Sections 270 and 271 guarantee to the services a full indemnity for past acts and protection against future prosecution and suits. Under Section 270, no proceedings civil or criminal shall be instituted against any person in respect of any act done in the execution of his duty as a servant of the Crown except with the consent of the Governor-General or the Governor of a Province in his discretion. Any proceedings instituted shall be dismissed unless the court is satisfied that the acts complained of were not done in good faith, and where any such proceedings are dismissed the the costs incurred by the defendant shall be charged on the revenues. Under Section 271, no bill or amendment to abolish or restrict the protection afforded to the services by the Code of Civil or Criminal Procedure shall be introduced or moved without the previous sanction of the Governor-General or the Governor of a Province in his discretion. When a civil suit is instituted against a public officer in respect of any act done in his official capacity, the whole or any part of the costs incurred by him and of any damages or costs ordered to be paid by him shall be charged on the revenues by the Governor-General, or the Governor exercising his individual judgment. The right of appeal and complaint is also duly provided. Whenever a public servant has any grievance, he is entitled to appeal to the Governor, the Governor-General, and the Secretary of State. Section 248 lays down that if any person appointed by the Secretary of State is aggrieved by an order affecting his conditions of service and does not receive the redress to which he considers himself entitled, he may complain to the Governor or the Governor-General who shall examine into the complaint and cause necessary action to be taken thereon exercising his individual judgment. No order which punishes or censures any such person as aforesaid, or affects his emoluments and rights in respect of pension shall be made except by the Governor-General, or the Governor exercising his individual judgment. Such persons may appeal to the Secretary of State against any order which punishes or censures him, or alters or interprets to his disadvantage any rule by which his conditions of service are regulated. Any sum or compensation that may be ordered by the Secretary of State to be paid to any such person as

the result of an appeal shall not be subject to the vote of a Legislature.

The public servants are so completely guaranteed their independence and privileges that any serious interference from the popular Ministries or the Legislatures is out of the question. The latter have really no power to control the public servants, and it is hardly unlikely that the officials may fail to offer to the popular Ministries the same co-operation that is expected of them in a modern government. The opposition of the services to the political aspirations of the people being well-known, their reactionary attitude may easily disturb the harmony of administration and hinder the growth of healthy service traditions. The right of the public servants to complain freely against the Ministries may also adversely react on their efficiency and discipline. All this certainly does not augur well for the success of the new Reforms.

The Public Service Commission constituted under the Act is under Section 266 to be consulted on the principles to be followed in making appointments to civil services and posts and in making promotions and transfers from one service to another, and also on all disciplinary matters affecting a person serving His Majesty in a civil capacity, including memorials or petitions relating to such matters. It is provided, however, that the Governor will seek its advice in his discretion. This means that the Ministers' advice will have no binding effect on the Governor's decisions. The Commission itself is to be constituted by the Governor in his discretion; and being merely an advisory body with no executive powers it may not prove very helpful to the Ministers.

The supreme authority vested in the Secretary of State for India in the matter of appointments to and control of the principal services has been naturally regarded by all the nationalist sections as one of the most objectionable features of the present Act. Under Section 244, appointments to the three main services, civil, medical, and police, shall be made by the Secretary of State, who is further authorised to make appointments to any additional service or services which at any time he may deem it necessary to establish in connection with the discharge of any functions of the Governor-General, which the latter is by the Act required to exercise in his discretion. Even the strengths of all the said services shall be prescribed by the Secretary of State. He shall also, under Section 245, appoint persons to any civil service of the Crown in India concerned with irrigation. Again, under Section 246, he shall make rules specifying the number and character of the 'reserved posts.' Finally, under Section 247, the conditions of the main services as regards pay, leave, pensions, and all general rights in regard to medical attendance shall be determined by him.

The result of the wide statutory powers of the Secretary of State will be that the Indian authorities will have no control over the key services of the country, and that they will not be able to alter the conditions of service in the interests either of economy, or Indianisation without the sanction and co-operation of the Secretary of State. If ever any rules are made which might adversely affect the conditions of service, rights of appeal and complaint are fully provided to the aggrieved persons. This legally secures the completely entrenched position of the services, and necessarily lowers the prestige and influence of the popular Ministries so far as their relations with the services are concerned. The extra-territorial authority of the Secretary of State over the services will thus materially determine the character and discipline of the public services in India.

The constitutional powers of the Secretary of State in regard to the services may also react unfavourably on the Indian finances. Not only is the Indian tax-payer to pay the enormous cost of the main services which are to be recruited and controlled by an external authority and over which he will have no effective control, but he will have to bear the burden which is liable to be increased by the Secretary of State in his discretion to any extent, because, under section 247, all rules regarding the emoluments of the services shall be determined by him. Thus, the future Ministries will not be entitled to reduce the extravagant scales of pay, pension, and allowances allowed to the higher services, and thereby relieve the financial distress of the Provincial Governments No economy in this direction is consequently possible under the law without the concurrence of the Secretary of State himself. This is a serious handicap on the power and prestige of the Indian authorities. That a poor country like India cannot afford to pay the extraordinarily high salaries and allowances paid to the superior public services is undeniable, yet these have been made sacrosanct in the eyes of the law.

The main criticisms levelled against the constitutional adjustments and safeguards in respect of the services may be easily summed up.

Firstly, there is no provision for an appreciable advance in Indianisation which has been



The open air dancing of the mountain folk



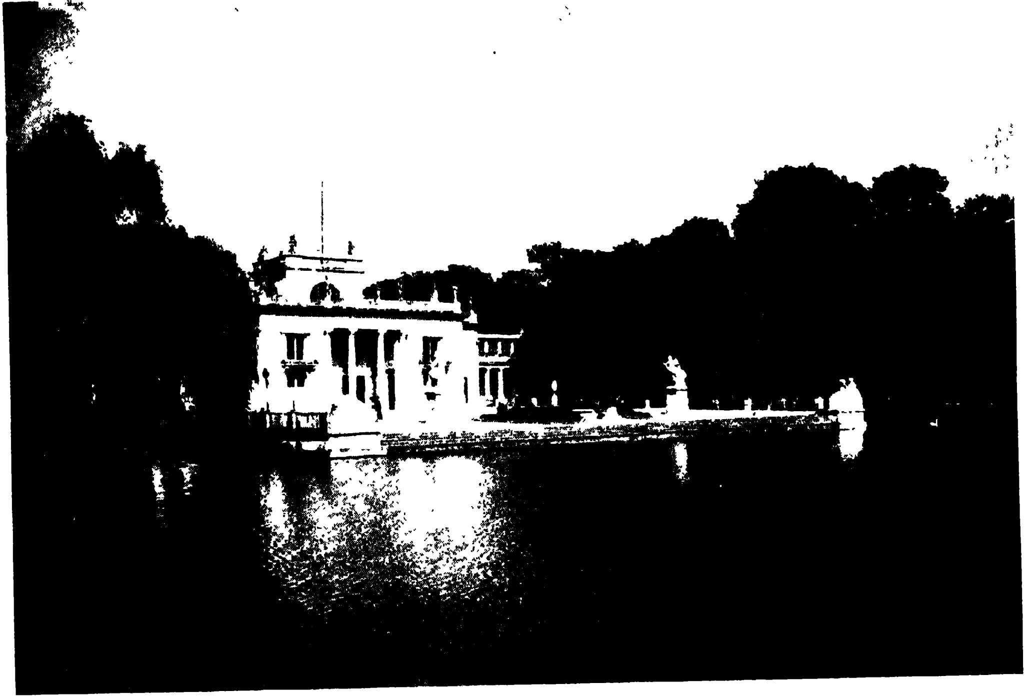
The dance of the mountain folk



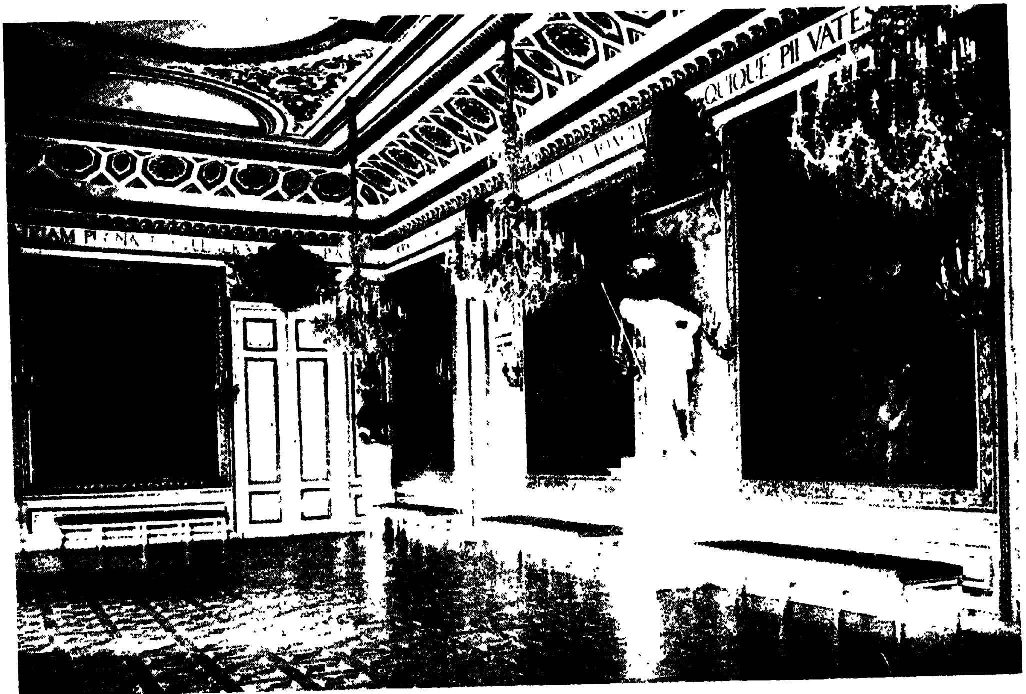
Chopin's monument
Chopin, a son of Poland, is regarded
as the greatest pianist and composer of the world



The statue of the Polish King Sobieski who vanquished
at Vienna in 1693 the "invincible" Turkish army



The Lazienki Palace in the magnificent park of Lazienki



A room in the Royal Castle (Zamek), now the residence of the President of the Republic of Poland



The Royal Castle (Zamek), now the residence of the President of the Polish Republic ;
and the column of King Sigismond III



The monument of Napolean's Marshal, Polish Prince Yoseph Poniatowski :
and the tomb of the unknown soldier (behind)

demanded by all classes of [illegible] for a long time past.

Secondly, the control of the services by an outside authority, *i.e.*, the Secretary of State, is considered to be a negation of democratic government.

Thirdly, the services have been allowed an unduly privileged position in the Constitution to the possible detriment of efficiency and discipline.

Fourthly, the future Ministries have been constitutionally debarred from reducing the cost of the huge salaries and allowances paid to the superior services.

Fifthly, the partial abandonment of the principle of recruitment by open competitive examinations will cause a deterioration in the standards of administration.

Sixthly, the spoon-feeding of the Minorities in the matter of appointments is also likely to affect the efficiency of the services, and ultimately harm the Minorities themselves.

Lastly, the Public Service Commissions as constituted under the Act are not sufficiently independent, and have not been given adequate powers and functions.

It is not generally known that the proportion of the gross yearly income of a province, which is required for the payment of all service emoluments, happens to be not less than 40 per cent. If this be remembered, the constitutional iniquity of the service safeguards will be doubly apparent. That the Legislatures will hardly exercise even the slenderest control over what forms so considerable a percentage of the annual liabilities of a province is without doubt one of the most disappointing features of the new Constitution.

POLISH FOLK DANCES

BY E. BANASINSKI

INTRODUCTION

POLAND is a country in every nook and corner of which one comes across several types of folk dances. Whether we go to the North to the shores of the Baltic in the province of Pomorze, inhabited by the "Kashubs" whom the outside world does not seem to affect, or to the South in the regions of the Tatras and the Carpethians, or to the Western frontiers inhabited by the hospitable, persevering and hardworking people of Greater Poland and industrial Silesia, or to the East in the agricultural areas Wilenszczyzny, Polesia and Wolynia, we find everywhere from the types of dances, the capability and temperament of the Polish people closely resembling the land where they live and work.

It is not possible to describe briefly the many varieties of Polish dances. Broadly speaking, it may be pointed out that dances like the vigorous Mazurka, which had its origin in the district of Warsaw, in the very heart of Poland, and other dances like the Krakowiak, the Kujawiak and the Oberek, have not only remained national dances but in the 19th century were known and danced in the whole of Europe.

KUJAWIAK

In the first place we find ourselves in the plains of Central Poland at Zlakowa, a model village of the Lowicz district, which is famous in the neighbourhood for the colourful dresses of the villagers. There we find not only the giddy and quick step "oberki" but also the alternately soft and lively dance, the "kujawiak," which derives its name from the nearby district of Kujawiak. Kujawiak has the character of the ancient ceremonial dance and this type of dancing is common during festivals in connection with marriage, baptism and other joyful occasions. The rhythm of the music changes alternately from slow to a lively measure with odd tripartite timing 3|4 as is found in the Waltz. Principally, the dance consists of two parts, commencing slowly with the singing of the "kujawiak" song and ending with quick steps, similar to the most characteristic of the Polish whirling dance, the "obereк." Its movements consist of keeping a sort of balance between the dancers who move about sometimes on one side, sometimes towards the partners and sometimes away from the partners, rotating at first slowly and later with greater speed. The "kujawiak" is danced in pairs with violin and bass for the orchestra and people dance always to their hearts' content, until they are thoroughly exhausted. The "kujawiak" as it is danced at Zlakowa in its original country surroundings is indeed a very pleasing spectacle.

The Silesian Dance

From out and out agricultural surroundings in the lands around Warsaw, the capital of the country, we may take ourselves to the most industrial part of the country on the South-West frontier, namely Silesia, which from time immemorial has remained inseparably joined with Poland. Among its people are still alive the ancient traditions as evidenced by their national dress. The women wear swollen blouses, spacious skirts with beautifully ornamented laces, coloured aprons and embroidered handkerchiefs or caps on their heads. The men wear wellcut short coats and coloured trousers. They still dance the wellknown "Trojak" or the imitation of the mimicry of various animals with the jumping rhythm of the "Polka."



The peculiar Polish bag-pipe

Trojak

The Silesian "Trojak" has its own particular rhythm and motions. Its very name brings out the fact that it is not danced, like many other Polish dances, in pairs but by three persons—one man and two girls, each of them on his side. In this position the dance commences in two rhythms. The first part is a slow tempo with an uneven rhythm and 3|4 measure. The second part has even rhythm with quick 4|4 measure. To start with, the dancers make a sort of motion oscillating the legs alternatively, raising them obliquely towards themselves and then the dancer turns round with quick steps around his partners, passing and repassing them under their hands. This movement is repeated several times in the most pleasant manner as the dance comes to an end.

Zajaczek and Gasior

The Silesian dances imitating the motions of animals are divertingly entertaining. In the dances like "Zajaczek" and "Gasiorek" are to be found a lively tempo, jumping as in "polka," leaping and bouncing with joined legs, cries, and raising of partners high in the air. It is very pleasant to see how the people of Silesia enjoy themselves to their hearts' content after the hard labour of everyday life.

The Mountaineers' Dance

Around the Southern frontiers of Poland, lie the ranges of the Carpethians where on the Western edge are to be found the massive blocks known as the Tatras. On the background of this wildly majestic and beautiful landscape inhabit a race with a rich inheritance of legends. There lingers the eternal memories of the ballads of Szymanowski, the knight-errants and mountain free-booters wrapt up in mist of heroism and unusual fantasies. In the vanquishing of inaccessible caves and resistance to the shrill mountain winds has been found the development of the character and temperament of the Tatra mountaineers, which has been developed to a high artistic sense. Here the costumes are the most unusual with lines and colours harmonized and painted. A round cap with eagle or hawk feather, a bright-coloured overcoat, embroidered shirt, tight-fitting frilled trousers, a special kind of shoes, and a nailed belt form the dress of these mountain folk. Besides, there is always the indispensable mountaineer's staff, called "ciupaga," so very useful for climbing and also for striking the ground while dancing. The womenfolk are equally dressed in colourful flowered skirts with handkerchiefs in their hands. It is a fine thing to dance in such costume. The mountaineers know how to express themselves in sculpture, but nowhere their temperament and fantasy make themselves plastically apparent as in their dances, which resemble them in subtlety and variety. From them have originated a certain number of dances, which can be performed individually, in pairs or in groups. There is

always a bigger number of male dancers than female dancers. The rhythm of the dances is even with 3 or 4 measures. They play mountain music with their own peculiar instruments accompanied by songs.

Drobny

When the artistic music bursts forth strangely harmonising with accented rhythm, the dancers commence to perform small quick motions of the legs as if treading upon or beating the one leg with the other as if for striking out sparks from under the feet. It is not strange that the dance consists chiefly of mincing steps and is called "drobny," meaning "small." Everything in the dance is so small and artistic that it is not possible to watch all the movements.

Zbojnicki

The whole grandioseness of the Tatra mountaineers can be shown by their most popular dance "Zbojnicki," that is, the bandit dance. There, besides trotting or moving in circle of retreating maidens, jumping, squatting and leaping or kicking on each side and beating the heels with hands after jumping form the chief movements. Beating the ground with the mountaineering stick "ciupagi" or raising cries besides the burning fire on a starry night is really an unusual and ravishing sight.

Kapelusik

A part of the mountaineering dance shown in the film explains the motif of the dance known as "Kapelusik." Two mountaineers jump about making an attempt to snatch the cap of the other and he who succeeds has the right to dance with the girls. They show themselves before the girls and when they rush back, they accost them catching them by the hands and whirl with them round and round.

Krakowiak

We now proceed to the districts around Cracow, the former capital of Poland, the jewel of Polish architecture and the treasure-house of Poland's historical relics. There among people living on the banks of the Vistula we come across the most popular of the Polish folk dances, namely, "Krakowiak." The costumes and the dance are the most colourful. The youths wear the characteristic horn-shaped hats with feathers, coloured jackets embroidered in gold, frilled trousers, leather belt studded with round metal pieces which ring while dancing and top boots with iron heels. The girls decorate their heads with heel-shaped bunch of coloured ribbons and their neck with rich necklace of red corals and beads which beat rhythm during the dance. Their blouses are highly embroidered and their skirts with corset and apron are equally colourful. They wear red boots laced up to the knees. From the name of the capital of that area—Cracow—originated not only the name of the district but also the most beautiful of dances, the "Krakowiak." It has its connection with the soft lowland dances of even rhythm. It is in a measure bouncing, dashing and jumping. It is danced in pairs and has various types of steps. Often it sets forth a galloping step when the dancers run to the sides after which they do somersaults, turn round on the spot in pairs, beating flic flack with the heels and end the dance with whirlings. Admittedly the "Krakowiak" had its origin in the dance of flirtation and courtship. It is primarily a dance of merry-making, freedom and bustle, where singing shrieks and stamping create an atmosphere of general happiness broken by moments of melancholy.

Polka Sadecka

In the town of Sacz, near Cracow is known a type of "polka" which has been well assimilated in Poland. It is an interesting proof of the gaiety of folkdances.



ISHWARANAND MAHILA SEVASHRAM, MANGALORE

By K. VENUGOPAL RAO

"Nobody would contend that society is the gainer by condemning the unhappily married to a lifetime of misery." (C. E. M. Joad.)

INDIA is perhaps the least administered country in the world from the point of view of social services. Nowhere else on the civilised surface of the Earth does the State take an attitude of supreme unconcern as here towards live issues which for lack of fostering care suffer deterioration and degeneration. In all schemes of reform of the system of Government in India, the human aspect of things Indian is deliberately subordinated to the money-bags of British interests and the previleges of the British services



Ashram orchestra

in India. Every expensive commission that is imposed upon this unfortunate country devotes its attention to a reorganisation of the official services in India in a way most profitable to the Britisher rather than to the problem of the good of Indian men, women and children. An impartial judge of the administration in India would not hesitate to declare the government of India guilty of letting beautiful human material run into destitution and decay by the millions for want of proper nurture. In keeping with its tradition of non-intervention with the cherished habits of the people, financially so very convenient to it, the Government plays the part of an uninterested looker-on at the spectacle of ruin of the wealth of Indian childhood, manhood and womanhood caused by disease, insanitation, illiteracy, indescribable poverty and social injustice. The same morally pretentious Britisher who as an official in India is opposed to a planned drive against all that is intolerable in Indian social life is the one most anxious to denounce the Indian as a polygamous creature who treats his women most unfairly. If this magnificent individual were for a moment to turn this search-light of criticism inwards, he would see himself not only as the administrator of laws which breed matrimonial chaos far from just to the woman but also as one directly responsible for the child and other lifelong widows, helpless orphans, deserted wives and economically as well as socially the most degraded men and women on Earth. These are the unnatural and avoidable by-products of a legal system blessed and carried out by the Britisher who is content to leave the social reformer to clean the Ægean stables as best as he can with no financial and moral encouragement from the Government. The social statistician who attempts to calculate the pathetic waste of life that infant and maternal mortality involves annually and the perversion of good manhood and womanhood that the unjust laws of marriage, and social and economic arrangement cause will disclose a tale of damage most ruinous to the country. On the one side there are the untouchables, the lowest members of which community live on carrion and food-waste, and on the other, there are the hundreds of thousands of child and other young widows, the deserted wives and other god-forsaken women and children for all of whom the state does absolutely nothing. This is the unedifying picture of a country which if the Britisher had from the beginning served with no thought for his own fat pay and continued security of power would have today presented a population of healthy men, women and children unspoilt by early marriage and the enforced misery of irreparable widowhood, desertion, polygamy, purdah, illiteracy and economic suppression, in no sense living below the level of sub-human existence as now.

In India, all the agency that is at work repairing the incalculable damage thus caused is that created by the non-official social reformer, unaided and unencouraged by the government. This high-minded mender of wrongs has done everything in his power to

heal the running sores of social injustice, the very society thus served looking upon him with disfavour. Ever since and for a long time after Raja Rammohun Roy first unfurled the flag of equality of men and women in the eyes of a truly moral law, the social reformer was an unwanted person whose good offices and intentions were regarded as subversive of the traditional disarray of social life. At present, he commands the respect of a far larger section of the people than before, although there are not more of him in the field than are less than necessary. What is encouraging however is that the progressive elements are very much more alive to the requirements of social well-being and yet not altogether willing to make things wholly self-respecting to women by making desertion and demoralisation impossible by means of



Lazeem drill and dance by the children

divorce and economic self-reliance. Working under handicaps of official indifference and legal foul-play to woman, all that has been possible for the social reformer to do is to apply external remedies for serious functional disorders that only good laws and state responsibility can set right. It is beyond his power to do more than what it is within the rights of Government to do by utilising the misused wealth of the temples for taking care of the victims of social injustice which is a little too much to expect from a Government least interested in seeing that anything goes well with the unprecious lives of Indian women and children. So it is, that disproportionate to the needs of the sufferers, there are in India monumental institutions established by the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Ramakrishna Mission and the Servants of India Society for saving the wounded and the shell-shocked in the battle of social life. The Seva-sadans and Prof. Karve's institutions of the Bombay Presidency by themselves have rendered life brighter and worth-



Lazeem drill and dance

while for thousands of women otherwise regarded as derelicts. In the same way the Brahmo Samaj in Bengal and elsewhere is recovering for innumerable unwanted women their lost interest in life besides striking the axe at the root of the evil by reorganising the social system within its admirable fold on the basis of fair-play to women. In Mangalore, the influence of the Brahmo Samaj has been so far-reaching that women acquired certain rights unenjoyed in the past, as in the case of the untouchable, the sanity of Hindu outlook in relation to him he owes entirely to that wonderful source. It



Inmates of the Ashram in stage-dress

is in this place, where other flowers of social service flourish, there came into existence nine years ago a home for the homeless, the discarded and the orphaned among women and children. Its founder and foster-parent is Dr. B. Raghavendra Rao who in his capacity as an

exceptionally tender-hearted physician knew well the intolerable hardships of womanly existence under conditions of conformity to a tradition unfavourable to her. Beginning life as a Civil apothecary in the Madras Medical Service, he disdained to make capital out of human suffering. Wherever he went, he won the enduring affection of the people many of whom are known to have received secret financial help from him besides free medical aid. Whether it was the silent good that he did to the poor and the disease-striken or his great abilities as a physician, fortune favoured Dr. Raghavendra Rao and he rose to be the medical head of a district towards the end of his service. On retirement he threw himself heart and soul into the work of bringing together under one benevolent roof of protection as many women and children as possible that society had thrown by the wayside. Towards the materialisation of this great object, more than the need for money, cautious laying of a permanent foundation was necessary which urged him to seek the advice of veteran social workers like Mr. G. K. Devadhan and Prof. Karve. To begin with, he gave away all he had honestly earned and collected the additional earnest money to inaugurate the work of providing a safe shelter and the necessary educational facilities for making life self-supporting for all the unfortunate women and children within easy reach. Within a short time of the opening of the now highly-extolled Ishwaranand Mahila Sevashram, all abandoned women and children in desperate need of relief sought the homely protection and purposeful care that it assured. In keeping with its mission of saving the castaways of society, it bears the name of Swami Ishwaranand, known in his secular character as Mr. K. Ranga Rao, the illustrious founder of the Depressed Classes Mission of Mangalore and supplies the much-needed protection for the unprotected in life. Dr. Raghavendra Rao, the remaining years of whose selfless life are dedicated to the service of this institution, gives himself no rest and no respite from his labours of making it financially self-supporting. At an advanced age, he being well past seventy years, he is known to keep touring the full length and breadth of India collecting the necessary resources for the upkeep of its 100 inmates. This big Ashram family which includes nurses, midwives and teachers under training and other helpless women and children has for its dwelling a good building of its own situated close to the Government Secondary Training School for school-mistresses for which reason some of the non-resident teachers and students make use of it within limited possibilities as their hostel. Ever since the dissociation of the now extremely popular Maternity Home from its parent body, the Ashram, Dr. Raghavendra Rao is busy trying to establish another Maternity Home so as to provide increasing scope not only for the inmates of the Ashram to undergo training as midwives and nurses but also for young mothers at large to acquire practical knowledge of maternity welfare. With encouraging support Dr. Raghavendra Rao wishes to see the Ashram develop its own school imparting besides cultural education, practical instruction in remunerative domestic arts. For such a non-sectarian institution consecrated to the dignified well-being of uncared-for women and children, what it needs is more practical support, worthy of the unsparing endeavours of Dr. Raghavendra Rao to make it enduring and protective. Ably superintended and mothered by Mrs. K. Shanta Bai, a product of Prof. Karve's Home, the Ishwaranand Mahila Sevashram gives promise, if lavishly aided, of becoming a sanctuary for the unhappy and the miserable among women and children to enter into and become useful members of society.



Tableaux by children

ONAM SEASON IN MALABAR

By M. V. MENON

Onam, the season of mirth and golden harvests is with us once again. Essentially a period of festivity for the Hindus, the witchery of the season casts its spell over other communities also. Now mother nature is so bountiful that, in spite of the comparative poverty of the people, it may be said that the land is flowing with milk and honey.

The Legendary Origin of the Festival

Probably a harvest festival at its inception, it came to have a religious significance tacked on to it—a trick characteristic of our ancestors and a source of much innocent joy to us. Legend has it that Mahabali, the beneficent Asura emperor, under whom this earth of ours enjoyed unexampled prosperity, was despoiled of his sovereignty by Lord Vishnu incited thereto by jealous gods. He was then sent to the nether-world where he now is; and, once a year on Onam day he visits our earth to see how his subjects fare. The reader is sceptical? If so, he misses much of the joy of Onam. It is to be greatly regretted that our learning along with new superstition has swept away much beauty and poetry from our lives. In memory of the happy years of his rule we are having a season of merry-making and festivity. It commences from Atham day (August 21st.) and lasts for about a fortnight.

The Season

The time of the year is delightfully cool and pleasant. The first onset of the rains is over and the landscape is washed clear of all dust and debris. The prevailing weather is fine, though a bit raw, for light showers are not infrequent. One venturing out incautiously must expect to have a sense in nature's shower bath for his imprudence. The suddenness with which leaden skies alternate with fine weather is something surprising: it seems that nature, like the confirmed optimist in trouble, again and again dissipates the shades and emerges triumphant in the end. When one least expects it, the sky is overcast, banks of clouds pile up on the horizon and burst into a deluge of rain leaving behind numerous puddles and muddy rills on roads and lanes, and scattering pearls by thousands on bush and briar, tree and fern. However, as the monsoon is only in a frolic, the weather soon clears and when once more the sun shines in a cloudless sky, the effect is magical: the numberless pools and rills and drops of wet are transformed into as many sparkling mirrors reflecting the beauty of the landscape.



A Malabar girl worshipping the god Vamana

Bazaars and Market Places

The bazaars and market places are bustling centres of activity. The cloth merchants and dealers in bananas, raw and ripe, ply a thriving trade and in spite of the usual haggling much business is done. Clusters of bananas decorate the entrances to coffee clubs and eating houses; for, bananas ripe, boiled and fried form the principal items of wholesome refreshment during the season.

Buses

Buses work overtime bringing passengers from distant villages to towns and carrying

them back. Once a passenger purchases a ticket, he is the conductor's property to be disposed of as he thinks fit. Complaints are useless: he might as well complain to the petrol pump nearby. When the whistle goes for starting every seat is crowded to suffocation; there is a row of passengers on either foot-board, their heads thrust in ostrich-fashion; a passenger is foisted on each mud-guard in front; while clusters of bananas on the roof of the bus, their stems as many marks of interrogation, seem to be questioning one another in a vain attempt to know the reason for delay. However, no one seems to mind. There is much talk and laughter going on inside and every face is brightened by anticipation of pleasure awaiting at the end of the journey.

Sylvan Scenes

A journey into the interior at this time of the year is a very exhilarating experience. As we penetrate into the heart of the country breasting the cool breeze, a grand panorama is unfolded before us. Low hills covered with dense vegetation alternate with valleys cut into bits of green and yellow rice fields. Rills of translucent water make soft music as they break into cascades. Snug homesteads, nestling in groves of mango trees, the cocoanut and the areca palms, are visible from the road. Now and then, a precipitious rock rises sheer from the road side, swells up to a noble height and grimly overlooks the surrounding country. Here and there, reapers carrying sheaves of rice and groups of rustics in holiday attire, are encountered; children interrupted in their amusements stand staring with inquisitive eyes; and idlers are seen gossiping in the mushroom coffee clubs along the road.

The Hubs of the Festivities

Rich Namboodri *illoms* and Nair *tarwads* are the hubs of the festivities. The *Karanavans* (heads of families) are very busy interviewing people, seeing to the ceremonies, giving *Onaputa* —presents of fine borderd cloth—to members of the family and, if he happens to be a bit choleric, which is not infrequently the case, scolding underlings in season and out of season. As his eccentricities have been studied to a nicety, he is given free run on such occasions and by and by he comes round of his own accord. Long rows of tenants and farm labourers carrying bananas and various kinds of vegetables move into the *illom* or *tarwad* as the case may be; their presents are accepted and in return they are given *Onaputa*, more or less costly according to the status of the individual receiving it. The custom is a very salutory one in that the poorer classes are neatly attired at least once a year and their beaming countenances evidence their appreciation of the gifts. Elderly matrons and young ladies of the family are diversely busy; little girls picturesquely dressed are happy whispering and giggling in corners and flitting about like butterflies.

Ceremonies

Before the commencement of Onam proper there is the beautiful *nara* or the house-filling ceremony. It is the harbinger of the harvest season. The *Karanavan* followed by the youngsters of the family brings in sheaves of rice from the fields. After worshipping the family diety, each takes a handful from the sheaf of rice and shouts *nara, nara, nara o nara, illom nara, kottaram nara* etc., which rendered into English means—fill, fill, let everything be full, let the house be full, let the granary be full. Stalks of rice are stuck on to entrances to rooms and granaries and these are to be preserved till the next harvest season.

The religious ceremonies relating to Onam proper are simple and beautiful. People, young and old, bathe early in the morning, smear themselves with sandal paste and put on saffron marks. All are dressed in their best. A rectangular clay image of Vamana (one of the avatars of Vishnu) tapering to a small hemisphere at the top, is decorated with lotus and other flowers. It is then placed on a low stool. Beautiful patterns are executed on the ground in front of every house by means of rice flour mixed with water to form a running paste. The image is then placed in the centre of the design, is offered flowers and incense and worshipped.

Feasts

Then comes the feast. It is a grand affair and the items of the menu are numerous. Ripe bananas cut into pieces of about an inch long and boiled, are very much relished. *Parshaprathaman and palpayasam*, both very sweet preparations, are deemed indespensable. The poorer tenants, labourers and their children amidst much noise and hilarity, steep themselves to the eye-brows in the sweet preparations, for, it is only once a year that they are treated to such sumptuous fare. The scene as such as would make the good Mahabali chuckle with delight.

AMUSEMENTS

Amusements follow. Handsome young women and pert little girls, dressed in their most becoming manner for the occasion, take part, to the accompaniment of songs, in simple country dances, *kaikottikali, kummi or kolattam.* Some of the songs are very touching. Apart from the aesthetic aspect of these dances—their value is past question in this respect—these are very pleasant forms of exercise. Lusty young men, bubbling with animal spirit, take part in games and pastimes requiring strength and skill. Some of these are mock fights, but occasionally young men are paired off according to height and strength and there are more serious encounters. However, as every one enters into the spirit of the thing untoward happenings are rare.

There is a saying in Malabar that one should not hesitate even to sell his all, if need be, to celebrate Onam. It shows how dear Onam is to the heart of the Malayalee. But, it is to be feared that the break-up of the *tarwad* or the joint family and the gradual change taking place everywhere and in everything which we call time, will, one day, reduce Onam to a mere memory. If so, the people will certainly be the poorer for it.

GHEE PRODUCTION AS A COTTAGE INDUSTRY FOR BENGAL

By SATISH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

USE OF BUFFALO-GHEE IN BENGAL

THE ghee trade of Bengal is that of Buffalo-ghee. Bengalees prefer cow's ghee, but it is a rare article. The Gowalas deal in small quantities of cow's ghee and butter, but the prices are high and the articles are very often adulterated. In the kitchens of the Bengalees buffalo-ghee is almost exclusively used inspite of the preference for cow's ghee. There are few buffaloes in Bengal, therefore buffalo-ghee in Bengal is an article entirely imported from outside. Buffalo-ghee imported from other provinces reaches the remotest villages of Bengal through Calcutta and in exchange Bengal pays about two crores of rupees to the exporting provinces. If the whole of the ghee consumed were produced in Bengal, then in the value of ghee and the products from skimmed milk, Bengal could have built an industry worth three to four crores of rupees. This would have contributed towards building the health of the people of Bengal, it would have given an impetus to cottage industries in general and would have to some extent relieved the economic distress. The cottage industries of Bengal are practically wholly ruined. Unemployment problem is acute amongst the cultivators and the middle classes. An industry like the production of ghee and other milk products is not a negligible industry in any country. For Bengal, its importance is great.

Bengal has a preference for cow's ghee and Bengal has cows and not buffaloes; then why should buffalo-ghee continue to be imported in Bengal and its cow-ghee trade remain undeveloped? It is possible to develop this trade in Bengal. There are difficulties and obstacles, but they can be removed and the industry quickly developed and expanded. Buffalo-ghee imported from outside Bengal has so fully monopolised the ghee trade of Bengal that the word "Ghee" has come to be synonymous with buffalo-ghee. The daily papers of Calcutta publish market prices. Here is an extract from market prices of ghee :—



The cows of the Khadi Pratishthan dairy

MARKET PRICES FOR GHEE

Bharati, Rs. 52; Khurja, Rs. 53; Shikoabad, Rs. 50; Shree, Rs. 58; Butal, Rs. 43-8; Bandasagar, Rs. 43 per maund.

—*Ananda Bazar Patrika,* Tuesday, June 22, 1937.

The prices given are all for buffalo-ghee and all these are imported from outside Bengal. That these are prices for buffalo-ghee is not mentioned anywhere, for it is common knowledge that bazaar ghee is buffalo-ghee. It is cow's ghee that requires special mention. Just as any reference to oil in Bengal-cookery means mustard oil and no special mention is necessary, similarly about ghee implying buffalo-ghee.

Difficulties and their Removal

It is believed that buffalo-ghee keeps better than cow's ghee and therefore cow's ghee cannot be an equally good commercial product. But it is not so. When properly prepared cow's ghee can be kept without deterioration for a long period. Of course the sooner a ghee is used after manufacture, the better. But in my experiments, I have not found that cow's ghee gets deteriorated sooner. Keeping quality depends upon the skill of manufacture, cleanliness of vessels and on exclusion of contact with air.

Another well known reason for the rarity of cow's ghee in Bengal is that sufficient milk is not available. In order to obtain sufficient milk in Bengal, the stock of cows has got to be improved. With this object, some bulls from the Punjab are being brought down. The race which will be created by this admixture will have to be observed for a considerable period. It may not turn out to be an absolute truth that cross-breeding will improve the race. If the experiment fails, it ends there. But if the experiment is successful, yet the problem of converting the whole of present stock into cross-breed is so vast that we have neither the arrangements nor the implements for accomplishing it.

Another point of anxiety with regard to cow keeping in Bengal is the want of fodder. There were pasture lands attached to villages. Although in the settlement records such grazing lands are mentioned as public property, as a matter of fact they are rented out for cultivation. There is practically no public pasture in Bengal. This is a great handicap to cattle breeding. The existing cows are poorly fed and weak and therefore give very little milk. But if we now formulate that the zamindars are to return the usurped land to the cows and then we may get sufficient milk. then we may have to wait endlessly. The breed of cows in Bengal is inferior and there is no pasture land. We have to accept these handicaps and advance and do something immediately inspite of them.

Consideration of the problem as to how the cattle can be improved and the quantity of milk increased in Bengal, and some experiments have made me to come to the conclusion that the primary step towards the allround improvement of cows is to increase the demand for milk. Wherever the demand has increased, milk production has gradually followed to meet the demand. The well known centres of sweetmeat production may be taken as examples. A certain area of Dacca is famous for its 'khir' or solidified milk. On enquiry it will be found that the cows in that area are better fed and give more milk. The acuteness of poverty of the people is somewhat less there. In adjacent areas where the conditions about pasture and the breed of the cows are the same, it will be found that absence of a demand for milk has made a difference in the yield of milk per cow.

The milk products of Natore are famous. The whole of North Bengal appreciates the special 'sandesh' of Natore. In a zone of five or six miles round about Natore, it will be seen that the cows are comparatively better and yield more milk than in areas outside the zone of milk supply for Natore. In this way it will be seen that wherever there is a demand for milk in quantities there is the supply too. In my experience I have found that the milk-yield of any particular area follows in general the demand for milk. Of the various demands for milk that for making ghee, is the most fruitful incentive to production. The demand for chhana or curds varies with seasonal requirements for festivities or marriages. The producers, therefore, do not get a steady price. In places where the Gowala makes an all year arrangement with the owner, the price fixed is invariably a low one so as to ensure profit from supplies even in dull seasons. Such demands do not provide full incentive to increased production. Of all milk products in cottages, ghee lasts longest. In areas where milk is mainly produced for manufacture of ghee, and the demands for other products is secondary, milk fetches a constant and moderate price, the owner gets more income, the cow is more cared for and becomes a better milker.

It is natural that the milk-yield of a cow shall increase with the demand for milk. The owner himself is more often than not, half starved. He keeps the cow also underfed, and does not take proper care and consequently gets little milk. What little quantity of milk is available has usually no certain demand. The owner becomes less arduous for feeding the cow. But whenever he finds that the milk fetches a

good value, and that there is a steady demand for milk, and the cow gives more milk on better feeding, he begins to take pains to attend to the cow more than before. What he gets in return for selling milk, adds to his income, but he then also spends a fraction of it in maintaining the cow in condition. He takes greater care to give her water and food and may even be seen to care more for her than of himself or for his children. This lays the foundation of improvement of the stock. A dependable demand for milk-products like ghee leads to the laying of this foundation, the caring for the cow.



KRISHNA
The Multani breeding-bull of the Khadi Pratishthan dairy. Born and brought up there

This view is supported from other standpoints also. Where there is no sugar mill, people plant sugar-cane in only a few fields. When a person selects such an area for setting up a sugar mill, he ascertains if the soil is suitable for sugar cultivation. If the soil is suitable and if other conditions are favourable, he does not confer with the ryots nor makes a contract with them. He sets up a mill and creates a demand for sugar-cane and depends upon the keen instinct of cultivators for profitable agriculture. When the cultivator finds that there is profit in sugar-cane cultivation, he produces the canes and depends upon the mill for consumption. There was much discussion about the suitability of different areas for sugar-cane. But after the establishment of a mill at Gopalpur in Rajshahi, it is found that in face of the demand sugar-cane has become a water-plant like paddy. One can find sugar-cane growing there in fields waist-deep under water. How many knew or today know that sugar-cane grow in lands so low? But demand is such a factor that the cultivator of Rajshahi needed no coaxing to find out which of his fields were suitable for sugar-cane. The demand aroused his interest and led him to tread a new path.

The Steadiness of Demand of Ghee

It has been mentioned that of all demands for milk products, that for ghee is the best, because it is not a temporary or seasonal one.



The Khadi Pratishthan ghee manufacturing centre

A person sitting down in a village for ghee production may declare that he will take all the milk that may be brought to him. If the supplier will vary his supply according to his home consumption, the ghee-maker will have no objection. There is a festival, a marriage or a shradh in the village, and no surplus milk is available. The ghee manufacturer does not worry, he will get his supply the next day. Whatever is the daily surplus of the village, he will purchase and most certainly purchase. That no supplies, regular or irregular, will be ever refused, is an assurance which the ghee manufacturer can most liberally give and which any other manufacturer of milk-products cannot give so freely. It is therefore that as an incentive to milk production ghee manufacture stands supreme.

But only the cream out of the milk goes to produce ghee. What will become of the skimmed milk? The ghee manufacturer will have to arrange for that also. He may convert the skimmed milk into 'Dahi', 'Khir', 'Chhana',

Casein, or condensed milk, or into some such thing and realise about half the price of milk from it.

Cows in Bengal

It has been mentioned that the whole of the import of about two crores' worth of ghee may be stopped and replaced by home production in Bengal. But the extra milk necessary has to be supplied by the cows in Bengal. Let us see if there are enough cows to meet the demand. It will be to our purpose to compare Bengal with the other provinces which supply ghee to Bengal, such as Behar, United Povinces, Punjab, etc.

In the government statistics for 1934-35, the following figures are found. In these statistics bovine cattle are separately shown as cows, bulls, bullocks, calves, buffalo-bullock, she-buffallo and calves, etc. From these the figures for cows and she-buffaloes, are only taken.

	Bengal.		Behar.		U. P.		Punjab.	
Cultivated land in lac acres ...	283		241		356		265	
Cows in lacs ...	82	84	57	73	60	102	26	56
She-buffalnes in lacs	2		16		12		30	
Number of cows and she-buffaloes per 100 cultivated acres	108		88		91		60	

From these figures it will be seen that in proportion to 100 acres of cultivable land the number of cows and she-buffaloes in Bengal is 108, in Behar 88, in United Provinces 91, in the Punjab 60. The proportion in Bengal is the highest and yet Bengal gets the least milk. Next to Bengal comes Bihar, but this is due to Bihar being coupled with Orissa, otherwise, taken by itself, Bihar would show better. Even in Bihar cattle are not poperly cared for. She-buffaloes in Bihar give only 6 to 8 pounds of milk per day. Yet Bihar exports ghee to Bengal. There, buffalo-milk is made into curd, and the supernatent cream is scraped off and melted to ghee. No province equals Punjab in the yield of milk per head of cow or buffalo. The cattle are best taken care of in the Punjab and the breed also is of high order. If there is something nice for eating in a house, the parents are not satisfied till a portion is given to children. So it is in Punjab with regard to the cows. Whenever there is any thing good to offer that a cow regards as a delicacy she must have her portion—so much tender care is devoted to the cow there. But in Bengal a disproportionately large number of weak uncared-for and underfed cows are kept, to the distress of the animals and also of the men. There is a sufficient number of cows in Bengal. The soil of Bengal is not less productive than that of any other province and the cultivators of Bengal are also not idlers. Yet, because the Bengal cultivator does not know what cow-keeping is, the conditions are so bad.

If the cows are taken proper care of, Bengal cows can be milked twice daily and during a lactation an average of 2 seers (4 pounds) per day may be obtained. In a lactation a cow may be expected to give this average yield of 2 seers for six months—other six months in the year she may be regarded as dry. Then in 6 months or 180 days a cow may yield 360 seers or 9 maunds of milk.

There are 82 lacs of cows in Bengal. If only a third of these are taken to be in lactation, then the figures come to 27 lacs. If each one of these will give nine maunds per lactation, then we may obtain 243 lac maunds of milk per year. If half of this is computed to go to meet the present demand, then we shall have a surplus of 120 lac maunds of milk. 20 maunds of milk go to yield one maund of ghee, thus we may have a surplus of 6 lac maunds of ghee

In the statistics for import of ghee by rail and steamer into Bengal for 1934-35, we find that the figure is 344 thousand maunds. If 14 thousand maunds re-exported is deducted, the total import comes to 330 thousand maunds. Apart from this, a large quantity of ghee comes to Bengal in lorries. There is no statistics for this item. If this is taken to be 20 thousand maunds, then the total import comes to 3.5 lac maunds against which we have seen that we may have a surplus of 6 lac maunds of ghee. Therefore there is no bar to Bengal stopping its import and manufacturing the 3.5 lac maunds of ghee it imports. If Bengal learns to put the cows to profitable account, then it will not only be able to stop import of ghee but build a good export trade out of its surplus.

I have computed that one-third of the cows of Bengal will yield 9 mds of milk per head per year. But I believe that by care in cow-keeping much more may be obtained. That care increases milk-yield, I have seen in various fields and in various ways. I shall give one instance. At the time I was a prisoner for the second time in the Alipur Central Jail, the Jail superintendent was getting anxious about the jail dairy. There was a number of cows, but the milk-yield was practically nothing. The dairy was in charge of an European prisoner and the Superintendent could not get satisfaction from his work. One day Superintendent Major Patni, proposed if I could take charge of the dairy. I gladly assented I found there

were forty heads of cattle and the milk-yield was eight seers per day. The calves died very often and this was one of the chief reasons for there being no milk in the dairy. There were other reasons also. I endeavoured to improve the food for the cattle, a better and more serviceable bull was arranged for, and many other details were attended to. Every little work of reform was attended with obstacles and the jail rules stood in the way. But Major Patni took the responsibility for getting over the jail rules and made my path clear in every instance. Improvements began. New set of books and accounts were introduced and the existing forms were changed. Attempt was made to raise the land where the cow sheds stood, as I lost much milk due to mumps on account of dampness of the floors.

Illegal income of the fodder contractor was stopped. A chart was made showing the date of pregnancy of a cow and the expected date of delivery. Proper care came to be taken to see that the cow is attended to day and night on the approach of the date of delivery. As a result of all these the milk productions went up by leaps and by the time I was coming out of the jail after nine months of work, the milk yield of the dairy had gone up ten times from 8 seers to 2 maunds per day. And there was nothing miraculous about it. The Inspector General of Prisons, Mr. Flowerdew, came to the jail twice during the period. When he came for the second time, he lovingly said that he won't let me out of the jail at all and the next moment expressed gratefully that I must not return to jail again. He gave the full remission which it was in his power to give to any prisoner and released me after I had only served nine months out of an imprisonment for 12 months. He had no cause for being grateful. I was a prisoner and I attempted to do my duty. The cause of gratitude was on my side, because of the splendid opportunity the jail authorities offered me for cow-*seva*. Indeed jail was a charming place to me on account of these opportunities.

As in the jail, so in other places also I got immediate improvement in milk by arranging for better care of the cows. The jail cows were all from the Punjab or born of the Punjab stock. Some of them deteriorated owing to neglect. I have experience of increasing the milk-yield of a deshi cow from half a seer to two seers per day. Again, I have seen large dairies or *bathans* where in the months of December-January the average yield from a Bengal cow was 4 seers per head per day in a milking herd of about 80 cows. This shows what Bengal cows under care can develop. In the jail, a Punjab cow Chowari gave 500 lbs. or 60 maunds of milk in one lactation. In the Khadi Pratisthan's dairy at Sodepur we get 38 to 45 maunds of milk per lactation from Multan cows. At Sodepur a Bengal cow, which in the beginning gave only half a seer of milk per day, ultimately increased her milk and gave 11 maunds during the lactation.

Ghee Manufacture

Cream or butter is obtained by separating milk or dahi with the help of a churner. The process of separating cream from milk is more laborious but it is a better method. By use of a separating machine cream can be easily separated but it is neither advisable nor possible for all to use separators. For hand operation, milk is to be warmed and then quickly cooled by floating the vessel in a current of water. It is then to be transferred into a clean Kerosine tin and churned with a churning rod. After a time cream floats on the top of separated milk. Cream is heated and made into ghee.



Neela

The Multani prime cow yielded nearly 44 mds. 25 seers of milk in ten months

Skimmed Milk

Skimmed milk is a superior article of diet. It is usually not much prized. But if ghee is to be marketted, the separated milk will have to be utilised and proper value obtained for it. Recently Gandhiji wanted some information from me about the dietetic value of skimmed milk. After this Sj. Mahadev Deshai has published two letters on the subject in the *Harijan*, one from Dr. Akroyd of the Connoor Institute and another from me. They are reproduced below in order to bring out the importance of skimmed milk.

I. Letter from Dr. Akroyd

"You ask a number of questions about the nutritive value of separated milk and butter-milk. Separated or skimmed milk is of high nutritive value, since it contains all the valuable elements present in whole milk except fat and vitamin A. Whole milk of good quality is to be preferred to separated milk because it contains vitamin A. but there is no question that the regular consumption of separated milk very greatly improves the health and development of Indian children fed on 'typical' Indian diets based largely on rice or millet, containing no milk or eggs, and very small quantities of vegetables. An important advantage of skimmed milk, of course, is that it is cheaper than fresh whole milk.



Sukla

The Multani- and country- breed cow yielded nearly 33 mds. 10 seers of milk in ten months at her third lactation period

We have used imported dried skimmed milk in a number of experiments. Children receiving 1 oz. of dried skimmed milk powder daily for 3-4 months showed greater increase in height and weight than children on a precisely similar diet without milk. The general condition of the milk-fed children showed remarkable improvement. The milk was given in liquid form, roughly 8 times its weight of water being added to the milk powder to 'reconstruct' liquid milk.

There can be no doubt that liquid separated milk would produce the same effect as dried powder, which is after all only the former reduced to powder by a mechanical process. Such milk should on no account be allowed to go to waste. Only a little organization is required to arrange for its distribution to school children, etc.

With regard to taste, we have found no difficulty whatever persuading children to drink reconstructed skimmed milk, or, in another experiment now in progress, liquid separated milk. They seem to like it.

One important fact should be borne in mind. Separated or skimmed milk is not suited to form the *sole* food of infants because of its deficiency in vitamin A. If given to infants, it must be supplemented by some food substance rich in vitamin A, *e.g.*, cod-liver oil. It may, however, be used with advantage to supplement the diets of young children past infancy when such diets are largely based on cereals and contain few vegetables and no animal protein. Separated milk in such circumstances is much better than no milk at all. Our own experiments have demonstrated its value as a food for older children. It would also be a very useful addition to the diet of expectant and nursing mothers."

Harijan, May 29, 1937

II. Letter from the Writer

"Buttermilk contains all the ingredients of whole milk except butter and vitamin A. If I were to valuate boiled milk in which vitamin C is destroyed, I would put the following values on the ingredients:

A Butter and vitamin A 8 annas
B Proteins .. —5 "
C Milk sugar and mineral salts and vitamin B—3 ..

If, therefore, whole milk is valued at 16 annas, buttermilk which contains item B and C should be valued at 8 annas. As a matter of fact it is sold proportionately for much less and is therefore a cheap but valuable article of diet for poorer people who cannot obtain whole milk. Where butter is produced on a manufacturing scale by separating cream from milk, the buttermilk is sometimes a drag on the manufacturer.

1. Dahi. Buttermilk can be made into dahi and sold locally. There is a limited scale for such dahi where large quantities of milk are handled. Where there are cheap means of communication such dahi is transported to distant places also.

2. Chhana. By souring buttermilk with sour dahi or acid substances like citric acid or alum the proteids are precipitated. This is chhana. Chhana is also obtained by acidifying whole milk. But then that chhana brings down the fats with it also. Chhana from buttermilk is inferior to that from whole milk and sells cheaper. Manufacture of chhana is one of the common commercial uses of buttermilk. It can be carried longer distances than dahi but fetches less value. The sugar and mineral substances "C" are left in the water after separation of chhana. Chhana is therefore less nutritious than butter-milk dahi and has only 5 annas value as against 8 annas of buttermilk-dahi."

Harijan, May 29, 1937

It is expected that a knowledge of the dietic value of skimmed milk will take away its unpopularity and pave the way for better appreciation and so make the manufacture of ghee possible.

COW'S GHEE

As an article of diet the place of ghee is very high. It is easly digestible. Its caloric value is high. When properly melted ghee retains much of its vitamin A which helps building of the body and prevents diseases. Doctors prescribe cod liver oil because of its high vitamin A content. Many use this foul smelling oil but do not know the value of well-prepared cow's ghee or butter. There are few substances which equal cow's ghee in helping the building up of the body of the child in the mother's womb or of little children. Some think that cow's ghee is burnt off in cooking more readily than buffalo-ghee. But this is not a fact. If ghee is low boiled then some portion will be lost in reheating whether it is cow's ghee or buffalo-ghee.

Although cow's ghee is a superior article of diet, yet if its price remains high it will be difficult for the public to use it in place of buffalo-ghee. Before the Khadi Pratisthan took up the manufacture of cow's ghee, there was no fixed price for it. But the prices are being regulated gradually now. At present cow's ghee costs only four to six annas per seer more than buffalo-ghee. But with the increase of demand, there is possibility of increase of milk-flow and of further reduction of price of ghee. If at any time the price of cow's ghee is made equal to that of buffalo-ghee, then there will be little difficulty in Bengal in replacing the whole of imported buffalo-ghee by local cow's ghee.

The Effects of Establishment of Ghee Industry

If any cottage industry receives an impetus, then its effects become visible in various directions. When cow's ghee of Bengal will be in demand, then its production will react upon so many other industries. The sale of skimmed-milk products will increase and this will provide occupation for quite a large number of men. If dahi is made, it will require so many potters for supplying earthenware pots. Some more boats will be necessary to carry dahi along river routes. This will help to find employment for a few boat builders too. In his attempt to provide more fodder for the cow the cultivator will return the paddy fields back to paddy and reduce cultivation of jute. This will again be a bliss. The less the cultivator depends upon a speculative crop like jute, the better for him. The increase of demand for milk will naturally help restriction of jute production—a very desirable end.

In addition to more straw, oil-cake will also have to be given to the cow. This will increase the demand for oil-cake and the village oilman who now sells oil from the mills will find opportunity for restarting his *ghani*. This may react upon sale of mill-produced oil and give an impetus to ghani-oil.

This attempt at increasing the production of ghee is full of far-reaching consequences in the improvement of the health of the population. In Denmark large quantities of milk were used, when on account of the war-demand milk-products began to be exported. As a result, children began to suffer from want of vitamin A. Many developed Keratomalcia, a disease in which water flows down from the eyes which eventually get swollen and pus forms. The patient becomes blind and dies as the ultimate result of an unchecked course of the disease. When the death-rate for children rose high, the Government stopped export of butter. The effect was immediate. Child death-rate became normal and the fatal eye disease disappeared.



Krishna
The country-breed cow whose milk supply has much increased by arranging for greater care

If in Bengal 120 lac maunds of milk are produced in excess of the present production, the province will earn four crores of rupees in money value and the Bengalees will be healthier and better fit. Bengal's intellect will find better occupation than now in creation and expansion of other cottage industries. Indeed the creation of this one industry may usher in a new life for Bengal. It is full of so many possibilities.

What I expect is no mere day-dream. Our experiments in the matter conducted through the Khadi Pratisthan has helped us to shape our ideas. Khadi Pratisthan is an institution devoted to the cause of Khadi and village industries. It is registered under Act 21 of 1868 as a Charitable Trust. For the past 12 years village reconstruction experiments are being carried on by it. It has spent in these endeavours nearly three lacs of rupees from its funds during these years. Instead of merely arguing the cause for a cottage industry or khadi, the Khadi Pratisthan aims at helping the cause dear to it by pioneering work. The Khadi Pratisthan has been trying to popularise cow's ghee in Bengal for the past few months. These few months' experience raises in us

hopes that the building up of the cottage industry of cow's ghee manufacture and enrichment of Bengal by about four crores of rupees annually is a practical proposition.

The ryots of Bengal either possess or can get together all the requisities for the production of all this huge quantity of ghee that is now imported. The only thing necessary is that Bengal should be earnest about it. Those who are able should take up the work of better cow-keeping and spread of common knowledge about ghee manufacture. The fascination for cheap ghee should give place to a desire to have genuine cow's ghee even if the quantity used has to be reduced. Ultimately genuine ghee is cheaper than adulterated ghee. In an article on Oilman's *ghani* I have shown how a very thriving cottage industry like oil pressing has been ruined on account of the indiscriminate use of adulterated article for its cheapness. If cheap adulterated ghee is tolerated, then the chance of even establishing this life-giving industry is remote. Solidified and deodorised oils (hydrogenated oil) are being flavoured with artificial scents and colouring matters to match ghee and is being passed off as ghee.

The copy of market report in the *Exchange Gazette* of July 13, will speak for itself.

VEGETABLE PRODUCTS
QUOTATIONS
(Substitute for Ghee and Butter)
13th July, 1937

Brand.	Per tin of 40 lbs. each. Rs. As.			Rs. As.	
1st. quality	9	14	to	10	0
Tajmahal	9	12	to	9	14
Annar	9	12	to	9	14
Rupee	9	12	to	9	14
Bathi	9	12	to	9	14
Battle Axe	9	12	to	9	14
Maple Leaf	9	12	to	9	14
Other Brands	9	0	to	9	12

"Ex Depot or F. O. R. Calcutta."
Market tendency :—Steady at the current rates.

In the retail shops these so-called substitutes are passed off as ghee. The products it will be seen costs Rs. 20 per maund and therefore adulterated ghee can be sold at any price above Rs. 20. This is what Gandhiji writes about ghee in the *Harijan* of the 2nd November, 1935.

"Those who can afford it are fond of eating ghee. It enters into the preparation of almost all the sweetmeats. And yet, or perhaps by reason of it, it is one of the most adulterated articles of food. The vast bulk of it that one gets in the bazar is undoubtedly adulterated. Some, if not most, of it is mixed with injurious fats which non-meat-eaters must not eat. Vegetable oils are often mixed with ghee. This mixture diminishes the vitamin value of ghee when it does not contain rancid oils. When the oils mixed are rancid, the ghee is unfit for consumption.

"At Maganwadi we have been insisting on procuring cow's ghee. It has meant much difficulty and great expense. We have paid as much as Rs. 50 per 40 lbs. plus railage.

If half the skill that is today devoted to the management of commercial concerns meant for private gain were devoted to the conduct of dairies for the public benefit and shops for food-stuffs, they could be run as self-supporting institutions. There is nothing to prevent them from becoming so, except the public disinclination to give the requisite skill and capital to such philanthropic concerns. The benevolence of the wealthy is exhausted in the effort to run sadavratas, to misfeed the ever-increasing army of beggars who are a burden on society. For they eat without labouring."

In Bengal the Khadi Pratisthan has taken up this work of distributing unadulterated food-stuff primarily for the purpose of fostering the cottage industries.

There is no doubt that if the attention of Bengal is drawn towards obtaining supplies of unadulterated pure cow's ghee, then there will be great improvement of economic and nutritional condition of Bengal. The ravages of preventible diseases like Malaria, Cholera, Pneumonia and Tuberculosis are on the increase. The number of doctors and hospitals has increased but the diseases have increased more rapidly. With the improvement of general health these diseases and others that bring in premature death will diminish and fill Bengal homes with industries and health and happiness. A cottage industry that can not only stop the import of 2 crores rupees worth of ghee from outside but create four crore rupees worth of wealth in Bengal ought certainly to receive earnest attention of the public

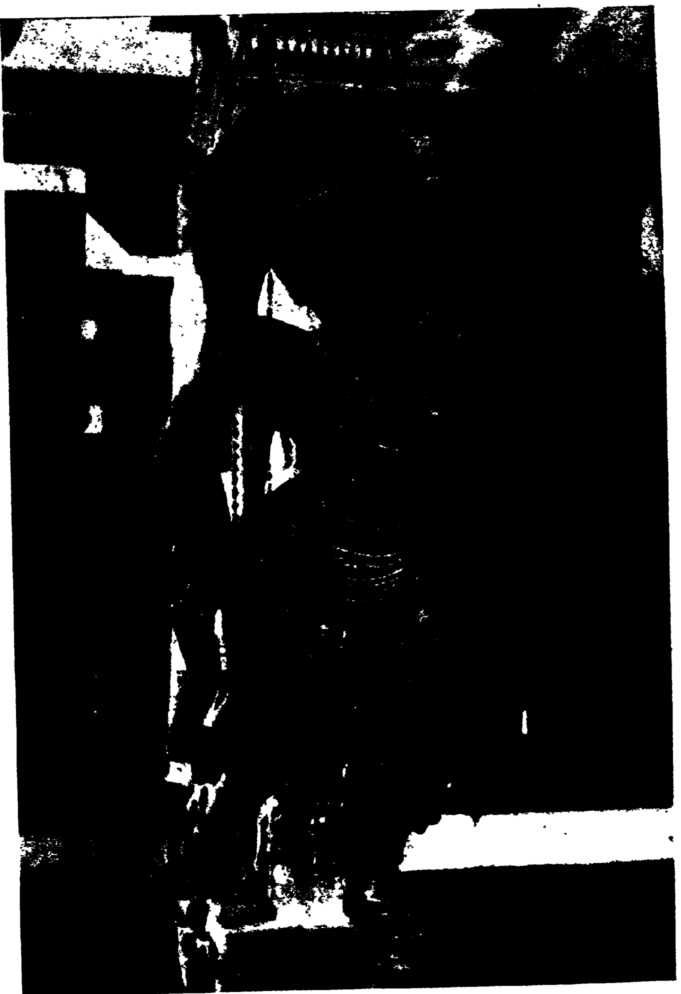


Acharya P. C. Ray at the ghee manufacturing centre of the Khadi Pratishthan
Cream is being separated from milk with the help of separator machine

PORTRAIT SCULPTURE IN MADURA TEMPLE



A strong soldier



Aryanatha Mudali (Minister)

confirms our view that the statue is a realistic representation of the king himself. In this connection we may direct the attention of our reader to a depression in the right thigh of one of the queens of Thirumala Nayak sculptured behind Thirumala. The story goes that the sculptor Sundara Asari inspite of all his dexterity and repeated efforts to give an elegant finish could not avoid that depression. He reported the matter to Neelakanta Dikshitar, the minister of Thirumala Nayak. Neelakanta, devoted as he was to God Siva could see through his divine eyes the cause for this persistent depression. The queen herself appeared to have had a mole in that portion of her body. He therefore directed the sculptor to leave it as it was. On this Thirumala grew suspicious of the character of the minister on the one hand and the chastity of his wife on the other. We are not interested in the further development of the story, but it represents clearly that realism was often carried to a ridiculous extent. In the face of this it is really amusing to read the following passage in V. A. Smith :

> "In the expression of human passion and emotions, Indian art has completely failed except during the time when it was held in Greco-Roman leading string and it has scarcely at any time essayed an attempt to give visible form to any Divine ideal."

Havell says :

> "The Greeks no more created Indian sculpture and painting than they created Indian philosophy and religion."

Strictly speaking these ten statues must be termed ten groups,[1] for each is accompanied by a group of queens or favourites. One or two pillars also bear the portrait sculpture of the children of the king. But the principal figure is made to stand so prominently that our attention is not seriously claimed by others. The first statue is that of Viswanatha Nayak, who was the founder of the dynasty. The seventh statue is that of Kasturi Rengappa. When one looks at the statue of Viswanatha and compares it with that of Kasturi Rengappa he can easily make out the contrast. The figure of Kasturi Rengappa has neither the size nor the build that is given to Viswanatha and according to the historical information available Kasturi Rengappa died within eight days of his accession. There is hardly any point of similarity between these two statues.

Next stands the statue of Muthu Krishnappa. He leans so much to one side that one begins to doubt whether one of his legs was not shorter than the other.[2] The statues are arranged chronologically and they must certainly have been set up in the order in which the kings succeeded one another. It is also clear that the statues were often painted over in an attempt to make them life-like. Any one who doubts the capacity of the Indian artist to be realistic has only to see the sculptured images of Thirumala and his brother in the Srivilliputtur temple. Even without the assistance of the guide it is possible to say that the two persons represented by these statues are closely related to each other.

Equally interesting in this temple is the representation of Muthurama Aiyar and his wife. One can see the clean shaven head of Muthurama Aiyar with his sacred thread encircling his broad chest and protruding abdomen. His wife stands beside him showing clearly that an Indian woman is modesty personified. Not far away from the statue of Muthurama Aiyar we have the statue of Suravali Subba Aiyar, father of Justice Sir Subramanya Aiyar. The statue itself is too modern to require any comment. But it is mentioned here only to show that this temple is rich in portrait sculpture. We have then the statue of Ariyanatha Mudali, the famous minister of Viswanatha Nayak. Those who have read about Ariyanatha can well appreciate the sculptor's genius in portraiture. The indefatigable energy, brilliance and quick-wittedness are writ large in his face. We have again in the hall of a thousand pillars the statues of a Koravan and a Korathi which baffle all description. Here we have realism par excellence. The main anatomical structure of the human body is perfect. It is curved with such perfect precision that obviously the artists were quite capable of imitating nature when imitation was their only object.

1. T. G. Aramuthan : *Portrait Sculpture in South India.*

2. *Ibid.*



WEDGWOOD COMMITTEE REPORT ON INDIAN RAILWAYS

NALINAKSHA SANYAL, M.A., Ph.D. (London)

THE Indian Railway Enquiry Committee, 1936-37, under the Chairmanship of Sir Ralph L. Wedgwood, Chief General Manager, London and North-Eastern Railway in England, was appointed in October, 1936,

"To examine the position of Indian State-owned railways and to suggest measures as may, otherwise than at the expense of the general budget,

(*a*) secure an improvement in net earnings, due regard being paid to the question of establishing such effective co-ordination between road and rail transport as would safeguard public investment in railways while providing adequate services by both means of transport; and

(*b*) at a reasonably early date place railway finances on a sound and remunerative basis."

These terms of reference were interpreted in the light of the findings of Sir Otto Niemeyer, who laid considerable emphasis on the contribution by the railways to the general budget in his scheme for extending financial relief to the provinces as also the report of the Public Accounts Committee, in September, 1936, urging the Government of India to "obtain the services of an acknowledged expert in railway management to conduct an examination of the whole field and recommend steps which will secure definite improvements in railway finance to the extent of something like 3 crores a year immediately and ultimately of such magnitude as is required to maintain full solvency on a strict accounting basis."

The report was published towards the end of the last month and public attention has been drawn once more to various problems connected with our railway policy and management.

So far as the strict limits of the terms of reference go, the Committee does not appear to have acquitted itself well, because it has frankly confessed its inability to raise any hope for the relief of general taxation from the surplus of railway earnings in future, and has advised that no hope should be entertained for the Central Government being placed in a position to contribute revenues to the Provincial Governments during the next five or ten years at any rate. The Committee has also failed to discover any notable directions in which economy can be effected and has more or less endorsed the measures so far adopted by the Indian Railway administrations in this respect. On the contrary the Committee has found that there is hardly any scope for retrenchment through the reduction in either the number or the emoluments of the superior staff, as is demanded by different sections of the public in India, and has made certain proposals which, if adopted, would rather go to increase the expenses of the railway administrations, for some time to come at least.

Judged from these conclusions one cannot but feel disappointed with the findings of the Wedgwood Committee and one can hardly find any justification for its appointment.

This is more so because the Committee has chosen to discuss matters concerning Indian Railway policy, which it was never called upon to investigate, and has come forward with certain dangerous suggestion and recommendations, such as the extension of the lease of life to Company management, the importation of a few highly paid Britishers not only for the mechanical and technical departments but also for the commercial and publicity organisations, conversion of the interests of the Indian taxpayers into that of mere debenture-holders, and the encouragement of certain private companies—probably with British Capital—for extending regulated road services with the support of the railways.

But, on the other hand, the report abounds in much useful information concerning the working of Indian Railways during the last 12 or 13 years, since the separation of the Railway Budget from the General, and the Committee has offered many valuable suggestions concerning their future working, particularly in view of the changed conditions due to the advent of road motors and the proposal for a Federal Railway Authority. These must be fully and duly appreciated.

A general survey of the financial results of Indian Railways from 1924 to 1936 shows that in each of the first six years there was a surplus of revenue after provision had been made for depreciation and interest charges, and in each of the last six years there was a

deficiency. For the 12 years as a whole there was a net surplus of about Rs. 11 crores or rather less than one crore of rupees per annum. Judged by the percentage return on capital the Indian railways show better results on an average than the railways of Great Britain or the U. S. A.

As regards retrenchment of staff the Committee finds that between 1929-30 and 1935-36 the total number of staff on Indian railways was reduced by 15 per cent and the cost of staff was reduced from Rs. 36.16 crores to Rs. 32.88 crores, a reduction of 9 per cent, while on the British railways the corresponding reductions were by 11% and 10% respectively, and on class I railways of the U.S.A. there were retrenchments to the extent of 36% in number and 38% in wages and salaries. And yet the Committee expresses the opinion that the retrenchment of the superior staff has been carried too far, cuts in salaries or wages would not be prudent or justifiable, and the new scales of pay are not sufficiently encouraging, particularly to skilled European staff!

So far as can be seen from a study of the operating statistics the Committee broadly concludes that there has been a substantial advance in efficiency and economy of management since the depression began in 1930, but thinks that there is still much scope for effecting economy in the following directions, namely:

(*a*) Acceleration of trains—both goods and passengers;
(*b*) Reduction of engine-hours;
(*c*) Reduction in the number of engines and rolling stock under or awaiting repairs;
(*d*) Reorganisation of way and works maintenance staff;
(*e*) Introduction of certain technical improvements for the permanent way etc;
(*f*) Better use of engines, carriages and wagons;
(*g*) Reorganisation of the methods in the workshops;
(*h*) Closing of unremunerative branches to passenger or goods traffic or both;
(*i*) Abolition of the New York Publicity office;
(*j*) Reduction in first class accommodation and establishing a single upper class combining the first and second classes; and
(*k*) Economy in capital expenditure on stations and yards etc;

The committee further recommends the institution of Economy Research Committees, both at the centre as well as with every railway administration with a view to explore all avenues of economy consistent with efficiency; and advises the railways to have arrangements for more adequate and proper use of the statistics compiled.

The Committee's recommendations with regard to measures to increase the revenue, however, are of more far-reaching importance. The Committee observes that the "Indian railways are ill organised and ill equipped on what is known as the commercial side—that is on the side of creating and developing traffic, of securing and maintaining friendly relations with the traders and trading bodies and of cultivating good public relations generally". The Committee regards this "as a serious misfortune," and holds that "the first duty of the Indian railways at the present time is to take every measure possible to remedy this defect." A thorough overhaul of the commercial department of the railways is recommended in order to bring about the desired results, and for achieving better contact with the press and with the mercantile community in various ways.

As measures to increase revenuue the Commitee suggests:

(*a*) an organisation to assist traders in the selection of industrial sites;
(*b*) the extension of trade advertising on railway premises;
(*c*) the levy of economic rents for catering contracts; and
(*d*) an increase in the surcharge on coal freight from 12½% to 15% with a maximum increase of Re. 1|- per ton.

The Committee obviously tinkered with the problem while making these recommendations and presumably it took no pains to calculate the probable increase in the revenue through these measures.

As regards rates and fares the Committee quotes the following comparative table showing the average charge for passengers and goods in all the more important countries of the world, on a comparable gold basis in centimes, and concludes that "as judged by average unit charges, the railways of India compare favourably with those of any other country with which a comparison can profitably be made."

	Average receipt per	
	Passenger Kilometre	Goods Ton Kilometre
Italy	4·14	4·56
Germany	2·96	4·32
Great Britain ..	2·39	4·38
France	2·41	4·49
South Africa ..	—	3·26
Canada	3·98	1·84
U. S. A.	3·69	1·84
Argentine Republic ..	2·02	2·57
Japan	1·00	1·39
India	1·25	2·50

The Committee does not think that an increase in revenue through a general increase in the rates and fares possible or justifiable, and states that the prevailing conditions of trade do not warrant such a measure. Nor is the Committee convinced with the demand for a general rate reduction as a means of stimula-

ting traffic and thereby of increasing revenues. The possibility of adjustments of particular rates either through reduction or increase is not however ruled out.

As regards the general rate structure of Indian railways the Committee does not find any necessity for a change, but recommends that the system of "discontinuous"mileage should be done away with and certain complexities of class and schedule rates should be reduced. The Committee quotes some anomalies in the rates for a few articles and advises the railway administrations to direct their attention to such questions.

The margin between railway risk and owners' risk rates has also been examined and found to be out of proportion to the risk involved. The Railway Board has been advised to see if the British railway practice in this respect can be followed here.

The Committee has also recommended certain measures for the quicker and more convenient quotations of rates, speedier disposal of enquiries and claims, and more expeditious procedure before the Rates Advisory Committee, with a view to remove the inconvenience of the public.

The incivility of railway staff, specially towards third class passengers, their dishonesty, and lack of interest in the development of railway business have been strongly commented upon, and the Committee has urged that a determined effort should be made, and continuously followed, to root out these evils.

Proper selection, training and examination of the staff, periodical refresher courses and lectures on railway economics, and measures for arousing the interest of the staff in their work have also been recommended.

The most outstanding features of the Wedgwood Report lie, however, in the study of the situation due to road competition, and in the recommendations of the Committee, for bringing about co-ordination, as well as for combating rival road services whenever necessary. The entire outlook of the Indian railway administration is sought to be changed by the Committee and the public must heartily welcome the findings in this connection.

As regards the development of road transport in India the Committee asserts that "the country should enjoy the advantage of this development and that no restrictions should be imposed which would unfairly hamper it." The inadequacy of regulation of road traffic development and the chaotic state prevailing in the field of motor transport are, however, strongly criticised, and certain regulations of road transport are recommended "not only in the interest of safety but also to guide its own development along sound and economic lines."

As regards co-ordination between rail and road the Committee considers it of the first importance that the railways shall have full powers to run road services for the conveyance of passengers and freight traffic, subject to the same licensing and operating conditions as apply to every other person. These powers should enable the railways :

(*a*) To run road services themselves;
(*b*) to hold financial interests in road service undertakings and to enter into working agreements with a view to co-ordinating road and rail facilities, and
(*c*) to make agreements with contractors for the running of road services whether on a profit-sharing, charter-hire, or other basis.

The Committee departs from the usual belief in this connection and recommends the railways to engage not only in feeder bus services to and from stations, but also in running services parallel to the railways under certain circumstances. A special case for railway participation in parallel road services arises, for example, in connection with narrow gauge lines which may be rendered unremunerative by road competition.

In regard to freight transport the most satisfactory policy for the railways is believed to consist in arrangements for the provision of services through contractors. Though such arrangements do not bring any direct profit to the railways except in the form of contributory revenue, they provide improved facilities and amenities to the public.

As regards future development of road services the Committee advises the Provincial Governments or the relevant authorities to keep in view the principle of "public need" as a criterion for lorry licence and "public need or convenience" as a criterion for the grant of bus licence. Says the Committee :

"The omnibus has a wider field of usefulness. The convenience which it affords has a social as well as economic value. We have pictured it as linking village with town and with railway station, we have also contemplated parallel services with the railway, partly competitive and partly contributory in character. Where railway gives an infrequent service of passenger trains, a complementary service of buses to fill in the gap in the railway time table, in response to public demand, would be a convenience clearly justifiable in the general interest. For short distance travel, specially in the neighbourhood of large cities, the bus has in some circumstances a distinctly better service to offer than the railway and we do not think the public should be denied the benefits which such services afford."

It is hoped that this salutory advice will

not be wasted on the railwaymen of India, whose outlook has been greatly narrowed.

The Committee also urges the railway administrations to do everything possible to win public confidence and to improve their relations with their users for reasons more than one. With this object in view the Committee recommends the appointment of a press liaison officer and the establishment of a railway information office. These are recommendations that will meet with general approval.

The country now waits anxiously to see to what extent the recommendations of the Wedgwood Committee are accepted by the Government of India. An occasion will then be taken to examine the real intentions of the Government that invoked the aid of this committee of outside experts. Let us only hope that such of the recommendations as run counter to the policy of Indianisation of services and of state-management will not be acted upon before the Indian Legislature has had an opportunity of expressing its views thereon.

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

SRIMATI TARULATA SEN has been appointed an Honorary Magistrate, Central Court, Calcutta.



Srimati Tarulata Sen

Conference in Orissa. She is also the General Secretary of the Orissa Provincial Kishan Sangha.



Srimati Malati Chaudhuri

SRIMATI MALATI CHAUDHURI, well-known in Orissa as a political and social worker, presided over the first session of a District Kishan

SRIMATI MANISHA SEN stood first among the candidates who passed the last B.A. examination of the Calcutta University with Honours in

English. She was placed in the Second Class, no candidate being awarded a First Class.

Srimati Tara Deoras stood first in the last Matriculation Examination of the Nagpur University.



Srimati Manisha Sen



Srimati Tara Deoras



Srimati Nagamma Patil
Member, Bombay Legislative Assembly



Begum Habib-ullah
Member, U. P. Legislative Assembly

MISS SHERA R. MULZIANI, the first Khoja girl to take training in Nursing and Midwifery.



Miss Shera R. Mulziani



Begum Wasim
A prominent social worker of Lucknow

NARAYANA-SWAMI : 'THE BRAHMIN OF LONG LIFE'

By O. C. GANGOLY

INDIA has during the earlier part of her history maintained cultural contact with foreign countries, kings and sovereigns. And after the spread of Buddhism, through missionaries who travelled far and wide in all parts of Asia, carrying the spiritual message of the Buddhist doctrine of Salvation through love and charity, India has been in close cultural contact with Central Asia and China. And explorations of Stein, Pelliot, Le Coq and others in Central Asia and other places have brought to light tangible evidences of colonies of Indian culture in remote parts of Asia. The streams of Chinese pilgrims, who continued to visit India in "search of the Law" (*Dhamma*) for several centuries, carried away from India not only accurate informations as to the doctrines and the practice of Buddhism but also cart-loads of Buddhist manuscripts and effigies, images and pictures of the Buddha and other Buddhistic deities. The names of Fa Hien (399-414 A.D.), Hiuen Tsang (630-643 A. D.), I-Tsing (671-695 A. D.) are well known. The Indian pilgrimages of Song-Yun (sixth century) and of U-Kong (Ou-K'ong) (eighth century) are less known. But the most interesting adventures in India are those of the Chinese pilgrim Wang Hiuan-ts'o, who at least four times visited India,—the first time during 643-646, a second time in 648, a third time during 657-661, and, undoubtedly, a fourth time in 663. During his many visits to India, he was several times at the Mahabodhi Temple (at Bodh Gaya) and he carried with him a copy of the image of Maitreya and also a copy of the seated image of the Buddha under the Bodhi-tree, from the original Indian models. In two of his sojourns he travelled across Tibet and Nepal and returned by the same route. On the 28th February, 647, Wang Hiuan-ts'o set up a commemorative inscription at Gridhra-Kuta ("Vulture-Peak," near Rajgir). His second visit was paid as ambassador of the Chinese Emperor, shortly after the death of Harsa-Silāditya (end of 646 or beginning of 647 A.D.) whose vacant throne, was usurped by one of his ministers named Arjuna (or Arunasava, in Chinese form—' A-lo-na-chouen). With the help of a Nepalese contingent lent by the Tibetan King, Wang Hian-ts'o, the Chinese ambassador,

captured the usurper and carried him to China and presented him to the Chinese Emperor, probably T'ai-tsong, on the 16th June, 648.

Now along with the captured usurper, Wang Hiaun-ts'o also took with him (not as a prisoner) a Brahmana named Narayana-Swami. He claimed to have mastered the secrets of long life and he was known as the "Brahmana of Long Life." Wang Hiaun-ts'o presented the Brahmana to the Emperor with great ceremony, with the following words: "Your humble servant having come back as your ambassador to the countries of the West (*i.e.* India) has brought a Brahmana of long life." It appears that the Brahmana was in possession of a recipe for preparing the so-called 'drug of Immortality.' It is not known if the Chinese Emperor experimented with the 'drug of Immortality.' At any rate he died in 649. But the next Emperor Kao-tsong, son of Tai-tsong, appears to have pardoned the Brahmin's inability to prove the efficacy of his drug, and probably, after giving him another chance to demonstrate the drug of longevity, he was allowed to return to India. It appears Narayana-Swami went back to China some time in 657 A.D., probably, after having replenished his pharmacopoeia from India. History does not record his second attempt to convince the Chinese Emperor of the potency of his drugs. And Narayana-Swami appears to have died at Changam (Tch'angngan) the old Chinese capital, which was also the capital of T'ang dynasty (618-906 A.D.). The Chinese Emperor Kao-tsong does not appear to have abandoned his interest in finding out the Indian elixir of long life and he appears to have imported another Brahmana from India of the name of Lokaditya about the end of the year 665 A.D. We have no details of the career of this second Indian adventurer in China. If we can judge by the form of the names, Narayana-Swami appears to be a Brahmana from Southern India and most probably Lokaditya came from Northern India. If so, this is not the first time that Southern India had sent a cultural representative to China. The famous Bodhi-dharma is even today a household word of reverence in Japan worshipped under the abridged form of 'Daruma' (Dharma). Bodhi-dharma, one of the greatest Patriarchs of Buddhist religion in China, was the son of a king of Conjeveram (Kanchipuram), which was at one time a great centre of Buddhist culture. One is inclined to be sceptical of the pretensions of Narayana-Swami or of Lokaditya to demonstrate the possibility of securing long life by the use of efficacious drugs. But at one time, the Indian pharmacopœia appears to have possessed effective recipes for the elixir of long life, if not of Immortality. The *Garuda-purana* specifies the leaves of some varieties of *palasa* which are credited with efficacy of imparting fabulous periods to human life, if used in combination with specified drugs. Probably the texts of the Ayurvedas contain identical or analogous prescriptions.

COMMENTS AND CRITICISM

Reply to Rejoinder

While I need not dispute the right of Mr. Narendramohan Sen to find fault with my boldness in criticising the opinion of the veteran Congress leaders, I may point out that he himself has cited no authority in refutation of my contention that the Instrument of Instructions is not a constitutional document in the sense the Act of 1935 is. He forgets the history as well as the peculiar limitations of the Indian Constitution, and vainly and uncritically reminds me of the conventions of the English Constitution, as if these could forthwith be applicable to and enforceable in India. The Joint Committee itself, whose opinion he irrelevently quoted at length, has made it clear that the English conventions could not be applied at the present stage to Indian conditions. He has above all conveniently forgotten Section 53(2) of the Act, which is the most convincing proof of my assertion that the Instrument is not so important as the Act. If it had been so, the authors of the Act would not have so carefully provided in advance that no violation of the Instrument is to be regarded as unconstitutional! Thus when the Act unequivocally legalises every deviation from this much vaunted Instrument, the constitutional superiority of the former is established beyond all possibility of doubt; and I can only wonder how in view of this fact even an over-jealous apologist of the Congress leaders could still maintain logically that the Instrument is as important as the Act.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI

Appreciation of Dr. Sir Brajendra Nath Seal

In *The Modern Review* for April, 1937, we reproduced in the "Indian Periodicals" section an appreciation of Dr. Sir Brajendra Nath Seal from the March (1937) number of *The Hindustan Review*. Professor Dr. Hiralal Haldar, M.A., Ph.D., retired professor of philosophy of the Calcutta University, has written to us to say that the whole of that appreciation is taken without acknowledgment from an article in *The Indian Messenger* for July 6, 1911, contributed by him (Dr. Haldar). He has sent us a copy of that number of *The Indian Messenger* for comparison. We are satisfied that what the professor has written is correct.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

July 26, 1937.



Book Reviews



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ENGLISH

THEORY AND ART OF MYSTICISM : *By Professor Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee, M.A., Ph.D. With a foreword by William Ernest Hocking, Professor of Philosophy, Harvard University, U. S. A. Longmans, Green & Co. London, New York, Toronto. Royal 8vo, pp. xvi+308. Cloth, gilt letters. 15sh. net.*

Professor Hocking writes in the Foreword :

"Philosophy in the Orient has never been a detached speculation : it has been an adjunct of a way of life. The sage utters his Four-fold Truth; but it is to merge at once into an Eight-fold Path. On the other hand, the Path debouches in a state of Salvation which is Enlightenment. It is not always possible to say whether the Enlightenment is the immediate condition of release into beatitude or is itself Salvation. In any case practice culminates in a higher cognition. While the West sometimes prides itself upon the fact that its metaphysics and theology tend to express themselves in ethical codes and social efforts, these outflows of theory appear for the most part in the guise of corollaries or applications, whereas for the East the speculative truth is the immediate garb or framework for the religiously directed action. And the goal of that action is an experience in which the "good" of action and the "true" of thought are inseparably fused.

"We are prone to describe this quest of an immediate experience of the Real as mysticism, and its achievement as mystical experience. Hence a significant book on mysticism, such as this book of Professor Radhakamal Mukerjee, drives straight to the center of the spiritual sources of Asia; and he has happily maintained throughout his work the characteristic oriental union of speculation and practice, of theory and art. He writes of a current of life whose essence he knows. Yet he adds to this primary and indispensable sympathy a threefold objectivity, that of the scholar scientifically trained, that of the reader widely familiar with western literature of his subject, and that of the sociologist concerned with the bearing of religion upon the health of human institutions.

"It is of high importance for the rapidly changing East that a light so adequate should be thrown upon its ancient and perennial sources of strength. In the shock of social upheaval it is these sources that are likely to be discounted and jettisoned on the supposition that a modern society based on technology has no place for them, and on the kindred supposition that they have no interest nor function in such a world. It is seldom that our students of society appreciate that principle of alteration in the hygiene of the mind whereby a mystical discipline remains an essential condition of the vigor and value of realistic enterprise, even of scientific fertility. Instinctively, the conservative impulses of Hindu piety, as seen in various plans of education, ... have attempted to maintain a liaison between these elements. The instinct is sound : the new social streams will run shallow if they abandon the ancient springs on the assumption that economy and its guides are competent to furnish all the vital equipment of a new order. But the validities of these spiritual arts need to be subjected to a deeper and more objective analysis, capable of severely critical separation between irrelevant and essential factors. It is in this direction that the present study renders a definite service to the actual situation not alone in India, but throughout the Orient.

"And not alone to the Orient. For mysticism is one of the common elements in world religion; and a study which, like this one, joins hands with the work of western scholars, Rhys Davids, Poussin, James Woods, Rudolf Otto, J. B. Pratt, von Hugel, ... adds to the self-understanding of the race in its religious experience, and in so far to the moral unity of mankind. Mysticism has aspects which are local; it has other aspects which repel; it is capable of making common cause with our depravities and all manner of subjective conceits. Where it is largely cultivated, there will be abundant danger of abuse somewhat in proportion to its promise of power, and there will be those who with an honest zeal desire to cleanse the temple by a radical excision. But it is not by impatience that we come to the things which are difficult and rare. We cannot forget that with the true mystic, wherever he is, the local disappears and we are at home in what is universal. And with him also, the body, the physical world, the social order, far from being abandoned, seem lifted into a new level of meaning,—their normal meanning, presumably, which we habitually surrender and allow to become hidden. We must recur unflagging to the great enterprise of discerning the true mystic."

A second notice of the book may follow.

THE NILE FROM THE SOURCE TO EGYPT : The Life-story of a River. *By Emil Ludwig. Translated by Mary H. Lindsay. With 29 Plates, and five maps—four of them coloured. Demy 8vo, pp. 352. Cloth, gilt-lettered.*

Emil Ludwig is an eminent, a world-famous German biographer. Besides other books, he has written books on Bismarck, Goethe, Hindenburg, Kaiser William II, Lincoln Napoleon, Schliemann of Troy, Mussolini, etc. But the present work is not the biography of a man but the life-story of a river. And it is a very interesting and instructive life-story. In the foreword he calls it "the most wonderful of all rivers."

" . . . it flows straight from south to north and over a length of 2,750 miles, varies only 250 feet in breadth, so that, at the end, its mouth lies almost on the same

degree of longitude as its source.

"Its basin contains the biggest lake of the eastern hemisphere, the highest mountains, the biggest town of its continent. Its banks are peopled by the richest bird life of the northern hemisphere, by nearly every animal species known to Paradise, by vegetation ranging from Alpine flora and the tropical forest, through swamp, steppe, and desert to the richest arable land on earth. It feeds hundreds of different races, men of the mountain and men of the marsh, Arabs, Christians and cannibals, pigmies and giants. The struggles of these men for power and wealth, for faith and custom, for the supremacy of colour, can be traced further back here than anywhere else in the history of mankind—for six thousand years.

"But the most wonderful thing I found was the realization that all these phenomena, which reflect the power of nature, the activity of its creatures, the strivings of its human beings, agriculture and plants, animals and peoples, scenery and history, would not have been what they were and are were it not for the river."

It is of such a river that he relates the history as if it were the life of a hero. The contents of the work are divided into three books: Freedom and Adventure, The Wilder Brother, and The Struggle with Man. The author vividly describes jungle, prairie, desert, the tribes of the Nile, their black and white conquerors, Sultans, Kings, explorers, and adventurers. This epic of the Nile sums up the whole history and culture of East Africa.

THE BAHA'I WORLD, VOL. VI. *Royal 8vo, pp. 772. Illustrated. Baha'i Publishing Committee, New York. Price three dollars.*

An editorial committee representing Baha'i communities in forty countries co-operated in the current biennial record of the Baha'i Faith, which covers the period 1934-1936.

This work, an impressive exhibit of a living religion, supplies an outline of the aims and purposes of the world faith established by Baha'u'llah, summarizes its history, quotes extensively from its sacred writings, explains its administrative order which trains persons of originally different races, classes, creeds and nationalities to unite and co-operate, and explains the Baha'i attitude on the solution of the international social problem.

The many illustrations, which range from intimate Baha'i groups in villages of the Orient to reproductions of the constitution and By-Laws of Baha'i National Assemblies of five continents, and depict the tortures actually inflicted upon Baha'is in Persia up to recent years, serve to dramatise the progress of a religion whose followers claim it to be the regeneration and unification of human society.

ON THE USE OF THE VOTE: *By Jatindra Mohan Datta, B.A., M.Sc., B.L. Bangalore City, Bangalore Press, Mysore Road. Price Annas 8.*

In this useful book Mr. Datta investigate the causes of the comparatively low percentage of actual voters at the elections in India. He considers the causes under eleven heads: Absence Due to Death, Absence Due to Child-birth, Inability to Vote on account of Previous Voting, Mistakes in the Electoral Rolls, Absence Due to Malaria, Absence on account of Migration, Absence Due to Lack of Communications, Minor Electors, Unsuitable Polling Hours and overcrowding of Voters, Disbelief in Voting, and some Minor causes. In the last chapter the author has given his main conclusions. He has treated the subject scientifically as far as practicable and given statistics and diagrams.

D.

MIR QASIM, NAWAB OF BENGAL, 1760-1763: *By Dr. Nandalal Chaterji, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Indian History, Lucknow University. Pages 332. Indian Press, Allahabad, 1935.*

Dr. Nandalal Chatterji has been for years engaged in researches on the Medieval History of Bengal with zeal and tenacity that we have always admired. We are glad to welcome his well-written and learned monograph on Mir Qasim, our unfortunate Nawab of Bengal. Dr. Chatterji says in the Preface, "In preparing the monograph I have spared no pains to make a detailed study of original sources, Persian as well as English." A close perusal of this book leaves no doubt that the contemporary sources have been fully investigated by the author with a calm judicious mind and critical spirit. But we are afraid this book may come as a surprise and disappointment too—to the average Bengali reader who is still under the spell of Babu Akshay Kumar Maitra's *Mir Qasim.* Dr. Chatterji makes his stand-point quite clear in the Preface: "In the present monograph, however, it has been demonstrated in the course of a dispassionate survey of the contemporary evidence that popular notions with respect to the Nawab and his government are mostly unwarranted, and need a revision."

In these days of heated political atmosphere some people are of opinion that every phase of a nation's activity in the field of science as well as literature ought to have only one supreme end in view; namely the *interest* of the nation as it is understood by political dictators. In other words, as in the past History very often prostrated herself before one set of gods, namely kings and oligarchs, so she now-a-days take to the worship of another, namely the Demos of Aristotle. But we academicians hold that Universities are national sanctuaries where the Muse of History is installed not to amuse a nation but "to warn" it, to provide training in self-criticism wherein lies the safety-valve of its government, and above all, to inspire trust and confidence outside in the sense of justice and fairplay of a nation, which nations are not normally disposed to evince in the field of politics and diplomacy. Dr. Chatterji perhaps holds a similar view. He has shown great moral courage in venturing to pronounce a judgment against Mir Qasim whom Muslims as well as Hindus regard as a noble and patriotic ruler bravely fighting to uphold the interests of his people against the commercial greed of the English.

Dr. Chatterji was called upon, as it were, to try a case, Mir Qasim *versus* the East India Company. The evidence at his disposal were almost exclusively from the Records of the East India Company, supplemented by two contemporary Muslim histories, *Siyarul-Mutakhkhirin* and *Muzaffarnama*: Dr. Chatterji has, in our opinion, weighed evidence carefully and portrayed the Nawab in his true lights bestowing unstinted praise when he deserves it and at the same time exposing his weaknesses unsparingly.

We indeed admire very much Dr. Chatterji's able summing up of the career and the portrayal of the character of Mir Qasim. We only wish that Dr. Chatterji had better omitted the last paragraph of his book, wherein he has attempted a historical comparison with Mir Qasim's contemporaries. We also think that Dr. Chatterji has sometimes been needlessly severe in commenting on some acts of his, which are perhaps capable of a different interpretation. He has also believed more readily the allegations of Coote and Ellis against Mir Qasim and explanations of their indecorum and uncivil conduct towards the Nawab as against the reports of the Nawab himself. These are, however, matters of opinion. Dr. Chatterji's book will nevertheless remain the standard work on Mir Qasim till some hitherto-unsuspected sources of information become available to scholars. It will also

be found an useful addition to the list of indispensable books on the Early History of British India.

K. R. QUANUNGO

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT, FOR THE YEAR 1933: *Government Press, Mysore, 1936. Pages 1-321+24 plates.*

It is always a pleasure to go through the extremely interesting *Reports* that the very competent Director, of the Mysore Archæological Department issues so often. From the volume under review we learn that detailed studies of many important monuments at Govindanhalli, Nuggihalli, etc., were made by Dr. Krishna. In the field of epigraphy, the important inscriptions at Sringeri were studied, thus continuing a work originally commenced by R. Narasimhacharya, in the year 1916. The most important acquisition for the Mysore Oriental Library, is a *Padma-purana-tika.* It is a palm-leaf manuscript consisting of 212 leaves, being a Kannada translation of the *Padma-purana.* The author of the work is Chikupadhyaya who flourished in the court of Chikku-devaraja-Odeyar (1672-1704). He seems to have been a minister. The work however is incomplete. This was not his only composition, several others are mentioned in the body of the *Report.* It would be a mistake, however, to think that the author tried to translate the whole of the *purana.* The internal evidence indicate that selections only were made.

It is with the greatest regret we note that, the Director, has nothing to say about excavation—perhaps he is not to blame.

ADRIS BANERJI

THE JAGIRDAR OF PATNA: *By Miss Nalini Turkhud. T. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Pages 148. Price Rs. 2. 1936.*

This is a neat little novel, the writer being "a young girl still in her teens,' as she is described in an illuminating foreword by Mr. S. S. Subnis. The story is narrated as the autobiography of the young heroine, a finely conceived character combining present-day ideas and habits of a cultured girl of the West with the grace and modesty of ancient Hindu tradition. The liberties of modern society-life throw her into a most perilous situation out of which she escapes unhurt through sheer strength of personality and deep moral sense. She is wedded in the end to a person with an equally remarkable individuality. The different threads of the story are finely woven into a compact plot. The language is racy and lucid but is marred, here and there, by slips of grammar and punctuation. But these are quite natural in such a juvenile production; although one would wish a slight editing of the book by a maturer hand before it was sent to press. But on the whole it is a work of rich promise and the young writer deserves warm congratulations on what she has achieved.

P. K. GUHA

TRANSACTIONS OF THE BOSE RESEARCH INSTITUTE, CALCUTTA.—*Vol. IX, 1933-34,—Biological and Physical Researches: Edited by Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose and Published by Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co., London. Price 18 net.*

The work under review is a collection of the various researches carried out in 1933-34 in different branches of biophysics, in anthropology and in advanced physics at the Bose Research Institute, Calcutta. The work begins with an introductory note by Sir J. C. Bose himself, indicating the nature of research work carried out at the Institute in 1933-34. The biological subjects deal with various aspects of the internal activities of the plant with an account of a special Respirograph to record the rate of oxygen consumption. The biochemical investigations, under the guidance of Prof. N. C. Nag, F.I.C., relate to the presence of different vitamins in various leguminous pulses. In advanced physics investigations have been carried out on the continuous emission spectra of hydrogen halides and of the flame spectrum of hydrogen. A melancholy interest attaches to the anthropological paper on the Racial characteristics of the Dravidian speaking Oraons, written by Dr. Pravash Chandra Bose, who died recently in the prime of his youth with great promise of admirable work before him. The various researches recorded in this volume are of a very high order and bespeak the first rate quality of work carried out at the institute of the great savant.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

CITIZENSHIP (THE RESPONSIBILITIES AND PRIVILEGES OF THE INDIAN CITIZENSHIP): *By Brevet-Major J. Willatt, M.C., M.A. of Army Educational Corps. Published by Oxford University Press. Pages 213. Price 1-8.*

"In this book the systems of Government of the various communities of which the Indian Citizen is a member, have been outlined from the smallest of all—the family, to the Federation"—but from an Imperialist's point of view. Specimens: "Apart from this all important loyalty (to the Crown), there are other ties that bind (the Empire) . . . . The first is that of language . . . The second is that of trade. As far as this is concerned, the *interests of all parts should be the same* (Is that so?) . . . The third is that of culture. *The cultural heritage of one is the common property of all.*(!!) The last and greatest is that of protection." This is the cloak under which Imperialism thrives.

"His (Indian's) ultimate safety, on which everything else hangs—trade, commerce, happiness and prosperity—depends upon this protection he is entitled to demand from the Empire as a whole." But unfortunately he is treated as a pariah even within the empire! "And in return the Empire has the right to require of him his loyalty and assistance in the hour of need." There is no doubt about it. Here we entirely agree with the author. Further—

"Thus she (India) enjoys in it (League of Nations) *equal* rights with other member-states. And thus she is able to exercise her influence in matters with which the League is concerned—the preservation of peace, the stability of international relationships and the improvement of social, economic and health conditions in the world as a whole."

At the end of the year 1936, it is difficult to swallow such a big pill of non-chalant self-eulogy without a severe shock to one's sense of proportion and propriety.

SYMMETALLISM: *By Barthold A. Butenschon with an introduction by Bertil Ohlin. Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Price 10s. net. Page 195.*

The breakdown of the Gold standard which was the international standard of exchange has led to a "managed" paper currency. But the maintenance of internal and external value of a paper currency over a long period is not an easy matter and calls for unusual strain on the responsible authorities. The crying need of the moment is to secure an international standard almost as automatic as the gold standard but with sufficient degree of domestic autonomy which was absent in the former.

Assuming that international adhesion to any standard which was not in some way linked to gold was improbable for many years to come, we must try to make the

monetary system relatively less dependent on gold and more elastic in order to achieve our object. Re-introduction of Bi-metallism (concurrent circulation of Currencies based both on gold and silver) is therefore being considered in some circles. But one serious difficulty about it is that the fixed ratio between the two metals cannot be maintained on account of market fluctuations of their prices, as a result of which Gresham's law asserts itself and drives out the better one out of circulation. Symmetallism by suing an alloy of gold and silver as a basis for the monetary unit in which the metals are represented at a legally fixed quantitative proportion, claims to fulfill the ideal requirements of an international monetary standard by removing many of the difficulties of orthodox Bi-metallism.

The subject is an interesting study in the present unsettled monetary state. But we must confess that the presentation has been too technical, full of mathematical symbols and equations. We cannot believe that the book could not be made more intelligible to less scholarly people and much of this Algebra could not be avoided without detracting from the value of the work. As it is, its utility is bound to be limited and confined to a coteric of experts who are making special study of the subject.

A. G. SEN

SRI AUROBINDO AND THE FUTURE OF MANKIND: *By Adhar Chandra Das, M. A. Published by the University of Calcutta. Pages 130.*

The book consists of four chapters in which the author attempts a systematic exposition of the philosophy of Aurobindo Ghosh. Incidentally he also discusses the future of mankind, and points out that "the social organization of the West is tending towards disruption" (p. 127). From this fate the West as well as the East can be saved only when it is recognized that "the Divine is immanent in the human" (p. 128). In other words, it is the philosophy of Aurobindo that can save mankind from the forces of disruption.

THE HOLINESS OF JESUS: *By A. D. Martin. Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London. Pages 244. Price 10s. 6d. net.*

As a reply to the challenge of Modernism, the author seeks to re-establish the holiness of Jesus Christ by a modern criticism of the ancient gospels and other relevant documents. The erudition of the author is beyond doubt, but whether his arguments are equally convincing or not, must be left to the judgment of individual readers. His main thesis is that Christ was holy even as God is holy; and that, this is proved by a critical examination of the records of his life, sayings and deeds. It is a sign of the times that even devout religious faith cannot consider itself safe, until it can prove itself to be founded on a scientific examination of its grounds. But whether such an examination will leave such a faith unshaken and unmodified, is, after all, a matter of opinion.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

INDIAN STATES IN THE FEDERATION: *Three lectures given at the Madras Law College under the Sundaram Iyer Krishnaswami Iyer Endowment at the invitation of the University of Madras: By N. D. Varadachariar. Foreword by A. Berriedale Keith. Oxford University Press. Pages 156. Price Rs 3-8-0.*

This is an able and critical analysis of the constitutional position of the Indian Native States. In the first chapter, the author examines the nature of the Crown's Paramountcy and the claims of the States to sovereignty. While the States contend that Paramountcy is 'a definite complex of known powers' 'capable of definition by enumeration,' being based on treaties, the Paramount Power claims and asserts unlimited control over the States. The author examines these two conflicting views and concludes that it is ueless to discuss if the claims of the Paramount Power are well founded, the only test of the validity of such claims being their enforceability. Treaties and other agreements, points out the writer, simply indicate the normal field of the operation of Paramountcy, and the Paramount Power does not hesitate to go beyond this limit and take action, if required to do so by 'imperial necessity and new conditions.' The author rules out the claim of the States to sovereignty. basing his conclusion on the juristic conception of sovereignty. The States, the author reminds us, are subject to the constitutional authority of the Crown—the sovereignty that they claim to possess is fictitious and at best formal—the difference between British India and 'Indian' India lying only in the manner in which the sovereignty of the Crown is exercised over them.

The second chapter of the book deals with the background of the federal constitution of India. Judging the Rulers by their claims, now well known, the author says that they never accepted the federal idea in any real sense; what they had in mind was not an organic union but a mere association with British India, with 'as limited a list of common subjects as possible' and no federal legislation and administration in the States. They were intent upon maintaining their own powers intact, however inconsistent that might be with federalism.

Being a resultant of contending forces, and intended to please divergent interests, the Indian federal constitution exhibits many peculiarities and anomalies, some of which the author points out in the third chapter; inequality of the federating units, absence of any guarantee regarding maintenance of popular institutions in the units, extreme rigidity of the constitution and so on.

PULINBIHARI SEN

HARITHI AND KUBERA, AND MADHARI: *By J. Venkata Krishna Rao. Pages 24+21. Price Re. 1.*

In the first paper of this booklet the author has attempted to identify two statues of the Greco-Buddhist school now in the Central Museum of Lahore to be those of *Hariti* and *Kuvera*, who are not demigods of mythology, but historical persons of the time of the Kushans and Satakarnis. The study is very interesting and illuminating. The second paper deals with three historical persons of about the beginning of the Christian era who were known as *Madhariputras, i.e.*, sons of Madhari or Madri. Some light is thrown into a corner of the so-called dark age of Indian history.

RAMES BASU

THE VOICE OF OMAR KHAYYAM (A Variorum Study of his Rubaiyyat): *By J. E. Saklatwalla. Royal 8vo, pp. 92 with 12 plates. Bombay 1936. Paper-bound. Price Rs. 2-8.*

In this book the author has presented a mere compendium of materials with regard to the immortal poet and his *Ruba'iyat*. The name "The Voice of Omar Khayyam" does not appear to be appropriate. As the author himself has said in the prefatory note, the book is a collection of views and opinions from writers of every shade of opinion. We do not find any attempt at co-ordinating those materials. 'Umar may undoubtedly be studied from various angles of thought and belief and his *Ruba'iyat* may be regarded as a characteristic expression of the Persian genius in all its aspects, but it is difficult to appreciate the utility of a book which only presents

materials in a haphazard fashion. "The Assasins" in page 7, "Omar—A Mathematician" in p. 59 to select two among other topics dealt with in the book, are quite out of place in a book which professes to be a study of the *Ruba'iyat* of the poet.

Part II which contains an Addenda covering fifteen pages in a small book like this detracts much from its value and betrays the lack of care and method which appears to be the characteristic of this book.

The book undoubtedly contains many things worth knowing about the poet, but it is neither a systematic study of the poet nor is there any method in putting the various material collected from different sources. A book of this kind is neither interesting nor instructive and is not calculated in any way to help a proper appreciation of the spirit of 'Umar or Umarian' poetry. Except the nice printing and get-up of the book and the beautiful portraits put here and there at random (one of which is placed in the index) we find nothing in the book to commend it to readers who want to have a proper appreciation of the poet.

MOHAMMAD ISHAQUE

LECTURES ON THE BHAGAVAD GITA (*with an English translation of the Gita*) : *By D. S. Sarma, M.A., Principal, Government Arts College, Rajahmundry. Published by N. Subba Rau Pantulu, President of the Hindu Samaj, Rajahmundry. Pp XIII+213. Price Re 1-4-0.*

The book consists of six lectures, an English translation of the Gita and three appendices. The subjects of these lectures are—(1) how to read the Gita, (2) the Content and the Form of the Gita, (3) the Gita and Spiritual Life, (4) the Gita and Contemporary Thought, (5) the Gita and Svadharma, and (6) the Gita and Progress. The appendices contain (a) Gita : the Universal Mother by Mahatma Gandhi, (b) Gita : the Celestial Fruit by Lokamanya Bala Gangadhar Tilak, and (c) Gita : the Treasure House of Dharma by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The last section contains an English translation of the Gita. The value of the book is enhanced by the Foreword written by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, the Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics.

In these lectures the author's expositions are not only scholarly but also lucid and simple. His discourse on Svadarma is unique and rational. He takes Svadharma to mean 'the law of one's own being,' and maintains that it is connected with Svabhava (individual's own nature). He also holds that the injunctions of the Gita is for a wise direction of nature and not for its suppression.

Perhaps owing to inadvertence or oversight of the author, some inaccuracies in the translations have crept in, though they are few and far between. In the 14th verse of the 7th Chapter 'hi' (हि) has been left out in the translation, although it is not used there as an expletive but has a definite meaning—'indeed.' The last line of the same verse has been translated as 'those who take refuge *in me* etc.,' but the proper translation will be 'those who take refuge *in me and, me alone*, etc.' Here the translator has taken no notice of the force of 'eba' (एव) which makes a great deal of difference in the meaning. 'Artharthi' (अर्थार्थी) has been mistranslated as 'the man who wants to realize the truth,' while the correct rendering is 'the seeker of worldly enjoyment' (Chap. VII., 16). The passage 'Sarbamabritya tisthati' should have been translated as 'exists *pervading* all' instead of 'exists *enveloping* all' (Chap. XIII, 13). 'Konyah' (कोऽन्यः) has been incorrectly translated as 'who,' but the proper rendering will be 'who *else*' (Chap. XVI, 15). The correct English synonym of 'Snigdha' (स्निग्ध) is not *soft* but *oleaginous* (Chap. XVII, 8).

In spite of all these minor defects, the book will be of great help not only to the young students for whom the book is mainly intended, but to the elders as well.

ANANGA MOHAN SAHA

SANSKRIT—ENGLISH

MANDUKYOPANISHAD, *with Goudapada's Karika and Samkara's Commentary—translated and annotated by Swami Nikhilananda, with a foreword by Mr. V. Subramanya Iyer. Published by Sri Ramkrishna Ashrama, Mysore. 1936. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This volume is one of the Sri Ramkrishna Centenary publications, Mysore. It is beautifully got up and very carefully edited by Swami Nikhilananda of Ramkrishna Order of Sannyasins, now in New York, America, whose scholarship and erudition need no introduction. His translations of Vedantasara and Drigdrishya Viveka have already proved his deep insight into Advaita Philosophy and his extraordinary capability of presenting the same in a foreign language with uncommon accuracy. The foreword of Mr. Subramanya Iyer, Retired Registrar of Mysore University extends over 9 pages, which shews an appreciation of Swamiji's extraordinary merit, without any reserve. The preface and the translation by the Swami cover 43 and 359 pages respectively. This latter portion contains the text of the Mandukya Upanishad and 215 Karikas of Gaudapada in Devanagri character and the translation of the two texts and Samkara's Commentary as well as the notes are in English. These notes are very carefully compiled explaining the translation wherever necessary. The translation seems to be very literal and faithful and so quite dependable. The language is simple, clear and thoroughly expressive without any ambiguity or obscurity. This edition may therefore, be regarded as the best of the kind, hitherto published.

As for the philosophical value of this Upanishad and the Karikas of Goudapada the remark embodied in the front page may be quoted here :—

"If the sole object be the attainment of the Highest Truth, the supreme goal of existence, the single Upanishad of Mandukya is sufficient, " (Muktikopanishada)."

"The Upanishada (Mandukya) with the Karika embodies in itself the quintessence of substance of the entire philosophy of Vedanta. (Samkara)."

The introduction is a very valuable addition to this volume, as it deals with many important points as regards the history and the nature of Advaita philosophy. The learned editor has not followed the modern scientific mania, the dictum of which is to judge everything by one's own standard and to ignore or doubt all other evidences except perception or prejudiced inference as to the past history of our nation and its culture, and this is specially carried to the extreme as to the time and teachings of Gaudapada, the most ancient authority on the philosophy of Advaitavada. Most of the modern scholars, presumably under the influence of western politics, have been led to believe that many things to the glory of our nation, and specially the Advaita philosophy of Samkara, were borrowed from the original Buddhists, and that the only thing Samkara did, was his attempt to deduce forcibly the Buddhist advaita doctrine from the Upanishadas and Vedantadarsana etc., in the name of Vedanta by way of explanation. The editor has shewn that this idea is far from the truth, with cogent arguments, pointing out that Goudapada's views were quite antagonistic to those of the Buddhists, and that Goudapada refuted the Buddhist doctrine of Advaitavada even by mentioning

their names. We fully agree with the editor on this point, as we are of opinion that there are sufficient grounds to believe, that it was the Buddhists, who borrowed their essentials of philosophy from Goudapada and the Naya and Samkhya systems, not to speak of the origin of the Buddhist thought, which can be traced to the *prima facie* views of the Upanishadas. There is another thing most important that the learned Editor has done. It is the refutation of some of the conceptions of Dr. S. N. Das-Gupta, concerning his idea about the origin and nature of Advaita philosophy of Samkara. The Editor has not spared even Dr. Radha Kissen for his opinion as to the difference between the doctrines of Samkara and Goudapada. Which he has also successfully refuted from the deep and unrestrained veneration shewn to Goudapada by Samkara, one cannot imagine any difference whatsoever unless he forgets the invariable customary practice of this particular sect to follow their preceptors without any modification or change. There is ample evidence to believe that Goudapada was the disciple of Sukadeva, the son of Vyasadeva, the author of Vedantadarshana, who flourished in about 3101 B.C. in contradiction to the theory of the modern scholars, who went to bring him down to 1500 B.C. and Goudapada to the 7th Century A.D. These facts prove that it was the Buddhists who borrowed their fundamental principles of philosophy from Goudapada and others of Vedic cult, and that there cannot be any material difference between the Advaita reader of Goudapada and that of Samkara. There are many things of this nature in the introduction, which have enhanced the value of this volume and it would have added greatly to the same, if there were a detailed contents and an index of the subjects dealt with. The whole cost of this publication has been borne by His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, by whose munificent help the country expects to retain its unparalleled pre-eminence in religious and philosophical culture. However this is a volume which every one interested in philosophy should possess.

RAJENDRANATH GHOSE

SANSKRIT

MANDARAVATI. *a Romance in Sanskrit Prose*: *By K. Krishnamacharya, Madras, 1928.*

This is an attempt to compose a Sanskrit Prose Romance on same themes supplied by Ksemendra's well epitome of Gunadhya's Brihat-Katha. The author shows ability and command over the classical style, but such attempts in modern times possess only an academic interest.

RUKMINI-KALYANA MAHAKAVYA OF RAJA-CHUDAMANI DIKSITA, *with the commentary of Balayajnadevesvara. Edited by the Pandits of the Adyar Library, Madras, 1929.*

Rajacudamani Diksita was a prolific South Indian writer who lived between Tanjore and Madura in the first half of the 17th Century, and of whom about 27 works on a variety of subjects exist. The present publication gives only two out of ten cantos of his poem on the story of the marriage of Rukmini and Krishna, with the fairly voluminous commentary (dated 1833 A.D.) of Balayajnadevesvara who claims to have been a descendant of the author himself. The work is well edited and printed, and there is an introduction on the author and his literary contemporaries. In the foreword Dr. C. Kunhan Raja writes an *apologia* on Classical Sanskrit Poetry, but it is hardly necessary; still less so, in propping up a comparatively recent versified curiosity, which can hardly be called a poem.

S. K. DE

BENGALI

SE, OR "HE": *By Rabindranath Tagore. Visvabharati Bookshop, 210 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price: Paper cover, Rs. 2-8; Cloth, Rs. 3. Size of page equal* to that of *The Modern Review.*

This is a book for children and old men, written mostly in colloquial Bengali prose and partly in verse, and illustrated in colours and monochrome by the poet himelf.

It is full of fun (and perhaps of serious purpose also!) to be enjoyed by young and old alike.

It cannot be summarized. I will mention only a few of the things of which the Poet tells in this unclassifiable book :—

The Island of Hoonhaoo, inhabited by scientists who have got rid of their stomachs and digestive organs, and live by taking concentrated food in the form of snuff.

Gechho Baba, or The Arboreal Saint, who, as his name indicates, lives in a tree, and gives his devotees things possessed of miraculous powers, such as A Magic Towel.

The Tiger who used glycerine soap to wash off his stripes and who came to Poopoo-didi in search of a barber for getting his whiskers shaved. In the Wonderland created by the Poet barbers' flesh is forbidden meat for tigers. Valid and sound reasons are given for this sacred injunction. Similarly, Englishmen's flesh is also forbidden meat for them. So also the flesh of cultivating Kaibartas, particularly those who live west of the Ganges. The flesh of foxes is unclean. The flesh of Fishing Kaibartas is, however, sacred food for tigers, and it is laid down in the tigers' scriptures that it is to be eaten by being torn piece by peace with the left claws from the bodies of the cultivating Kaibartas.

The Man who had lost his own body and was wandering all over the country in search of it.

The Heroine of the Story who had lost herself, having been kidnapped by the Lunar Hare.

And so on and so forth.

KALANTAR, or "CHANGED TIMES": *By Rabindranath Tagore. Visvabharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Crown 8vo., pp. 249+vi. Paper covers. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is a collection of fifteen articles or essays which had appeared in different magazines, mostly in *Prabasi*, during the last 22 years. They are all marked by the author's insight and depth of thought, written in his inimitable style, and in many passages full of his characteristic humour. The subjects of the articles are: Changed Times, Consideration and Inconsiderateness, People's Welfare, The Root of the Fight, As the Master Wills, Small and Great, Epistle of the Man at the Window, Worship of Sakti The Call of Truth, Problem, Solution. The Sudra's Dharma, Greater India, Hindu-Musalman, and Woman.

AGRADUT, or "PRECURSOR": *By Bijaylal Chattopadhyaya. Published by Srimati Ila Chattopadhyaya at the Nabajiban Sangha, 4 Nyayaratna Lane, Calcutta. Crown 8vo., pp. 29+xii. Price One rupee.*

This is a collection of the author's papers on Plato Socrates, Voltair, Schopenhauer, Emerson, Edward Carpenter, and Robert Browning, written in his flowing, eloquent and vigorous style. In each paper he tries to bring out the central ideas or thoughts for which its subject stood.

TRAYI, or "A COLLECTION OF THREE TRACTS": *By Bijaylal Chattopadhyaya. Published by Srimati Ila Chattopadhyaya at the Nabajiban Sangha, 9 Nyayaratna Lane, Calcutta. Price Two Annas.*

The three tracts which this booklet contains are: At Freedom's Altar, India As Seen Through Foreign Eyes, and Possession by the Ghost of a Theory. The last is a friendly expostulation with orthodox adherents of Marxism and Communism.

BANGIYA SABDAKOSH, or ENCYCLOPAEDIA BENGALENSIS: *Chief Editor, Professor Amulya Charan Vidyabhushan. No. 14. Published by the Indian Research Institute, 170 Maniktala Street, Calcutta. Price of each number Eight annas.*

The scholarly character and good get-up of this up-to-date Bengali Enclopaedia is being maintained. The last word treated of in the 14th number is Angami Naga, an aboriginal tribe of Assam.

D.

HINDI

BIHARI-DARSHAN: *By Loknath Dwivedi Silakari. The Ganga-granthagar, Aminabad Park, Lucknow. Pages 330. Price Rs. 2.*

This book is a critical estimate of the celebrated Hindi poet, Biharilal. The author discusses the opinions of other Bihari critics, and gives his own views on many points. In the appendix a comparative study of Bihari and Deb has been made. There is a coloured picture of the poet.

HAZARAT MOHAMMAD: *By Pt. Sundarlal. Published by the Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, Madras Pages 90. Price annas eight.*

A popular account of the life and teachings of the Prophet of Islam.

RAMES BASU

GUJARATI

RAILO TATHA GITO: *By the Rev. W. Graham Mulligan, M.A., of the Irish Presbyterian Mission, Ahmedabad. Printed at the Mission Press, Surat. Cloth bound. (1936). Pages 257. Price annas twelve.*

Rev. Mulligan has to minister to a congregation of Indian Christians, who know only Gujarati. He therefore had to study the Gujarati language and he has done it so well that at the first blush it is difficult to find out whether the subject-matter of the book is the production of the pen of a Gujarati or a foreigner, so well has he grasped the spirit and the idiom and the genius of the language. The title of the book means *Floods and Songs*, and the book is a collection of 52 sermons based on various texts of the Bible and preached at various times. Keeping aside the necessarily propagandist nature of the performance and judging it only on its literary side, one may very well recall the performance of one of the Rev. Mulligan's predecessors, the Rev. Dr. Taylor, who has left an abiding name in the literature of Gujarat by his grammar and other works. We are sure that as time passes the Reverend gentleman's work would surely throw off those trifling but noticeable shortcomings which naturally figure in the writings of one not born and bred in the province.

OTARATE DIWALO: *By Dattatreya Balkrishna Kalelkar. Printed at the Mani Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. Pages 130. Price annas six (1936). Second Edition.*

The Sabarmati Central Jail, in which Kaka Kalelkar, the writer of this fascinating book, was confined during the Civil Disobedience days, is situated in the North (Uttar) of Gandhiji's Ashram, therefore he has called his book, Northern walls. He studied so to speak, the scant flora and fauna of his prison domain, and has narrated their lives *i.e.*, of flowers, trees, birds and animals and also of vermin in the most "chatty" way possible. Those who have read of La Tude's companions—the mice, in the Bastille prison of Paris would be interested in the narration of similar experiences of Kaka Kalelkar, told vividly, graphically and simply. The book would interest both young and old.

GUJARATI, FIVE THOUSAND YEARS AGO: *By Manibhai Dwivedi of Navsari. Printed at the Pratap Press, Surat. Paper Cover: Pages 84. Price annas twelve (1936).*

Mr. Dwivedi has tried to recreate Gujarat as it existed five thousand years ago from archaeological finds as well as coins, idols and texts from the Vedas. The boundaries of the province as they existed then, and the tribes that dwelt there, have been referred to in a way, which makes his little book very interesting to read. The Asuras of those days were great navigators and cognisant of many arts and sciences: in fact the Aryans who came later and conquered them absorbed a great part of their culture. This is the writer's conclusion.

MHARI JIVAN KATHA—JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: *Translated by Mahadev Harebhai Desai. Printed at the Mani Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth Bound: Illustrated. (1936). Pages 980. Price Rs. 3.*

Mahadev Desai, the Boswell of Mahatma Gandhi, remains as busy and occupied as Mahatmaji himself. In spite of that, he has made time to translate the autobiography of Jawaharlal Nehru, a volume of nearly 1000 pages, a fact which goes to evidence his great admiration for Jawaharlal. We have to say this because of some critics thinking the other way as in his well thought out Introduction of twenty-three pages, he has very frankly discussed the observations of Panditji in respect of Gandhiji and tried to answer them. But at the same time he has equally well brought out the other aspect of Panditji's opinion too. The translation has a very good index and is rendered in that simple and telling style, which Gandhiji and many others who belong to his immediate circle, have made their own. Footnotes to explain certain situations add to the value of the work and testify to the great labour which Mahadevbhai has bestowed on his self-invited task. The book is a valuable addition to Gujarati literature.

K. M. J.

POPULATION OF BENGAL—A SOCIOLOGICAL ENQUIRY

By BHUPENDRA NATH DUTTA, A.M. (Brown), Dr. Phil. (Hamburg)

Now we come to Ethnology of Bengal. It has been already said that culturally and linguistically Bengal is a part of Northern India. But as regards the people, we do not know what tribes inhabitated the province in pre-historic times. The Jaina Annals speak of Chuarhs of West Bengal, when Mahabira preached in that part of the country. The Mahabharata speaks of Anga, Vanga and Kalinga as three sons of a Raja,[1] and the Puranas speak of Vanga as a part of the Aila empire. According to Pargiter the *Ailas* were Indo-Aryans who founded an empire in Northern India. It may be that Vanga had been a tribal name,[2] and the above-mentioned three brothers were the eponymous heroes of the three tribes. Philologically it may be suggested that the name of *Rarh* is derived from the Santalic language. The Santals designate by Rarh a highland, and to them, the district of Dumka in the Santal Parganahs is Rarh; by Vanga they mean a sea-coast land—it is *Bela* land to them But Bela is a Sanskrit word, meaning the coast of a sea. Now, the question is which is the right derivation—the Pauranic or the Santalic one?

It is probable that the tribes that lived in Bengal have merged themselves in the Hindu society and have transformed themselves into some ethnic or tribal castes as elsewhere.[3] The different dialects of the Bengali language testify the original difference amongst the people. With the spread of Indo-Aryan culture all have been aryanized in speech and manners. This process is still going on amongst those who are still outside the pale of the Hindu society. In this wise, the first social integration of the population of Bengal has taken place. Coming back to history, we find that the authentic history can be traced from the time of Sasanka Narendragupta of Karna Suvarna in West Bengal. He was a Brahman ruler and the Brahmans were mentioned in his court.[4] Then after him when according to *Arya-Manjusri-Mulakalpa* there was an anarchy, the Sudra Bhadra was elected King, the Brahmans were again mentioned as feudal lords.[5] After Bhadra, there was another anarchy and then another Sudra, a man from the servile (*dasajibina*) caste[6] named Gopala, was elected king. From Gopala down to this day we get a continuous history of Bengal. In the Pala period[7] we find that some of the Brahmans holding high posts in the Buddhist government, the Kayasthas holding high posts in the administration, and in the reign of Rampal[8] we hear of the great Kaibarta rebellion in North Bengal.

The epic *Dharmamangal* says that in the reign of Dharmapal there was a Goala feudal baron in the person of Ichai Ghose, a general named Kadu Dom, a Kotwal (Police chief) of Gaur named Indra who belonged to the caste of Mete, a Chandal holding the post of Kotwal of Dhakur.

Further, traditions point out that there were various Kaibarta feudal lords all over the country. Besides these, we hear of the Banik and other castes in various religious books. Thus we find that these are the castes that were living in Bengal in ancient times, and from these it is evident that in the Pala period the Sudras were the ruling class.

According to late R. D. Banerji in the Pala and Sena period of Bengal history,[9] three-fourth of the people were of Buddhist persuation. The Senas hailed from the South and prided themselves in being *Karnata Brahma-Kshtriyas*.[10] It is evident that following the wake of the rule of the Sena there had been an

1. The Sanskrit Literature speaks of Kakshivant being the father of these three brothers. It is the same Kakshivant who is spoken in the Vedas as the son of Dirghatamas (R. V. I. 156). The story of Dirghatamas and Kakshivant is given in detail in the *Brihad-devata.* Thus the very name of Vanga is associated with a Vedic Rishi.

2. Pargiter: *The Indian Historical Traditions.*

3. *Vide* Ibbeston: *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province;* also B. S. Haikerwal's *Economic and Social Aspects of Crime in India,* p. 13.

4. K. P. Jayaswal: *An Imperial History of India* Translation of (*Arya-Manjusri-Mulakalpa*), pp. 49-50.

5. *Ibid,* pp. 60, 71. Bhadra is also called as *Srada. Vide,* p. 60.

6. *Ibid,* p. 46.

7. N. N. Vasu: *Banglar Jatiya Itihasa.* Rajanya Kanda.

8. Sandhyakar Nandi: *Ram Charita.*

9. Rakhaldas Banerji: *Banglar Itihas,* Part I.

10. N. G. Mazumdar: *op. cit. Deopara Inscription of Vijayasena,* Tarpandighi Plate of Laksmansena.

influx of the Southern people in Bengal.[11] It is clear that in the Sena period, the Brahmanists formed the ruling class in Bengal. According to late Pandit H. P. Sastri, at the time of the enumeration of the *Kulins* by Ballala Sena, there were 2000 families of Brahmans, besides the Kayastha families and the servants of both the castes. These were all that composed of Hindu *i.e.*, Brahmanist Bengal.[12] And according to him, after the Mohammedan invasion, Brahmanism began to make headway. At that time, the Moslems began to draw the people of Bengal in their direction, the Brahmans in opposite direction. In pre-Islamic Bengal there were different Buddhist, Brahmanist, Tantric and Nath sects. The upper classes were generally Brahmanist and Mahayanist Buddhist, and the lowest classes followed the "Kalachakrayana" form of Buddhism. Then came the Mohammedan invasion. Since that time a new social reconstruction of the population of Bengal began to take place. Following the confusion of the Moslem invasion Pandit Sastri said:

"All the intellectual followers of Buddhism were either massacred or compelled to fly away from the country. The Brahmins found themselves masters of the situation in the Indian or the Hindu community. Mohammedans, either by force or by persuation, converted a large number of the Buddhists to Islam. The vast number of Buddhists were like so many lambs without a shephard."

The Vajrayanists, the Sahajiyas, the Nathists, and the Kalachakrayanists for a time maintained a separate existence, but many of their followers were either converted to Islam or forced to join the Brahmans. But the exclusive spirit of the Brahmans made the admission of only such people in their fold possible as would consent to be their out and out followers. They took these within the pale of their society and called them *Navasakha* or the new branch. Those who tried to maintain a separte existence were excluded from the pale of their society and these formed the *Anacharaniya Jati* or the depressed classes.[13]

The middle ages of Bengal of modern period of her history saw this new social transformation of the people of Bengal. In this period in the sixteenth century A.D. Bengal saw the rise of the great Vaishnav reformer Sri Chaitanya. With the spread of Chaitanya's Gauriya school of Vaishnavism, Buddhism completely collapsed. The Buddhists were taken in the Vaishnava fold. As a result, with the exception of the Brahmans, the Kayasthas, and the Vaidyas who are mostly Tantric Saktas, other castes are mostly votaries of the Vaishnava religion.

Thus again, amongst the Brahmanists two groups were formed; the Saktas and the Vaishnavas. While those of the depressed classes who were said to be clinging to some reminiscences of Buddhism are still worshipping the *Dharma-Thakur*.[14] But these depressed castes in spite of their being not recognized as "clean" castes, *i.e.*, from whose hands a Brahman or a clean caste man can drink a glass of water, follow the Brahmanical mandates and law. Hence they are Brahmanists today. Now-a-days they are trying to bolster up fictitious ancient Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaishya ancestry, and thereby attempting to elevate themselves into the ranks of the clean castes. Moreover the liberal Hindus are helping them in their attempt of being recognized as "clean" castes.

In this wise, the population of Bengal has been divided into two parts: the Hindu—following the Brahmanical polity, the Moslem—following Islam. Besides these, Christianity is getting converts from both the religious sects. They are forming a group of their own.

This is the religious grouping of the population of modern Bengal. As regards the internal social grouping of these two important religious sects, it is known to all that the Hindus have two groups of castes (Varnas) amongst them. Since Raghunandan enunciated the dictum[15] that in Bengal there are two Varnas only: the Brahmans and the Sudras, all castes except the Brahmans have been scheduled in the Brahmanical polity as Sudras. Of course within the Sudra group, there are various castes of multifarious occupations.

As regards the Islamic society, it is a strange thing that it has built up social divisions as well. These are called: *Ashraf* and *Atrap*. The Ashrafs are the upper stratum, which in Bengal has been formed by the converts of the

11. The great Vaishnab preachers Rupa Goswami and Sanatan Goswami claimed Karnatak Royal descent, *Vide* Dinesh Ch. Sen, *History of Bengali Language and Literature*. Again the ancestor of the famous *Barbhuiya* feudal rajas of East Bengal, Chand Rai and Kedar Rai hailed from Karnata (*Vide Barbhuiya* by Mokshadacharan Samadhyai).

12. H. P. Shastri's Presidential Speech in Sahitya Parishad Patrika, Pt. 36, No. 1.

13. H. P. Sastri: In Introduction to N. N. Vasu's *The Modern Buddhism and Its Followers in Orissa*, pp. 14-15.

14. In some places this god which has no form or idol is also being worshipped by Brahmans according to the orthodox style.

15. Vaidya in his *Mediæval History of India*, Vol. II, pp. 324-325 says that this dictum is not to be traced in the scriptures.

higher orders of the Hindu castes, Pathan, Mogul and Sayed families, while the Atraps have been formed by the converts of the lower orders of the Hindus. Besides these, there are ranks amongst the Ashrafs of West Bengal and also there is an untouchable section amongst the Moslems, who most probably have been recruited from the Hindu corresponding castes.[16]

Thus from the downfall of the Buddhist rule in Bengal, a sociological phenomenon is to be discerned that the people change their religions, but thereby do not change their social status. There is a tradition in East Bengal, that a Brahman by changing his religion to Islam becomes a *Thakur Saheb*, a Kayastha becomes a *Khan Saheb*.[17] Again, so long the Ashrafs have been marrying among themselves, but lately a reform movement is breaking this exclusive tendency in Islamic society.

As regards the Hindu castes, it can be said that some of the castes have corresponding castes in the Upper Gangetic Valley, while others are of local origin. Again, there are more Hindu castes in West Bengal than in East Bengal. Further, by observing the social phenomena in the peripheries of the province of Bengal, it will be found out that ethnic and functional groups are being transformed into Hindu castes. Thus the Koch tribe of North Bengal has formed itself into a caste, the Hajongs living at the foot of the Garo Hills in East Bengal have formed themselves into a caste, the Bhumij, the Laik, the Bhuiya, the Kora, &c. have likewise transformed themselves into castes. And many of these castes are claiming nowadays to be of ancient Kshatriya Varna.

This is so far the situation as regards the social hierarchy of the "Bengalee" Hindus. But there are other Hindus of good castes living outside the Bengal Hindu-polity. There are large number of Kanyakubja Brahmans, the Rajputs, members of various Vaishya Castes, the Maithil Brahmans and others who are not included in the Bengalee social circle. The tradition is that when Raghunandan in the sixteenth century put forth his scheme of the reorganization of the Bengal Hindu Society, these castes who have mostly come from the Upper Gangetic Valley were either too insignificant in numbers or arrived in Bengal after him, so that, they were not included within the Bengal Hindu Society. These peoples who thus live outside the Bengal Society do not follow Ballal's Kulin system, Raghunandan's injunctions and Jeemutavahana's Dayabhaga or Bengal School of Hindu Law. They mostly follow the Mitakshara Law. Immigrants like these are still coming to Bengal and while settling are building septs or phratries of their own.[18] Such migrations have not stopped as yet.

But as Hindu and Moslem immigrants of Upper India are settling down in the lower Gangetic Valley, they, in accordance with the Indian custom of mutual exclusiveness, generally follow the endogamous rules of the country. Hence, it cannot be said that those who for economic reasons are wandering in this province are being assimilated in the Bengal society, as they are either going back home after making money or building up their own social groups in the province.

Thus the second period of social integration of the population of Bengal began with the Hindu rulers and ended finally with the period of the Mohammedan rulers of Gaur; and Bengal Hindu Society completed its second period of social reconstruction in the Moslem period. But since the new social phenomena have taken place, new economic conditions are taking their rise, hence the social equilibrium is being destroyed. Bengal has now entered again into a period of transition.

This being the case, let us enquire into the nature of the Bengal caste-polity. Bengal caste-system is an integral part of the Indian caste-system. The social evolution which led the ancient *Varna* divisions to give place to the modern caste-system, has operated in like manner in Bengal. Further, some of the castes are trasplantations from elsewhere and brought down to the lower Gangetic Valley by the immigrants who settled there. But their tribal designations of the homelands have given place

16. The case of the untouchables in Islamic society is not well known. In the district of Sylhet in East Bengal near Baniachak there are two groups of these untouchables, *viz.*, Mankar and Jalkar. They live by fishing. There are also Moslem untouchables living in the Howrah district. The case of the Lalbegis of the U. P. is well known.

17. Besides these, late Mr. Ameer Ali in his *Mussalmans of India* has admitted that the Brahmans and the Rajputs have been taken in the Pathan tribal system.

The Khan Zadehs of Mewat are well-known illustrations. Rajchandra Bhaduri alias Kalapahar became a Farmuli, *i.e.* a member of the Farmuli tribe.

18. The building of different social groups amongst the same caste is being followed even by the Santals. The Desawali Manjhis of Bankura who are Santals from Behar side have formed a phratry of their own. They do not inter-marry with the local Santals though both of them speak Bengalee language. Similarly the Santals of West Bengal do not inter-marry with those of Santal Pargannahs.

to designations according to territories in Bengal. In this matter, Bengal has followed the evolution common to the rest of India. Thus the Brahmans, and the Kayasthas are designated by their territorial names, *viz.,* Rahri and Varendra etc. The Rajputs comparatively new settlers than the abovementioned castes, have lost their clan or tribal names and are now divided into arbitrary endogamous social groups.

Again, various groups of Brahmans claiming their descent from the immigrants from the different parts of the country are keeping themselves aloof from each other, *viz.*, the Kanyakubja, the Paschatya Vaidik, the Dakshinathya Vaidik, the Maithili, the Sakadwipi etc. The Kanyakubja Brahmans with the surnames Trivedi, Pande, Sukul, Dikshit do not intermarry with the Bandopadhayas, Sanyals etc., though both the groups claim the same Kanyakubja Brahman descent. Similar is the case with the different groups of the Rajputs The explanation lies in the fact that as these migrations took place in different times, each group of immigrants in settling down to Bengal formed sub-groups of their own, prohibiting *connubium* with the former settled group. But again, this is the common process that Bengal followed with the rest of India.

In this way the Hindu society is not a homogeneous one. It is a congeries of mutually exclusive communities. If some homogeneity has been achieved in the second period of social reconstruction of the Hindus which created an ethnically and culturally united people known to the other parts of India as the "Bengalees", the new migrations and the further splitting up in the matter of religion, has disturbed the unity.

This leads us to the question: What is a "Bengalee"? Politically it must be said that a man born in Bengal is a Bengalee. But more than half of the population which follows Islam does not call itself "Bengalee". It designates itself by its religious designation, though some of the Muslims are calling themselves as Bengalees.[19] Similarly those of the Hindus who were not included in the social polity as led down by Raghunandan did not call themselves as Bengalees, though social intercourse with their kinsmen outside Bengal has stopped long ago. It is only recently that they are calling themselves as Bengalees. Of course, the Christians do not deny their Bengalee provincial nationality or their origin.

This makes us enquire about the definition of the term "Bengalee". So far the tendency is, that a man may speak Bengalee language and live in Bengal, yet reserves the right of denying his provincial nationality. Hence, we are driven to accept the definition that he who is a member of Raghunandan's polity and is governed by the Bengal School of Hindu Law is a "Bengalee." It is true that those who follow the social laws laid down by Raghunandan and are governed by Jeemutavahan's Dayabhaga law form one ethnic, social, cultural and homogeneous unit. And the bulk of Bengal's material and moral advancement in modern times has been done by the men of this unit. They are the products of the second phase of social reconstruction.

A new phase has been ushered in and Bengal is passing through a period of transition. Nowadays a Bengalee patriotism irrespective of creed is growing. Those who formerly did not call themselves Bengalees nowadays pride themselves as such, and those who so long have called themselves as such, are finding themselves to be in minority. The new age demands a new polity of the population of Bengal.

With the establishment of the British rule in Bengal, the society of Bengal began to undergo various changes. Old order began to give place to new. With the introduction of the *Permanent Settlement* in Bengal, a new landed aristocracy was formed. Similarly a middle-class was evolved; and with the introduction of Industrialism, a proletariat class is growing. But the recent economic crises and various economic forces that are working in the society, are putting the old social fabric in the melting pot. Added to these, educational and political forces are at work to help the process of transformation.

The economic forces that are working to make the social class topsy-turvy are to be seen clearly in the countryside. The middle-class is being impoverished and is breaking down, the former peasants are becoming bankrupts, and in their place, more prosperous Jotdars[20] are taking their rise. As the Bargadars[21] suffer, the man who has money buys the land from the former and himself becomes the prosperous farmer or Jotdar. As a result, the former peasant who used to till his own leased land becomes an agricultural labourer.

19. In the Punjab the Mohammedan call himself a "Panjabee." He is proud of it. Perhaps it is due to the tribal feeling, which is still strong there.

20. Jotdar is the man who leases a big plot of land and sublets it to the peasants.

21. The Bargadar shares half of the profit of the land with his landlord.

The Bengal peasantry is divided into two sorts: (1) those who work on the land leased from the landlord, and (2) those who work as day-labourers. The latter are called as "Munish" (man) in West Bengal. But since Malaria is making its havoc in Bengal, the peasantry are losing their vitality to work with their own hands. Hence the Santal and the men from Upper India are in demand in West Bengal as "Munish". Besides, there are the ubiquitous Oriya tree-fellers helping the Bengal peasantry in clearing the jungles and cutting down the trees. On enquiry, the writer has been informed by some of the peasants of West Bengal that no physical strength is left in them to do these hard works! The day is not far off, when this Bengalee class will be dispossessed of their occupation by men of sturdier stuff. Thus the fate of West Bengal peasantry is dismal. Even in North Bengal up-country agricultural labourers are to be found, and up-country landlords are to be found there as well.22 Amongst all these itinerant agricultural labourers the Santals are settling in the Hooghly and Burdwan Districts of West Bengal. In East Bengal, though the peasantry is of sturdier stuff, yet the servant class is being dispossessed from the houses of the Hindus by the Beharees and by hillmen from the Darjeeling side. Besides, the Santals have settled down in North Bengal brought thither by the old indigo planters. They are learning Bengalee, and some of them in Dinajpur district took part in the late Civil Disobedience Movement, and it is reported to the writer that at least a Santal girl has been married to a Moslem young man of that locality. Moreover, men from Upper India have captured all sorts of professions and occupations. Even in many places, the milkmen and washermen of Bengal have been replaced by those from the Upper Gangetic Plain. Regarding this situation in Bengal, Pandit Girish Chandra Vedantatirtha writes:

"The outsiders[23] have taken all the lower sorts of

22. The following statistical facts about Bengal gleaned from the Government *Census Report of 1931*, Vol. V will speak for itself. "Some indication of the extent to which castes confine themselves to their traditional occupation is given in the figures shown as Imperial Table XI. Many of the groups there shown have comparatively few earners . . . . Taking only males, the caste occupation provides a means of livelihood for 74% of Dhobis, 59% of Muchis, 44% of Napits and 20% of Chamars" (p. 53). But it seems these caste-names are misleading. The *Census Report* does not say what per cent. of these castes belong to the Bengalee-speaking population. We know that in Calcutta and in its neighbourhood, most of the Dhobis, Muchis and Chamars hail from the Upper Gangetic Valley. Even the Hindi-speaking Napits are to be found in large numbers in Calcutta. Some of the Bengalee-speaking Muchi (shoemakers) of College Square market informed the writer that they find it hard to survive in the competition with the up-country Muchis. Anyway in Calcutta the Bengalee-speaking Muchis and Dhobis and Chamars are only few in number.

Again, the same *Census Report* gives a list of "occupations of selected castes, tribes or races by sexes" in Bengal. Amongst these, castes like Bagdi, Barui, Bauri, Chamar, Dhobi, Goala, Kamar, Kumhar, Lepcha, Muchi, Napit, Jalia-Kaivarta are enumerated. Here, again the enumeration of some of the castes is misleading with the exception of some of the castes like Bagdi, Barui and Bauri, etc., the other castes can belong to the Hindi-speaking population as well. We know that the Chamar, the Dhobi, the Goala, the Kumhar, the Napit, the Muchi castemen, the boatmen and towers of Calcutta neighbourhood, are mostly recruited from the Upper Gangetic Valley. Besides the Lepcha is decidedly a non-Bengalee-speaking caste.

The presence of these Hindi-speaking men of various traditional occupations prove the fact that they are ousting the Bengalee-speaking men of the same occupations.

Further, the same report says that the buying of shoes, shirts and hurricane lantern show that the standard of living is being raised in some direction (Vol. V, pp. 13-14). But the question is: Is the introduction of these articles of daily use bespeak the raising of the standard of living or it is a necessary result of the impact of industrial civilization on old fashioned life? A hurricane lantern lighted by kerosine oil is more economical than the old fashioned earthenware lamp. The writer has travelled extensively in all except two districts of Bengal. But he did not see shoes and shirts being much used by the peasantry. Of course, the Mahommedan peasantry of East Bengal have got better standard of life. The writer has seen the peasant boys of West Bengal going on without any warm wrappers in winter. And being interrogated why they are without any covering on their bodies, they answered that they have no wrappers to cover themselves. Shoes and shirts are cases of extreme luxury with a few Hindu peasants. These articles are generally used on special occasions by the gentlemen (Bhadra) farmers *i.e.* those "gentlemen" who live on land.

As an index to the poverty-stricken constitution of the Bengal peasantry, the same *Report* admits the indebtedness of the raiyat and the labourers. It says: "The Banking Enquiry Committee came to the conclusions that the average debt per family was for agriculturists about Rs. 160 and for non-agriculturist rather higher. The Registrar of co-operative societies has furnished figures . . . . an average debt owing to the society of Rs. 88 . . . . If we assume that the debt of members owing outside the society remained on the average the same, the total average debt of co-operators has increased from Rs. 144 in 1929 to Rs. 149 in 1930. The increase is 3.5 per cent. If we accept the Banking Committee's figure and an average debt and enhanced by this same proportion, the average debt of the total population works out at Rs. 181 and of agricultural population at Rs. 166 . . . It is sufficient to draw attention to the fact that the population of Bengal begins the next decade with probably a larger average debt than at previous periods" (Vol. V, pp. 14-15).

Thus the prosperity of the agriculturists is a myth.

23. Regarding the index of the non-Bengalee Indians

works. There is no village, market or port where the Beharees are not seen as engaged in various works . . They are very hardy and economical . . . Compared with the laborious and painstaking nature of the Mussalmans of this country, the lower classes of the Hindus are so lagging behind, that it can be realized by direct observation only. My firm conviction is that the lower classes of the Hindus will be reduced to hopeless minority."[24]

But most of these immigrants from the flitting parts of the population of Bengal, though many of them are settling in that province. Even many families belonging to the Marwari community have settled down in Bengal and are being Bengalicised.[25]

Thus, we find in this new phase of transformation, those who have settled newly in Bengal are calling themselves as "Bengalees" in the political sense, yet they are not the organic parts of the old Bengalee community. Besides the Moslems and the Christians are standing aloof from the society. On the other hand, the Buddhists of Chittagong who are suspected to be of Arakanese descent, though they have been Bengalicised and to some extent Hinduized, do not form a part of the "Bengalee" community.

All these things demand a new orientation of the social polity of the Hindus. A new social reconstruction of Bengal is necessary. Nowadays, we are hearing of provincial patriotism; and provincial nationalism based on language is growing. If an All India Nationality is impossible, there is no other option left but to develop provincial nationality. But there is no reason why an All-India Nationality should be an impossibility. A nationality is the resultant product of various factors, the most important amongst them are: a common historical-cultural evolution coupled with community of interests.[26] India has got these factors, which are at work. India achieved her nationality twice in the past,[27] and though she failed in the regime of the Timurides to achieve it for the third time, the thread has been taken up again in modern period. As a result, an "Indian" in the national sense is in the making. It behoves us to develop it further from cultural plane.

The writer of this paper is one of those who believe that India geographically, ethnically, culturally and politically is one and indivisible. India cannot be divided into different exclusive parts. There have been inter-provincial migrations from ancient times.[28] Again, the ancient Smriti writers[29] from the post-Vedic period have observed the differences of customs in various parts of India. Asoka's Edicts bear testimonies to the prevalence of different languages in his Empire. Yet, as admitted by Risley[30] that, behind these manifold diversities there is something that is common in India, which goes to distinguish an Indian from the rest of mankind. This is the cultural impress which has developed the ethnic unit known as the Indian. And this is the result of the twice achieved nationality.

Hence the cause of India will not be served by building up independent provincial nationalities on the basis of tribal or linguistic patriotism.

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to Bengal, the same *Census Report* says: "Bengal received the largest number of immigrants from Bihar and Orissa" 2.2 p. c. Then p. o. 7 p. c. followed by Assam—0.12 p-G. the C. P. o.o gh. c., and Madras 0.08 and Rajputana 0.06 p. c. of the population respectively (Vol. V, p. 90).

Regarding the inter-provincial migrations the *Census Report* says: "Bengal receives from each of the provinces named with the exception of Assam and Burma an increase of immigrants over the number of emigrants sent out from Bengal to the same area." (Vol. V, p. 92). Again, it says: "In the Burdwan division by contrast the proportions have shown continuous increase at successive enumerations . . on the present occasion to 547 per 10,000" (p. 93).

Are not these emigrants crowding out the local people from their occupations? Prof. B. K. Sarkar quoting the *Census Report of 1931* speaks of the "Balance of Migrations" in Bengal which gives an excess of 771,936 persons. And he adduces that the population pressure is *low* in Bengal. (*Ibid* p. 29). Also he says: "Bengal . . . can still serve to entertain large colonies of immigrants" (p. 32).

But the question is whether the immigrants from outside are opening up new avenues of livelihood or are they simply crowding out the Bengalee-speaking population and capturing the fields of occupation.

The *Census Report* does not give us any clue regarding this displacement of the occupations of the Bengalee-speaking population. Hence the cry raised that the Bengalee-speaking people are being ousted from their occupations by the outsiders, holds good till the contrary is substantiated by facts.

24. *Education Gazette*, Pt. VII, No. 35, pp. 7-8 ("Bangalir Atmahatya" or Suicide of the Bengalees).

25. The writer knows some young Marwari students who are born in East Bengal and cannot talk Hindi fluently. They proudly emphasized the fact that they came from East Bengal.

26. *Vide* B. N. Datta—"On the Formation of Indian Nationality" in the *Calcutta Review*, 1925.

27. Vincent Smith said that India twice nearly achieved her nationality in the past. We say, it achieved completely, as the Maurya and Gupta Empires fulfilled the requirements of the definition of nationality in its cultural as well as political sense.

28. *Vide* the tradition of Gaur-Brahmans of the Punjab and the West, who claimed to have gone there from Bengal; also the claim of the Saraswats of Bombay and their traditions, etc.; anthropology agrees in pronouncing them to be of Bengal origin (*Vide Census Report 1931*, Ethnographical). Again many of the Bengal castes claim non-Bengal origin.

29. *Vide* Baudhayana, Brihaspati, Sukra.

30. Sir H. H. Risley: *Peoples of India.*

It will be against the nature of courses of the Indian History. Nowadays, world cannot build up its nationality on Medieval "ghetto" or religious basis. Neither can it be based on racial or tribal basis

Nowadays, sectarian force miscalled "communalism" is at work in every activity of the Indians. People are talking of shutting themselves up in water-tight compartments. And as panacea to sectarian squabbles, talk of *imperium in imperio* is in the air. Thus all sorts of medieval fads are being set up to suit the caprice or object of those who have ulterior motives in raising these cries.

On these accounts, India is passing through a stage, which in Hegelian Language would be called a period of antithesis. But the sectarian cries for loaves and fishes will not satisfy the urge of economic readjustment that is making the masses restless or it will prevent the break up of the medieval social-polity. With the ushering of the Industrial Stage of the Indian civilization in India, she is on the eve of entering the third phase of social integration.

THIS FREEDOM

By E. FORSYTH

THE post-war history of the civilized world creating as it has a powder magazine on which we all sit nervously, reveals that a great theory is up for trial, and that is the great liberal theory, that freedom is a law of evolution as of civilization. In pre-war history, events endorsed the idea that suppression is fuel to the fire of freedom, and that persecution fans its flame, but now two great powers have risen under fascist regime, and the world waits shivering to know if freedom will triumph again. Will the threat to world peace, raised on the bones of persecution and supported by the suppression of free speech, free thought and individual action, stand when put to the test, when confronted with the freedom fascism despises, or when fascism throws its iron glove in the face of the free peoples of the world? Will freedom, however desperately it defends itself, crumble before the onslaught of the robots.

The ideal of freedom is older than liberal policies, it is based on the classical idea of the divinity of man, and if it falls now human individuality and idealism fall with it, for it will be the triumph of matter over mind.

It is this idea of the ancients of human divinity that animates much science, most religion, and all art, and it is the core of this belief ingrained in men's hearts that rouses pity, and the enthusiasm of reformers and pacifists. Without it there is no cut in man's inhumanity to man, no feeling against inequality or suffering, no joy in reform or discovery. Without vision the people perish, said the prophet, and now we wait to see which perishes, the people or the vision.



CONGRESS ENTERS UPON A NEW PHASE

By Shreemati KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA

Indian National Congress today enters upon a new phase in its long and eventful history. After having played the part of the Party in Opposition for over fifty years, it now assumes office in six provinces of India. Some may take this as a natural corollary to fighting the elections, for it is in accordance with the usual constitutional procedure for the majority party to take office, and to carry on the administration. But in the case of the Congress it cannot be accepted as such a normal affair. To understand this we have to first of all understand the objective of the Congress and what its struggle stands for.

India being today a colony under imperialist rule, an organisation like the Congress can have but one aim, the overthrow of imperialism and the establishment of complete independence, that is, a government based on the strength and the power of the Indian masses and administered by their will in the interest of the country. Today it is a rule of the sword and is based on the might of militarism. The objective of the Congress is not likely to be realised through the new India Act, for it is in the first place forged by the imperialist authority itself and is only calculated to strengthen its grip on the country, and as such abhorrent to every freedom-loving man. Moreover, no self-respecting country can tolerate the self-arrogated right of another power to dictate to her political destiny or take upon itself the task of formulating her constitution. Her sense of dignity must naturally revolt against it.

Nor is the India Act such as to create confidence in us, for it is obviously a ruse to trap India into another long spell of imperialist exploitation, under the guise of a democratic government. But it does not take one very long to realise that it is anything but a democratic constitution. Under democracy, the ministry has full powers but held only in trust for the people, and it is responsible to no other authority except the electorate, which alone can call upon the ministry to resign or compel it to do so. But in this Act we have a third party, an external element, imperialism, whose interest is sought to be maintained over the national interest. We have therefore two interests, each conflicting with the other, and it is never possible for two antagonistic interests to work harmoniously side by side. Either one or the other must dominate. It is to safeguard the imperialist interest, which in a real democratic government can find no place, that the Governor's special responsibilities have been created. We have thus the strange anomaly of an external power operating and trying to dominate over the normal national interest. This is clear from the nature of the special responsibilities of the Governors, who are armed with full powers to do anything, even dismiss the popular ministers or suspend the entire constitution. This is an intolerable position even if the Act were a little more favourable than it is. And the Congress has made this very clear. The purpose of this organisation cannot therefore be the usual one of co-operating with an administrative machinery for the purpose of gaining what it can out of its limited possibilities. For the Congress has never believed in such piece-meal benefits. As Gandhiji made it clear at the Round Table Conference, India would have either Purna Swaraj or nothing and the fight would be continued until complete freedom was won. The Congress had for several years kept away from all Parliamentary activities, for it had felt the futility of pursuing them when the legislatures were nothing short of toy things. But of late, particularly since the civil disobedience movement, it had become clear that the fight against imperialism should be continued on all fronts and imperialism should be prevented from using even these playing things for its own advantage and to the injury of the Indian cause. The feeling had been growing upon the country that the struggle could be considerably intensified by the use of the legislatures not only through their propaganda value but also by utilising them to expose the hollowness and futility of the constitution itself. The Election Manifesto says:

> "But the purpose of sending Congressmen to the Legislatures under the new Act is not to co-operate in any way with the Act but to combat it and seek to end it. It is to carry out, in so far as is possible, the Congress policy of rejection of the Act, and to resist British Imperialism in its attempts to strengthen its hold on India and its exploitation of the Indian people. In the opinion of the Congress, activity in the Legislatures should be such as to help in the work outside, in the strengthening of the people, and in the development of the sanctions which are essential to freedom . . . The Congress realizes that independence cannot be achieved through these legislatures, nor can the problems of poverty and unemployment be effectively tackled by them. Nevertheless the Congress places its general programme before the people of India so that they may know what it stands for and what it will try to achieve, whenever it has the power to do so."

It is only when we know the real object behind the Parliamentary policy that the significance of the Congress programme can be grasped. As the President of the Congress declared:

"Whatever we do must be within the four corners of this policy. We are not going to the legislatures to pursue the path of constitutionalism or a barren reformism."

This is where the Congress differs so fundamentally from any other political party in India. And the working of the Congress Parliamentary programme must be from this angle, and against this perspective.

The Congress Parliamentary programme has been briefly outlined in the election manifesto, subsequently amplified by the Working Committee of the Congress. It consists of the immediate political and economic demands of the people: End the various regulations, ordinances, acts which oppress the people and smother their will to freedom; secure civil liberties; release political prisoners and detenus; repair the wrong done to the peasants and institutions during the civil disobedience movement.

On the economic side it deals with the most pressing needs of the peasants and workers: Reform of the system of land-revenue, tenure and rent, and an equitable adjustment of the burden on the agricultural land, giving immediate relief to the smaller peasantry by substantial reduction of agricultural revenue and rent paid by them, exempting uneconomic holdings. The formulation of a scheme for tackling the problem of indebtedness including the declaration of a moratorium, an enquiry into and scaling down of debts as well as provision for cheap credit facilities through state agency.

For industrial labour: Minimum living wage, forty-hour week, right to form unions and to strike; healthy conditions of living, insurance against sickness, unemployment and old age; setting up of suitable machinery to deal with industrial disputes.

Encouragement is to be given to village industries including khadi.

This in general briefly describes the Congress programme. The working of it will not differ very much between the provinces except that where the Congress has a majority and it is in office, the initiative will lie with it as a governmental measure and there will be greater chances of its being able to fulfil some of these items at least, because of the majority vote. Where the Congress does not command a majority in the Upper House as well, some of the measures stand in danger of being watered down by that body, for it holds mostly vested interest. Difficulties may arise under such circumstances. But where it is in a majority in both the houses as in Madras, it can accomplish something, though it may be far from what we are aiming at. For though the idea of Congress ministries raises a lot of hope, in reality it is not such a mighty position. The powers and the possibilities of ministerial office are so hedged in and curtailed, for imperialist interest must ever try to be the dominating factor, that the prospect is depressing. Particularly on the financial side, the ministerial authority is a sheer mockery, for over 75 per cent and more of the finances do not come under its control. The drastic reduction of the ministerial salaries where the Congress is in a majority, has undoubtedly caught the public imagination and created a very pleasing effect. But do not let us forget that by doing so we are not in any way curtailing the imperialist aggrandisement and appropriation, which is to go on as merrily as before, for the higher services cannot be touched. The drain of imperialism is not arrested by one iota. This is a fact that we cannot afford to lose sight of in the general jubilation.

In the other five provinces, though the Congress is not in a majority, it is the single largest group and as such a factor to be counted with. Moreover even a small group enthused by a single ideal and objective and working in a perfect team, can achieve wonders where large indefinite groups fail. The Congress members will seek to bring forward measures based on the Congress programme and will try to push them on with varying success, mostly dependent on the amount of cooperation and help it will secure from other groups. But the achievement will be no less significant. For success or failure, both can but be utilised to further the Indian struggle. For the larger fight lies outside the legislatures, it lies with the masses. Where the Congress succeeds in securing for the masses their demands, it will win their confidence and respect and continue to maintain its unique position as the organ of the mass struggle for their economic and political freedom. Where it fails (for it will not be through the fault of the Congress but the impact of imperialist force), the masses will realise the pitiful limitations as well as the grave dangers of the India Act. And thus while on the one hand, the masses will concretely experience, though in a very limited way, the possibilities of benefits accruing from the rule of a nationalist government, it will at the same time come to feel the necessity of ending this obnoxious Act which but weighs heavily on them, and hasten the day of their freedom when a national Constituent Assembly can be summoned to frame a real democratic constitution that will be based on the will of the masses and function with their sanction and for their interest.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Europeanization of the Orient

Hans Kohn writes in the *Political Science Quarterly* :

Since the World War, the Europeanization of the Orient has been characterized by three traits which have intensified and extended the process to a degree entirely unknown before 1919. The first of these traits is the penetration of Europeanization from a narrow stratum of upper middle class intelligentsia to the broad masses of the people. The second is the realization that modernization of the political and intellectual life of the country, that equality with European nations, is entirely impossible without a thorough reorganization of economic life. The third is the ready acceptance of modern civilization, not only because there is danger of extinction without it, but also because its potentialities for higher standards of life for the masses are recognized. These new trends demand a concentration of all the intellectual and moral resources of the Oriental nations in an effort to transform the traditional social and economic order. It is accompanied by the awakening of the masses from their age-old lethargy; it creates new problems for education, for agriculture, for labour—problems which are not very different from those which many European nations faced a century ago.

Thus we find in all the Oriental countries today stages of transition similar to those through which Europe passed in the nineteenth century—the growth of industrialism, the emergence of the individual from the traditional restraints of family and clan, the urbanization of the countryside, the spread of modern education, the transformation of religion under the impact of rationalism. The same process is going on throughout the Soviet Union with its mixture of European and Oriental races, in those parts of Europe, like Spain, which during recent centuries have remained outside the general European development, and in Latin America. The transformation is everywhere still far from completion. It has gone farthest, perhaps, in the Soviet Union, in Japan, and in Turkey. Although impeded and retarded by many obstacles, in India and China, it is of special importance on account of the size of the populations involved.

The nation which attracts most attention, because its early acceptance of modernization enabled it to become the first of the backward countries to achieve the status of a great power, is Japan.

The great problem of Japan, it seems to me, arises from the lag between the highly modern industrial and technical equipment, on the one hand, and the prevalent pre-modern social and mental attitudes, on the other hand. In the Western world the intellectual transformation preceded the industrial one; rationalism opened the way for modern economic enterprise and social organization. In Japan an effort was made to preserve as far as possible the old intellectual and social order, equipping it only with the devices of modern technique. The future will reveal whether Japan can maintain such a system in times of crisis, or whether it will be forced to proceed to a thorough-going modernization and readjustment of the mental and social attitude underlying its present life. The problem of industrialization is an extremely complex one and cannot be separated from the all-pervading transformation of the whole social life of a country.

In the Soviet Union, as in the whole Orient, the process of transformation has not gone far enough to warrant any definitive summaries of achievements. The most that one can do is to report developments and trends. This becomes clear in studying a country like India. Although the number of factories and factory workers in India at the present time is large, it is still insignificant for so vast a country. Primitive agriculture remains dominant. What is more important is the fact that the greatest leader of Indian politics and thought in the present century has been opposed to any real modernization of Indian life. Notwithstanding the long period of British rule, the Indians, like the Chinese, have only recently turned their attention to modern economics. Their first books on economic problems appeared at the turn of our century. Although such works have increased in number and improved in quality during the last ten years, and although a number of economic journals and research institutes have been founded, India is but beginning its investigation of modern economic thought.

Untouchability Abroad

We reproduce the following notes on untouchability abroad from *The Inquirer* of London :

Untouchability is not confined to India, though nowhere else does it affect so vast a number of people as among the outcastes of that country. Untouchability persists in America, and in Europe too. Each of these continents has its outcastes. Nor is Hinduism alone among the great religions in treating certain of its members as "beyond the pale."

In the United States untouchability is like a cancerous growth upon the body-politic which the Christian churches have failed, as yet, to remove. So complete is their failure to rid their country of this evil thing that in the Southern States separate churches exist for whites and blacks! Between 1930 and 1935, 108 African blacks were savagely done to death by white mobs, and of these, two were burned and others were hanged or shot. That this is not due to colour prejudice is convincingly shown by Mr. C. E. Russell in an article in the *Aryan Path* for March :

"Throughout the Southern States of the American Union, wherein these antagonisms are most virulent, what we call 'coloured persons' are not admitted to hotels, restaurants, places of amusement, travelling accommodations and even churches that are used by white persons. But this is because they are classed as Negroes, not because of their complexion. Visiting Hindu princes and nobles, often of darker tint than many Negroes, are admitted freely to the privileges and accommodations from which lighter skinned Afro-Americans are barred. So is any tawny-tinted person admitted who can show descent from the North American Indian. Separate (and

much inferior) cars on the raliroads are set apart for Negro use; but daily in the South-Western States, dark-hued American Indians are allowed to ride freely with the white passengers. Or again, there are in the United States probably fifty thousand persons of the hated African descent but of tint so light that they pass for white. These, if their ancestry should become known, though they were as blond as any average Nordic, would promptly be ejected from any Southern hotel."

The problem is one of caste, not of colour. There persists, at least in the Southern States, a deep and apparently ineradicable hatred of the African which, we conjecture, has its psychological root in a discomforting, but scarcely acknowledged, feeling on the part of the white community that they themselves—they and their slave-trading, slave-owning forefathers—are to blame that the problem exists. Slowly the problem is being tackled and solved, though to this day white men ("Christians" at that, it is said) conspire to prevent the law from effectually quashing the "right" to lynch.

Of the extent and virulence of anti-Semitism in Europe it is scarcely necessary for us to speak. In Russia before the war, as in Germany and throughout Central Europe today, and nowhere more markedly than in Poland (were Jews form a large minority of the population), the Jewish race is subject to hatred, indignity, and persecution. The cause is both racial and economic, but religion is also involved.

Perhaps the most distressing aspect of the whole question of untouchability in Europe as it affects the Jews (if for the moment we may avert our eyes from the actual suffering of hundreds of thousands of these members of human race) is the fact that Christians are sometimes party to this detestable crime. Not *all* Christians, to be sure, not the overwhelming majority of Christians, but Christians none the less. In Germany no one dare hope to become a minister of the Church, be he as blond as blond can be, if there flows in his veins one drop of Semitic blood. And the State has disfranchised and dismissed from public office tens of thousands of Christian non-Aryans. It is a crime to be a Jew, and not even Christ can wash this stain away!

London, too, has its untouchables. An African can traipse, day in and day out, from Hampstead to Bloomsbury and Kensington in search of a lodging, or at worst for a room of his own, only to meet with a polite, and sometimes curt, refusal. Even the "better" hotels will show him the door, courteously, it may be, but decisively—unless under some royal cognomen he enters replete with secretary and suite! We once heard a titled lady *pride herself*, on her lack of prejudice in meeting a Negro in an English drawing room! She was conscious all the while of a simmering reluctance to meet a black on equal terms.

Plant Hormones

The following notes are reproduced from *The News Chronicle*:

For a long time a school of botanists, led by the great Indian experimenter, Dr. Bose, has claimed that plants have a nervous system not unlike that of the higher animals.

Dr. Bose talks of a forest of acacias trembling with fear at a sudden frightening stimulus, and shows some remarkable demonstrations of plants acting under the influence of strong feeling.

Now comes another and probably more important correspondence between plants and animals.

It has long been known that an animal's body manufactures in certain small ductless glands minute quantities of chemicals which pass into the blood stream and are responsible for co-ordinating and stimulating the growth of the body.

These chemicals or hormones are responsible for the bird's change of plumage at mating season, for the preparing of a supply of milk for the as yet unborn child, for the down on the chin of the adolescent boy, for the arched back and up-standing fur of an irritated cat.

Now it has been shown that plants, too, produce hormones.

Botanists have succeeded in isolating the plant hormones that stimulate growth and in imitating them perfectly in the chemical laboratory. They have now prepared a commercial product, hortomone A, as they have named it, a veritable vegetable monkey-gland, which will help the gardener to get his cuttings to strike root safely.

This year gardeners all over England will be doping their carnations, their clematis, their chrysanthemums and their lupins with hortomone A, while in the other kind of nursery their wives are giving vitamin A to the baby. In both cases it will be the result of the modern scientific discovery that all life processes are controlled by infinitesimally small pinches of complicated chemicals manufactured in the bodies of animals and plants alike.

Religion in Japan

The Rev. A. K. Reischauer, a leading authority on religion in Japan, writes in *The International Review of Missions*:

Whether the Japanese are peculiarly religious may be questioned, but it is a fact that Japan is in a real sense a depository of religions. Not only has the native Shinto persisted through the centuries but the religions of southern and eastern Asia have also been a part of Japan's spiritual possession for upwards of a thousand years. In fact, these imported religions have had a lusty growth in the land, both the religion of the Buddha and the ethical philosophies of Confucius and other Chinese sages having a greater vitality in Japan today than in the lands of their origin. Japanese Buddhism is, of course, something different from early Indian Buddhism, and in even the great essentials of religion it sometimes differs radically from the Buddha's teachings, but even so it has kept sacred the memory of the great Indian teacher and withal has transmitted to generation after generation much of the better parts of his spiritual legacy. The same is true of the way Japan has both changed and yet loyally followed the teachings of the Chinese sages. The ethics of 'the five great human relationships' are part of the very structure of Japanese ethical life, but, true to the Shinto ideal of loyalty, Japan has made the relationship between subject and ruler the supreme relationship in human life, and all other loyalties have been subordinated to the loyalty to emperor and the state.

Thus it may be said that there is little in the ethical teachings of Japanese religions and philosophies which does not derive directly or indirectly from Buddhism and Confucianism, and yet it does remain true that this spiritual legacy is now definitely Japanese and that it can be somewhat differentiated from its Indian and Chinese originals. Whether the Japanese version is always an improvement may be open to question. In a summary way one might say that Japanese Buddhism is always more this worldly in its interests than Indian

Buddhism, while on the other hand Japanese ethical philosophy borrowed from China is perhaps more idealistic and grounded more definitely in the transcendental world than was the case with typical Chinese Confucianism. Japan's higher spiritual inheritance is thus a blending of Indian other-worldliness and Chinese this-worldliness and for that reason is somewhat differentiated from the borrowed originals

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Elasticity of the Japanese Nation

Iichiro Tokutomi writes in *The Japan Magazine* :

In the early part of the Restoration Japan learned the Navy from England and military arts first from France, then from Germany. In those days a poem was composed, meaning; "Although we now learn military arts and sciences from the West (denoting England and France), time will come when we shall excel them in them." This must have been our national ideal. It was realized later, if not in full. The Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars were the result of our strenuous efforts in developing our Army and Navy.

It goes without saying that this tremendous progress of our nation was due to the self-sacrificing devotion of the great men who preceded us, to say nothing of the virtue and dignity of the successive Emperors, but we may be able to say, in the meantime, that it was a gift to us of the arrogance, humiliation and rudeness of foreign countries and their peoples, which aroused a hostile spirit among our people, caused them to exert themselves and made them so elastic. In this sense, it may not be without reason that we say we are thankful not only to Commodore Perry, Pouchachin and Parkes, but also to the ex-Kaiser of Germany, who made himself the moving spirit of the notorious 'Three-Power Intervention.' The Japanese nation at large is very elastic, but that elasticity is always hardly operated automatically or actively; for giving rise to it an offensive power from without is necessary. In the face of our denial the foreign powers have gifted us with too much offensive power.

For the past seventy years Japan has gone through many ups and downs, from the international viewpoint. At the beginning she was disdained, made fool of, then was pitied or loved, yet not much taken notice of. But she has later been feared rather than respected; detested instead of being shown an attachment. Plainly speaking, the present situation is that the rest of the world would like to give Japan a sound thrashing. At the League of Nations' conference at Geneva Japan experienced it. But such an attitude taken by the other Powers is neither deplorable nor to be resented. Nor is it fearful to her.

However, Japan should not so long remain 'a hated child'; she may not be able to go on still further as a focus of the world's hatred. We ought to dash forward to the goal of the great ideal of 'the benevolent has no enemy." For realizing it, every individual of our nation must endeavour to observe the great rule of "opening a new city in the Cosmos and establishing reign all over the universe," on the basis of which our first Emperor Jimmu founded our Empire some 2,600 years ago, and to carry this rule into force.

Impressions of Spain

H. N. Brailsford observes in *The New Republic* :

Without experience or traditions and with a minimum of expert aid, the republic has made unbelievable progress in building an army. The volunteers of the early days are already veterans, who have acquired the latest technique for withstanding tanks and aerial attack. The young conscripts of five classes (ages twenty-one to twenty-six) are mastering their weapons with a will: the first drafts are already serving with the seasoned troops at the front. Immense half-trained reserves are available for the future, but the lack of arms forbids mass conscription.

The training of officers, many thousands at a time, goes on without interruption: the majority are workers, and it is amazing that their zeal and passion for hard work can balance their defects of education. A three months' course has to suffice for the land arms; in six months several hundreds of air pilots have been trained. It may happen that a battalion of conscripts is drilled by sergeants, while the officers who will command it are passing through the military school. Many months must elapse before units raised in this way can become an effective striking force.

Even with the information that one could glean on the spot, the equation was difficult to work out. The control operates with absolute rigidity against the republic; for arms and munitions it must now depend entirely on its own resources. Ammunition it manufactures with success, but it is not producing even small arms. The rebels are in this respect better situated. Moreover they are daily receiving new planes, which fly from Germany to Italy and thence by way of Majorca to Spain.

The character of this war is changing rapidly. From a class struggle it is turning into a war of independence. The slogans and posters reflect this development. On May Day, of all days, I heard two leading Socialist orators who devoted the greater part of their lengthy speeches to wholesale denunciation of Germany and Italy: nothing was forgotten, from the sinking of the "Lusitania" to the latest atrocity in Ethiopia. Several ingenious posters sought to render visible the grip of international finance upon Spain. A map showed the mines, the electrical plant, the motor works and the like belonging to foreign capital; the names of Morgan, Rothschild, Schneider, Wendel and many more were prominent, and under it ran the caption: "the true reasons for false neutrality."

The sense is growing in the minds of the Spanish masses that they are fighting not merely Hitler, Mussolini and their own feudal caste but the leagued forces of an international money power.



The American "Clipper" plane lands at Foynes, Irish Free State air base, after her historic flight across the Atlantic



Police dispersing the crowd at Trafalgar Square, London, where a fight ensued between the Fascist demonstrators and their opponents



Miss Dorothy Round, the new tennis champion (right), walking off the Court with Mlle. J. Jedrzejowska after the match at Wimbledon



Mahatma Gandhi after the Congress Working Committee meeting which decided to accept office, leaving Wardha



INDIAN PERIODICALS



On India

Rabindranath Tagore writes in the *Visva-Bharati News* :

I love India, not because I cultivate the idolatry of geography, not because I have had the chance to be born in her soil, but because she has saved through tumultuous ages the living words that have issued from the illuminated consciousness of her great sons—*Satyam, Jnanam, Anantam Brahma*, Brahma is truth, Brahma is wisdom, Brahma is infinite; *Santam, Sivam, Advaitam*, peace is in Brahma, goodness is in Brahma, and the unity of all beings.

Brahma-nishtho grhasthah syat
tatvajnana-prakurvita
yad yad karma prakurvita
tad Brahmani samarpayet.

The householder shall have his life established in Brahma, shall pursue the deeper truth of all things and in all activities of life dedicate his works to the Eternal Being.

Thus we have come to know that what India truly seeks is not a peace which is in negation, or in some mechanical adjustment, but that which is in *Sivam*, in goodness; which is in *Advaitam*, in the truth of perfect union; that India does not enjoin her children to cease from *karma*, but to perform their *karma*, in the presence of the Eternal, with the pure knowledge of the spiritual meaning of existence; that this is the true prayer of Mother India:

Ya eko-varno bahudha saktiyogat
varnan anekan nihitartho dadhati
vichaiti chante visvamadau
sa no buddhya subhaya samyunaktu.

He who is one, who is above all colour distinctions, who dispenses the inherent needs of men of all colours, who comprehends all things from their beginning to the end, let Him unite us to one another with the wisdom which is the wisdom of goodness.

—

Books to Save Liberalism

The idea behind nineteenth-century liberalism is the notion of individual self-determination—the right of a man to think and speak as he feels, 'according to conscience'. The present attack on liberalism has taken the form of a revolt against reason. Are we to restore this liberalism? What must be looked for is a new flower from an old root. In an article in *The Aryan Path* Miss Storm Jameson gives her prescription for inculcating in all men the ideas of liberty, tolerance and brotherly respect. She observes :

There are periods when the rebellious life is the only spiritual life. These come whenever human dignity and freedom of thought are threatened by injustice. At these times, Jesus the great rebel, whose words are part of our common heritage, will be heard speaking with a different voice than the voice heard by the broken, the sick and the dying.

The danger is that Jesus himself may be made a tyrant by those to whom blind obedience seems a virtue. There is a corrective for this to be found in the teachings of the Buddha. I am not a Christian; neither am I a Buddhist : it seems to me that the Buddha saved his followers from a mortal danger when he warned them not to accept anything as true because it was in the Scriptures or taught by a great teacher. "Be ye lamps unto yourselves. Look to no external refuge. Hold fast to the truth as a lamp. Look not for refuge to any one besides yourselves. Work out your own salvation with diligence." I should want to put this teaching side by side with the Christian Gospel.

Liberalism as a living condition of the human mind is destroyed by the blind acceptance of any creed or dogma, whether it be the Christian, the Fascist, or any other.

The supreme virtue of Buddhism for this age is its insistence on tolerance, on brotherly respect. If it were not that we have the New Testament in our blood I would have put Buddhism first.

I must have books which come into men's minds by side doors, and of these I choose *Gulliver's Travels* and *Ulenspiegel*. I want the sharpness and biting irony of the first and the living warmth of the Flemish book. Even a child understands why the King of Brobdingnag, horrified, finds men "the most pernicious race of little odious vermin," and without being hurt by it is strengthened. Even the Voyage to the Houyhnhnms does not shock a child, but he learns by it. And if he reads *Ulenspiegel* when he is young he will never be content with less than the most liberal world he can conceive.

I must have the *Areopagitica*, since Milton's defence of "the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience" is in the full tide of our tradition. It is a part of our inheritance we must neither give away nor sell; its eloquence has the effect on us of poetry, to cling to our minds and grow there. For like reasons I must have as well *The Pilgrim's Progress*. This is a different poetry; it is English of the fields and of simple rooms : no man or child ever became illiberal or indifferent to his fellows who once took into his mind the death of Faithful, the trumpets sounding at the other side of the river, the shepherd-boy's song, and the last sight of Mr. Ready-to-Halt who "followed, though upon crutches."

If I were able to make these read by everyone I should be almost satisfied. Not altogether satisfied. I should want to make my own lengthy anthology of passages, some long, some short, from a variety of books : from Plato's *Republic* and the *Apology;* from Rabelais (the address of Gargantua to his vanquished enemies) : from *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*; from Erasmus; from John Stuart Mill, not simply a score of lengthy extracts from his essay *On Liberty*, but at least one long

passage from the *Autobiography*, in which it appears how close this extraordinary man came to a genuine communism: "The social problem of the future we considered to be, how to unite the greatest individual liberty of action, with a common ownership in the raw material of the globe, and an equal participation of all in the benefits of combined labour"; and from how many others in many tongues.

The Nordic Myth

A pure race is a sterile race Purity of race cannot be met with in the civilized world. Nazi Germany pretends to believe that racially it is purely Aryan. In a short article in *The Indian Review* H. N. Mukherjee disposes off the Nordic Myth:

As for modern Europe, there has been such an intermixture of stocks that there is no knowing what may be the precise racial composition of any individual. External features—hair, eyes, stature and the like—tell us very little; Virchow's examination in 1866 of 6 million German school children showed not only an amazing proportion of brunetness, but also an astonishing diversity and the unexpected frequency of unusual combinations, *e.g.*, light hair and dark eyes, or dark hair and light eyes. Tall brunettes with long heads and short blondes with equally long heads are too numerous to warrant any exclusive association of traits.

No satisfactory pigeon-holding for the various human types in existence has yet been devised and there are no adequate methods, inspite of Hitler's fiats, for testing innate intelligence as between peoples of different education and culture. Even Gobineau, one of the major prophets of racialism, conceded that artistic capacity originated from the black races to whom the Greeks owed an immense debt. The massive civilization of China was the work of the yellow races. It does not really matter when an enthusiast like Ludwig Waltmann studies the art galleries and demonstrates to the satisfaction of none but himself that almost all great Westerners—Leonardo, Galileo, Voltaire, Dante, Raphael, Michael Angelo, Shakespeare, Cæsar, Alexander, Napoleon and others—were of Teutonic blood. The existence of the Nordic race today can really be classed as a myth, the product of the mystical theorising of Houston Chamberlain and the motley group that has followed him, the product, one must note carefully of self-interest, and wishfulfilment. All that is talked in Germany today about the Aryan race, its monopoly of gifts and its mission of civilization is so much abracadabra. The word "Aryan" is properly applied only to a group of languages and is quite unscientific when used for a group of peoples. It is imperative, of course, to study the individual differences among members of the same "race" and to try to improve their quality. It is to eugenics, and not by any means to race dogmatism, that civilization looks for support.

Friedrich Froebel, the Founder of the 'Kindergarten'

H. Pirath gives a brief sketch in *The Educational Review* of the life of Friedrich Froebel who introduced in the sphere of children's education an entirely novel system called the *Kindergarten*, which is to be found flourishing today in every civilised country:

The village of Oberweissbach in Thuringia in Germany is the birth place of the famous pedagogue and founder of the *Kindergarten*, Friedrich Froebel. It was here in the solitude of the Thuringian Forest that he spent his childhood. The modest little personage on the long village street of Oberweissbach is over 300 years old, but still stands to mark the home where Friedrich Froebel, sixth child of a poor village person, was born.

Froebel began his career as an ordinay forester. In 1808 he made the acquaintance of Pestalozzi at Iterten, and in 1811 received an appointment as teacher at the Plamann Institute in Goettingen. He took part in the campaigns of 1813-14, and at the end of the war was made assistant at the Minerology Museum in Berlin.

In 1818 Froebel founded an educational institution for children at Griesheim near Stadtilm, which was later moved to Keilhau, a village near Rudolstadt. He directed this institution until 1831, when he went to Switzerland for a sojourn of about five years. Upon his return in 1836, he commenced to devote himself particularly to the educational training of young children not yet old enough to go to school. One fine spring day in 1840 as he was making a walking tour with some friends through the Thuringian Forest on the way to Bad Blankenburg, he is said to have exclaimed, as he looked down into the sunny valley below, "I have it! My new school shall be called the *Kindergarten*." Under this title of "Kindergarten," the great educator did not have in the establishment of a mere institution where young children were to study as in a school; his romantic spirit wished rather to give to little children a kind of earthly paradise. In these "Kindergartens," the little tots were to be permitted to run about freely and to amuse themselves with certain kinds of playthings which were especially designed by him for the purpose. These little groups were to be under the supervision of specially trained women. In order to realize this ideal, Froebel opened a seminary at Marienthal Castle near Bad Liebenstein for the training of Kindergarten teachers. The words of the great philosopher Fichte, "Salvation comes from within," seems to have been Froebel's keynote, when he said that education begins with the mother, and when he wrote his famous book *Love Songs for the Mother*.

In his pedagogical views, Froebel adheres closely to the teachings of Pestalozzi, which emphasize the encouragement of all the human faculties in a child, especially through the medium of the so-called "occupational games." Using his theories of child education as a foundation, Froebel wrote his important work, *The Education of Man*. In fighting for his ideas, he was often obliged to suffer want and privation.

Friedrich Froebel died on June 21, 1852 at Marienthal in Thuringia at the age of seventy years. Near the Liebenstein spa in the Thuringion Forest stands a monument to this great teacher and lover of children. The base of the monument is in the form of a cube, surmounted by a column on the top of which is a globe-shaped ball. This rather unique monument seems to portray the two fundamental elements upon which so many of his playthings and children's games were based —cubes and spheres in their many forms.

Need for Industrial Statistics

A Statistician concludes his article in the *Financial Times* on the need for Industrial Statistics with the following observations:

Apart from the collection of information regarding production and working of the indigenous industries, in

their various aspects such as supply of raw materials and price movements of manufactured goods, the marketing and commercial aspects should receive the concentrated attention of the Industries Department. It is true that the Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics of the Government of India collects data relating to foreign and coastal trade but so far as internal trade is concerned, it does not do much. While this department supplies figures of imports and exports through the five principal ports, *viz.*, Bengal, Bombay, Sind, Madras and Burma, it does not show the ultimate destination of the goods nor does it throw any useful light on the internal trade of a province. Monthly reports entitled "Exports of Indian Artware and Sports Goods," show the value in rupees of exports of a certain limited number of articles to foreign countries, together with the figures of the share of various Indian ports in the exports. The Monthly Accounts relating to the Inland (Rail and River-borne) Trade of India also are not at all comprehensive for they give only figures for thirty-two items, of which ten are manufactures, the others being raw materials, agricultural produce or animal produce.

This being the case, it is necessary for the provincial Industries Departments to compile fuller statistics relating to inter-provincial trade, for such data are of great importance for our small industries whose products do not enjoy any external demand and are not likely to, in near future. The Punjab Government published upto 1921-22 yearly reports of the External and Internal Trades of the Punjab. They were very valuable publications and the Government are now seriously thinking of restarting the publication. But unless other provinces also start similar publications the statistical value of one provincial account would be greatly diminished. It is from this standpoint that the Eighth Industries Conference held at Lucknow in December, 1936 recommended that the Government of India be requested (i) to publish fuller trade statistics so as to include in their periodical statistical publications, statistics concerning important manufactured and semi-manufactured goods produced in the country, and raw materials consumed therein, along with figures of inter-provincial movements of these articles and (ii) to appoint a small committee to draw up a list of the articles which can be suitably included in the fuller statistics to be published by the Director General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics in the light of the existing conditions. (Proceedings of the Eighth Industries Conference, p. 86). Mr. Weston, the then Director of Industries who represented Bengal at the Conference observed that he would welcome further statistics if the Government of India were prepared to collect them; but what he required as more important was statistical information of industrial development in the province particularly in the matter of small industries not affiliated to the large industrial organizations and chambers of commerce, whose products did not appear in export returns or statistics of Rail and Sea-borne traffic. It was essentially a provincial matter and Mr. Weston was right in voicing the necessity for statistics relating to such industries. If every province takes appropriate steps to collect the necessary statistics, it will not only strengthen the statistical equipment of the province but also help the intended publications as suggested at the Conference.

Was Alexander Routed in India ?

In his article in *The Indian Review* Dr. H. C. Seth discusses the grounds on which he thinks that Alexander's forces were routed and driven out of the country with tremendous losses amounting to complete discomfiture :

The early European historians had made a great hero of Alexander, and this tradition is kept up by most of the modern European historians. There is no doubt that he overran Persia and shattered into pieces the once mighty Persian empire which, in the previous centuries, always took the offensive against Greece. But it has also been tacitly assumed that he was equally successful in India. Unfortunately there is no Indian account whatever from which the one-sided statements of the early Greek and Roman historians could be corrected. But if we carefully read even in between the lines of the accounts left by the early European writers like Arrian, Curtius, Diodoros, Plutarch, and Justin, we do not feel so certain of Alexander's returning victorious from India.

Alexander's Indian campaign began in the region between the Hindukush and the Indus, which was then occupied by the Kshatriya tribes known as Acvakas (Greeks called them as Assakenois). The Acvakas offered a terrible resistance to Alexander. He had to fight every inch of the ground, and it took him nearly nine months to subdue the people of this region. Alexander committed gross atrocities in this region. Like Tyre and Persopolis in Persia, he burned many flourishing cities here too. At many places many inhabitants, including women and children, were put to the sword. These Hunic barbarities of Alexander must have completely alienated the sympathies of the people here. The Acvakas could not concentrate on any single place, as they had to defend every post against the avalanche let loose by Alexander, so destructive of life and property. They made a last stand at Aornos, a very strong and strategic fortress near the Indus. After a few days' seige, Alexandtr took Aornos, as the Acvakas retired into the interior of the mountains. Curtius observes : "It was the position rather than the enemy Alexander had conquered." Alexander placed Aornos under the Indian Cacigupta. Obviously, Cacigupta belonged to some ruling family in this region. It was a general practice of Alexander that he put in charge of the areas he conquered either the vanquished ruler or some other equally influential person belonging to that area. He did the same in case of Poros and the king of Takshcilla. This was the only way in which he could get the support of the otherwise absolutely alien people for his further advance. Arrian calls Cacigupta as the satrap of Acvakas. Cacigupta appears to be a very enterprising person and a great opportunist. He had gone to Bactria to help the Persians in their fight against Alexander. After the Persians were defeated in this last stand of theirs, Cacigupta went over to Alexander, and now Alexander left him in charge of strategically the most important place west of the Indus, as Aornos commanded the passage back to Persia through the Punjab. In any subsequent developments in the area lying between the Hindukush and the Indus, we have to account for three persons : (1) Cacigupta, (2) Tyriespes, Persian Satrap at the foot of the Hindukush, (3) Nicanor, one of his own Generals whom Alexander left here.

Alexander's passage east of the Indus was facilitated because of the alliance he had already formed with Ambhi, king of Takshcilla. The cause for this highly unpatriotic conduct on the part of Ambhi seems to be his jealousy of Poros who, even before Alexander came to India, had started in alliance with the king of Abhisar on a career of conquest. It appears that Abhisar was also in alliance with his neighbours Acvakas. He had sent them help against Alexander and also received fugitives from the west of the Indus. Though he sent some presents to Alexander, yet he kept back the envoy sent by Alexander and was getting ready to join Poros. Alexander got to know about the double game Abhisar was playing, and before the latter could take his forces to join that of

Poros, Alexander and Ambhi moved hurriedly and confronted Poros on the bank of the Jhelum.

Poros gave a tough fight to Alexander. The Greek army was thoroughly shaken and alarmed.

As Plutarch remarks: "The combat with Poros abated the spirit of the Macedonians. It was with difficulty that they had defeated an enemy who brought only 20,000 foot and 2,000 horses in the field." Alexander's forces several times outnumbered the forces of Poros. As Plutarch tells us, Alexander entered into India with no less than 120,000 foot and 15,000 horses. These figures are not surprising, as we know that he had at his disposal the resources of the whole of the big Persian Empire.

There is no Indian account of the battle of Jhelum. But even from the Greek and Roman accounts, it seems that the battle did not end so decisively in favour of Alexander. Curtius gives a graphic account of the terror caused in the ranks of the Greek army by the elephants.

The subsequent events also do not suggest that the battle of Jhelum ended in Alexander's favour.

Poros was recognised as an independent monarch. It is more likely that henceforward Poros used Alexander as a tool for his further conquest eastwards, just as Ambhi tried to use him to crush Poros. In any case, Poros succeeded in extending his domains up to the Beas.

After the battle of Jhelum, we do not hear much of Ambhi, king of Takshcilla. Perhaps, the very reason which made him ally with Alexander now drew him away. Alexander was leaving Poros too powerful. As regards Abhisar, Alexander demanded his personal presence and threatened to invade his kingdom in case of non-compliance. But Abhisar never turned up.

In between the Jhelum and the Ravi there was no fighting. Both the rivers, the Chenab and the Ravi, were crossed without any opposition, which shows that the influence of Poros and, perhaps, his domains already extended up to the Ravi. Between the Ravi and the Beas, there was terrible fighting again with the Kshatriyas. As we have already mentioned, the territory between the Ravi and the Beas was also annexed by Poros as a result of his campaigns along with Alexander. But at the bank of the Beas, Alexander's army suddenly threw down its arms and refused to go any further. All the threats and entreaties of Alexander were of no avail and he was forced to order retreat. The explanation given by the old Greek and Roman historians is that Alexander's soldiers and even his generals got tired and home-sick. This does not adequately explain the conduct of an army which had been shown so far uniformly successful.

Why was it that instead of retiring with his tired and home-sick forces through the north-west the way he came and where lay the territories he had conquered, Alexander chose to take them through Sindh and Makran?

He knew that as soon as he had got beyond Poros' territory (which seems to extend in the south as far as the confluence of the Ravi and the Chenab) there would be terrible fighting again. The old Greek and Roman historians want us to believe that it was lust for new conquest which made Alexander take that disastrous course. The army which mutinied at the banks of the Beas and successfully dictated terms for retreat could as well have insisted on retiring through the conquered territories. It would then have been the march back of a victorious army. The truth seems to be that the passage back to Persia through the north-west was blocked for Alexander and his army, and they were forced to retire by way of Sindh and Makran. To understand it properly, we have to go back and see what was happening in the region between the Hindukush and the Indus, where Alexander's atrocities had left such burning wounds.

At the time when Alexander was camping near the Ravi, Acvakas rose in rebellion against him west of the Indus. They killed the satrap Nicanor. It is suggested that the revolt was suppressed by the Persian Tyriespes and some Greek forces from Takshcilla. This does not appear to be true. In the first place, perhaps, Tyriespes was a party to the revolt. We learn that Alexander subsequently replaced him by another Persian satrap who, it seems, never took up that position. Secondly, it cannot be believed that it was so easy to suppress a people whom Alexander himself with a large part of his army failed to subdue even during his nine months' campaign.

As regards Cacigupta, opportunist as he was, he perhaps assumed the leadership of this revolt. The magnitude of this revolt must have been very great. Acvakas had now time to gather up. Evidently Abhisar had joined them it was why he could flout Alexander's order for personal presence. King of Takshcilla had also, perhaps, joined them. It was thus for the first time that, perhaps, a force equal in numbers to that of Alexander had got up behind his back. After the shaking he had at the battle of Jhelum against Poros, could he risk a battle with this tremendous force which had gathered behind him like a cloud and which threatened complete destruction in case of the slightest failure. We now understand why the Greek forces took sudden fright at the banks of Beas and tried to hurriedly retire the way of Sindh and Makran.

Thus ended Alexander's invasion of India and with it his career, as soon after he died of broken heart, fatigue, and excesses. Plutarch makes him lament his fate in India as follows:

Among the Indians I was everywhere exposed to their blows and the violence of their rage. They wounded me in the shoulder and the Ghandridai in the leg, while among the Mallois a shaft shot from a bow lodged its iron point in my breast. A club too struck me a blow on the neck.

The Character of a Public Worker

Mahatma Gandhi observes in the *Harijan*:

There is in modern public life a tendency to ignore altogether the character of a public worker so long as he works efficiently as a unit in an administrative machinery. It is said that everybody's character is his own private concern. Though I have known this view to have been often taken I have never been able to appreciate, much less to adopt it. I have known the serious consequences overtaking organizations that have counted private character as a matter of no consequence. Nevertheless the reader will have observed that for my immediate purpose I have restricted the application of my proposition only to organizations like the Harijan Sevak Sangh which make themselves trustees for the welfare of dumb millions. I have no manner of doubt that possession of a spotless character is the indispensable requisite of such service. Workers in the Harijan cause or for khadi or for village industries must come in closest touch with utterly unsophisticated, innocent, ignorant men and women who might be likened to children in intelligence. If they have not character, they must fail in the end and for ever damn the cause they espouse in the surroundings in which they are known. I write from experience of such cases. Happily they are rare enough for the numbers engaged in such services, but frequent enough to call for public warning and caution on the part of organizers and workers who are engaged in such services. These last cannot be too watchful or too exacting of themselves.

Notes

"Liberty and Order"

"Law and Order" seems to be the motto of the Government in India. But "Liberty and Order" is a better motto. The Republic of Colombia in South America has this motto in its Spanish form, "Libertad y Orden." Colombia has a comparatively small population of some 87 lakhs of people. But its motto is far greater than the number of its inhabitants.

Any government, whatever its character, can maintain order, provided it can command sufficient physical force to enforce its laws, however repressive they may be.

But if a government administers the affairs of a free people, a people enjoying liberty, and if at the same time it wishes to preserve order without curtailing the people's liberty, it must needs be very democratic and enlightened. If Government in India be determined to be democratic and enlightened, it can give liberty to all, including detenus and political prisoners. That can be done without destroying order.

British Bureaucrats and Congress High Command

Whatever the policy and motives of the British bureaucrats ruling India, they are at present according gentlemanly treatment to the Congress Ministers in six provinces, many, if not most or all, of whom had gone to jail for disobeying some law or other. These erstwhile "rebels" now form the governments of those provinces and are releasing political prisoners and returning the security deposits taken from presses and newspapers. All this shows the merely technical character of many political offences. It also shows that these bureaucrats understand statecraft. "Once a rebel, always a rebel," is not their motto.

Has the Congress High Command anything to learn from the British bureaucracy? Some Congressmen have been subjected to disciplinary action for various technical offences, one of which was acceptance of office. But now acceptance of office is no longer an offence for Congressmen. Are there any similar "obsolete" offences? A quondam Congress "rebel" is now a Congress minister.

Production of Petroleum in Principal Countries

In a tabular statement under the above heading in the Statesman's Year-book for 1937, there is no mention of the Indian Empire or of Burma (as that country is no longer a part of the Indian Empire). Neither India nor Burma is a principal country!

World Consumption of Tin

In this table, too, in the same book of reference, there is no separate mention of India.

World Production of Iron and Steel

In this table, too, in the same year-book, there is no separate mention of India. Why? Figures are given for Japan, which obtains its supply of iron from India.

World Production of Gold

But in this table figures are given for India. Why this exception?

Production of Motor Cars and Motor Lorries, World Fleets, and World Shipping

In the tables relating to the above, one will not expect to find and does not find India figuring.

The British Empire should be proud that that part of it which contains the vast majority of its inhabitants has no fleet and no shipping worth mention and also that it does not produce any motor cars and motor lorries—and of course no aeroplanes.

World Production of Coal

Coal does not yield to any other mineral in importance in the sphere of industries. But the Statesman's Year-book for 1937 does not give any table of world production of coal. The coal-yielding regions are more than fifty, and one has to hunt them up by consulting the index.

League Members' Contributions

The total expenditure of the League of Nations is divided into 923 units. The number of units contributed by each of the Member States is fixed from time to time. At present the ten States which pay the largest number of units are the following: Great Britain, 108; U. S. S. R., 94; France, 80; Italy, 60; India, 49; China, 42; Spain, 40; Canada, 35; Poland, 32; Czechoslovakia, 25. But though India occupies the fifth place among the contributors, she does not wield any power in the League, nor do her children occupy any high position in the League secretariat or even many subordinate positions. She does not derive any advantage from her connection with the League which is at all commensurate with the largeness of her population or her contribution.

India and the League Council

Among the four primary organs of the League of Nations the first is the Council of the League of Nations. It may be considered the executive committee of the League. Though India is a foundation member of the League and has all along been among the first few Member States which have contributed most to the League's funds, she has never yet been admitted to membership of its Council.

At its session of January, 1937, the Council was composed as follows:

PERMANENT MEMBERS

United Kingdom and Northern Ireland, paying 108 units; France, paying 80 units; Italy, paying 60 units; U. S. S. R., paying 94 units.

NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS

Bolivia, paying 2 units; Chile, paying 8 units; China, paying 42 units; Ecuador, paying 1 unit; Latvia, paying 3 units; New Zealand, paying 8 units; Poland, paying 32 units; Roumania, paying 19 units; Spain, paying 40 units; Sweden, paying 19 units; Turkey, paying 10 units.

It is to be noted that, except the four permanent members, no other member contributes more than India, one contributing only 1 unit, another 2, and a third 3 units!

India's offence is that she is not a free and self-ruling country but is subject to Britain. And unquestionably it is a great offence.

Foreign Delegation of Scientists to Jubilee Session of Indian Science Congress

It was in the fitness of things that on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the Indian Science Congress, which is to be celebrated in Calcutta (January 3rd to 9th, 1938) invitations should be extended to a large number of foreign scientists to honour us with their presence and with their participation in the scientific proceedings. The happy idea was conceived of holding what has been called a joint session of the Indian Science Congress and the British Association for the Advancement of Science. The British Association meets annually in September, and their normal and full session will be held as usual in September 1937, but they decided to send out to India a special delegation to join in our celebrations next January. So eminent a scientist as Lord Rutherford will lead the British delegation and will preside over the joint session. We shall feel honoured by their presence, for among them will be some of the foremost scientists of the world, and many of them have been teachers of our distinguished scientists.

It was, however, only right that apart from our British guests we should invite distinguished scientists from other parts of the world, from America, France, Germany, Austria, Russia, Japan and China, etc., and thus give to the gathering a truly international character. But for some unknown reason it was decided that among the foreign delegates there should be a large preponderence of British scientists. At least so the British Association suggested, for they wrote that they would welcome from the Indian Science Congress a list of, say, not less than 75 names of British scientists and about 20 names of distinguished men of science from foreign countries—names of persons whose presence at the Jubilee Session would be specially gratifying to Members of the Indian Science Congress. The British Association, at their end, would then use this list as a basis in issuing invitations to join the delegacy.

This will make it clear that the final selection not only of the British but also of the non-British members of the delegation to the Indian Jubilee session was to rest with the *British* Association.

Even if the proportion of 75 British to 20 non-British is adhered to, the delegation would have *something* of an international character. But the signs are that even this proportion is not going to be kept up. So far as present information goes, there are only three or four

non-British members in a list of about fifty who have so far accepted invitations.

Something should be done to see that the non-British world of Science, which includes men and women not less distinguished than those in the British Empire, is not prevented from as free a participation in our Jubilee Session as Empire scientists. This is a splendid occasion for bringing Indian workers into international contact in their own country. The facts stated above create a suspicion that influences are at work which would tend to restrict our horizon to the Empire.

Is there Imperialism in science also?

We do not see any reason why the Indian Science Congress should not be *absolutely* free to extend invitations to scientists of any race and country, as far as its resources would permit. It is futile to try to make us believe that the British Empire fills as large a space in the domain of Science as it does geographically on the earth's surface.

P.S. The paragraphs printed above are based on such information as we could obtain. It appears from information received later that the British Association have suggested that the invitations to the delegates from foreign countries might be issued by the Indian Science Congress Association, and this has been agreed to.

Indian Central Jute Committee

After a long interval of a decade and a half, a recommendation of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, of which H. E. Lord Linlithgow was the chairman, has been given effect to in the establishment of the Indian Central Jute Committee. The functions of the Committee, as reported in the press, will be "to undertake agricultural, technological and economic research, the improvement of the crop forecasting and statistics, the production, testing and distribution of improved seed, enquiries and recommendations relating to banking, transport facilities, and transport routes, and the improvement of marketing in the interest of jute industry in India." A recurring expenditure of 5 lacs has been sanctioned by the Central Government for the purpose and we understand that the Committee has already begun its work.

The successful operation of such a committee is indissolubly connected with the economic welfare of the country, inasmuch as the price of jute more or less determines the financial condition of most of the ryots in Bengal. And for this it is essentially necessary that a very capable man should be at the head. We understand it has been decided by the Committee that the Director shall be a non-Indian and the post will not be even advertised in India. We have no objection whatsoever to having a foreign director, if he is a real expert and a proved administrator, provided of course no such man is available in India. In our opinion, the post ought to have been advertised both in India and outside, as to our knowledge, competent men for this post are available in India. This is another example of the policy followed by the Government to put a foreign expert at the head of a Research Institute, though competent men are available here.

Experience of Indian affairs has shown that pseudo-experts are imported into India on fabulous salaries in such cases and as a consequence a big show is very often run but substantial work is seldom done under their supervision. It is highly desirable that things should be otherwise in the present case. The director will be drawing more than two thousand rupees per month in all. The figure is certainly high in view of the fact that India is a poor country and Indian scientists of international reputation, Fellows of the Royal Society of London, and Nobel Laureates are getting lesser amounts. We understand that the Secretary—who seems to be the man behind the screen, is getting nearly 40 thousand rupees annually, One might be inquisitive about his qualifications; all that is known about him is that he was, before joining the present post, a junior man in the Agricultural Service in Bihar and Orissa, quite innocent of any knowledge of jute and its products. What we apprehend is that a similar raw man might come over as a director only to draw the princely sum month after month.

Even if he is not a raw man, very little money will be left for actual research work, for which the technological laboratory is primarily meant. As a matter of fact, a very meagre sum—one thousand or so, has been set aside as the working expenditure of the laboratory. What passes our imagination is how an epoch-making research work can be carried out with this insignificant sum. Dr. S. G. Barker in his recent report recommends 10% of the total sum available for the purpose for chemicals, apparatus, etc.

Dr. Barker would be the fittest man for the post of the director. He has a sound knowledge of jute and he also knows the real problem. But we understand that he has been avoided very cleverly.

India's money has been drained through numerous channels, visible and invisible, broad

and narrow. Providence alone knows when it will stop, if at all. Nevertheless one expects that other posts in the technological laboratory should be filled up only by men of proved ability, who possess a thorough knowledge of jute and have already done some substantial work in the line.

P. E. N. Club's Stand for Writers' Freedom

The Fifteenth International P. E. N. Congress, meeting in Paris, passed unanimously several important resolutions in defence of freedom of the pen, on which subject one of the most striking speeches was made by the Italian, Prof. Guglielmo Ferrero. Mr. H. G. Wells, former International President, sent a message emphasizing the "subordination of political, ethnological and dogmatic considerations of all sorts to free expression and unhampered discussion."

One resolution protested against the outrages committed against numerous writers, champions of free speech, in Germany, and especially against the German Government's having prevented Carl von Ossietzky, Nobel Prize winner, from going to Oslo to appear before the Committee and deliver a speech, as required by the statutes of the Nobel Foundation.

The P. E. N. Congress extended sympathy to the whole of Spain for the present tragic situation in that country but condemned as a crime against the spirit the shooting at Granada of the great Spanish poet Garcia Lorca, who had taken no part in the political struggle.

An important resolution protested vigorously against the fetters placed in certain European countries on the culture of national minorities, and especially against the physical and moral persecution of the Jews.

"Convinced that such practices endanger the dignity and the liberty not only of the Jews under the jurisdiction of those countries, but also of all the peoples of the universe, and even of human culture in general, which cannot unfold itself in an atmosphere of hate and persecution, the Congress therefore calls upon all its centres and all its members to put forth all their efforts to oppose this policy which attacks the very principles of our civilization."

Special mention of the curtailment of freedom of expression in India would have been appreciated in this country.

Monsieur Jules Romains, International President of the P. E. N., presided at the Congress sessions. Guests of honour included Karel Čapek of Czechoslovakia, Ventura Gassol of Catalonia, James Joyce of Ireland, Heinrich Mann, famous German *emigre*, Steyn Spreuvls of Belgium and Franz Werstl of Austria. India was represented by Dr. Amiya C. Chakravarty, who recently received from Oxford University the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and the honour of election as senior fellow of Brasenose College, the first scholar from Asia to receive the latter distinction.

Other delegates included Signor F. Marinetti of Italy, Humbert Wolfe, J. B. Priestley and John Purvis from England, J. M. Reid from Scotland and Arthur Meeker, Jr., from the U. S. A. About 350 foreign writers attended the Congress.

Puzzling Position Created by the Hindu Women's Right to Property Act ?

Hindu women, like other women, and like men of all religious communities, have, as they should, the right to acquire, hold and inherit property. The law or laws relating to such right should be clear and unambiguous. It is not lawyers alone who are interested in the question whether a particular statute is ambiguous or not. That is why we draw attention to a point raised by Mr. Rishindra Nath Sarkar, M.A., B.L., Advocate, Calcutta High Court, in relation to the Hindu Women's Right to Property Act (Act XVIII of 1937), in an open letter to the Hon'ble Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar, Law Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council.

Mr. Rishindra Nath Sarkar writes in this open letter that its object is "to point out the anomalous position created by the Hindu Women's Right to Property Act," and proceeds :

As pointed out by the learned editor of the *Calcutta Weekly Notes*, Section 3, by which the rights are given to certain persons, is made applicable by Section 2 of the Act "where a Hindu dies intestate leaving a widow." So where a Hindu dies intestate his wife having pre-deceased him. Section 3 seems to have no application. (*Vide* pp. xciv-xcv, 41 C. W. N.)

Section 3, Sub-Section (1) paragraph 1, runs as follows :-

"3 (1) Where a Hindu governed by the Dayabhag School of Hindu law dies intestate his property, and when a Hindu governed by any other School of Hindu law or by customary law dies intestate leaving separate property, that separate property shall, subject to the provisions of Sub-Section (3), *devolve upon his widow along with his lineal descendants*, if any, in like manner as it devolves upon a son."

Therefore, by this Section "the property," on the conditions mentioned being fulfilled, "shall devolve upon his widow along with his lineal descendants, if any." Consequently the property shall devolve on all his lineal descendants, *i.e.*, sons, daughters, grandsons and granddaughters by sons and daughters, and so forth, whosoever might be living at the death of a Hindu including the widow. And this will devolve "in like manner as it devolves upon a son," that is to say, they will get all the rights a son gets on devolution of property from his father. All of them will, therefore, get the property absolutely and

with co-equal rights, save and except the widow whose rights are limited to that of a Hindu Woman's estate by sub-section (3) of Section 3.

In some respects, no doubt, as the preamble states, the Act gives better rights to women; the female lineal descendants who could never have inherited in the presence of the son or the widow now inherit under this Act. But the interest a widow gets can never be deemed to be better which perhaps the Act intended it to be, as she will merely get a share equal to each of the numerous lineal descendants, instead of a share equal to that of a son under the Hindu law.

From the proceedings of the Assembly, as reported in Calcutta papers, it was known that daughters were intended to be excluded from the operation of the Act. But the Act as passed not only gives rights to daughters but to all lineal descendants, however distant they may be, in like manner as they devolve upon a son.

By Section 3 the estate of a deceased Hindu is made to devolve upon his lineal descendants on his intestacy and on his leaving a widow. Unless such rights are expressly cut down or limited, the estate of the deceased will devolve upon the widow along with the lineal descendants, *i.e.*, upon all the lineal descendants--male or female. But if Section 1, in which the title of the Act is described to be the Hindu *Women's* Right to Property Act, read with the preamble (which cannot ordinarily be relied upon for the construction of the statute) means that none but women shall get any benefit under this Act, then the lineal male descendants including the sons, go out of the operation of the Act, *i.e.*, their rights are not affected by this Act, and consequently, the son's right (including those of the male lineal descendants) under the existing Hindu law will remain unaffected and the sons will get their father's inheritance under the existing law. That is one view. But there is another possible. That is that under the aforesaid strained construction of this Act that none but women shall get any benefit under it, the whole estate devolves on the lineal descendants excluding the males and, therefore, nothing remains for the sons to take. Thus the sons are by implication excluded from their father's inheritance. This is a puzzle.

But if we avoid such forced construction and stick to the plain meaning of the words of Section 3, then the sons and the widow or widows get the inheritance along with the innumerable lineal male or female descendants, howsoever distant they may be—a position perhaps not intended by any legislator.

In my humble opinion the Act should be repealed with retrospective effect and be replaced by a new statute giving in addition better rights to the widows of undivided coparceners governed by the Mitakshara School of Hindu law.

It seems to us laymen that this Act is not free from ambiguity, and also, that howsoever it may be construed, the property of a Hindu dying intestate would be liable under it to be divided into an indefinite number of shares according to the number of his widow or widows and of his lineal descendants along the male and female lines.

If the intention of the Act be to benefit particularly the widow or widows of a Hindu dying intestate, that object would not seem likely to be attained by the wording of the sections referred to by Mr. Sarkar.

Second International Congress of Comparative Law

The Second International Congress of Comparative Law will be held, at the invitation of the Government of the Netherlands, at the Hague in the Peace Palace from the 4th to the 11th August, 1937.

The International Congress is not merely a local function with a presumptuous name. It is held under the auspices of the International Academy of Comparative Law and brings together leading jurists from all ends of the earth. The proceedings of the last session of the Academy show that it was attended by distinguished lawyers, both academic and practical, from almost all the progressive countries of the world. The assembly was truly international. It divided itself into five sections, under the presidentship of eminent jurists, and settled a programme of subjecs to be discussed at the forthcoming session of the Congress.

The Law Quarterly Review (Vol. 46, p. 245) writes :

"The international Academy of Comparative Law was founded in 1924. Its membership is confined to thirty eminent jurists representing the different systems of Law known to civilized countries."

India will be represented at the Second International Congress of Comparative Law by Mr. Radhabinod Pal, M.A., D.L., Tagore Law Professor, and Advocate, Calcutta High Court. Regarding the importance and significance of the distinction conferred on Dr. Pal, the *Calcutta Weekly Notes* writes :

It is gratifying to find that India is gradually winning a place in the various International Councils of the world. Her representation on the various committees of the League of Nations is perhaps not of much significance, for, though it is not to be decried, it follows somewhat formally and automatically from her position as an original member of the League. Of far greater moment is the recognition won for India by her writers and thinkers and their admission to bodies which are shaping the world's present-day thought. The latest honour of this character to come to India is the nomination of Dr. Radhabinod Pal to be the General Reporter for India at the Second session of the International Congress of Comparative Law to be held in the Peace Palace at the Hague in August, 1937. Dr. Pal has also been appointed a Honorary Secretary with power to form an Indian National Committee and to select its reporters. This appointment of Dr. Pal, while it is a fitting recognition of his distinguished work in legal research, is particularly welcome to his country from two points of view. It is well known that though modern India has made some contributions of value to literature, philosophy and science and won a place of respect in those spheres, in Law she has scarcely risen above the level of the ordinary workmen. For some reason or other the modern Indian mind does not seem to have taken kindly to the legal *science* and *there has been no creative thinking in Law*, either carrying forward the ancient systems or assimilating the ever-growing concepts of the West. To jurists and legal philosophers of today India has been unknown. The admission of Dr. Pal to a responsible position in the

International Congress is the first sign that at last in Law too India is making good her claim to play a part.

Imperialism Old and New

The Month for July observes :

At first sight it seems an odd, not to say an unjust, thing that, of the many races occupying the earth's surface, comparatively few retain their original territory and independence. But Imperialism—the system by which one strong people holds other nations in subjection for its own interests—made an early appearance in human history : in fact, our very earliest records reveal the existence of great military Empires—Babylonian, Assyrian, Egyptian—dominating minor States, of all of which the Empire of Rome became ultimately the residuary legatee. The later Empire of Charlemagne, gradually fading into an institution which was "neither Holy nor Roman nor an Empire," made room for the growth of nationalism in Europe, but the imperial idea revived as the rival nations became strong, and the discovery of the New World gave it an immense impetus. In less than four centuries the whole of the Western Hemisphere, North and South, was occupied by different European States, which, however, have long lost political control of their emigrants. But it still remains true that every one of its nineteen independent States remains under rulers of European descent. There is no trace left of the native Governments of four centuries ago.

Regarding the scramble for Africa, the journal writes :

Almost as complete and much more recent has been the European expropriation of the continent of Africa. Apart from the Mediterranean seaboard from Egypt to Morocco, which, of course, came under the sway of Rome, and the Cape of Good Hope, seized by the Dutch in 1652 and by the British in 1814, nine-tenths of Africa was owned by its native inhabitants, when about fifty years ago the "Scramble for Africa" began which ended last year with Italy's conquest of Abyssinia. Seven European nations, Belgium, Britain, France, Germany, Portugal, Italy and Spain did the scrambling : Germany lost her share in the Great War so that the land is held and governed by six European States,[1] only three of which are called empires, Britain, France and Italy, although the vast possessions of Belgium and Portugal might entitle them to the same proud name.

As regards the spoliation of Asia, we are told :

When we turn to the fourth and largest of the continents, Asia, we find that Europe, partly through the commercial urge, partly in defence against Tartar and Moslem invasion, has managed, in the course of time, to acquire a considerable share of its vast territory . . .

Japan with more excuse, being herself Asiatic, has of quite recent years become Imperialist and taken possession of Formosa, Korea and the Chinese Province of Manchukuo. In fact, China herself, apart from little entities like Tibet and Afghanistan, ranks with Japan as the only aboriginal Asiatic State which remains unseized by "expanding Europe."

Polynesia and Oceania (including Australia) have also been subjected to the imperializing process.

1. Liberia, the new Republic on the West Coast, originated as a home for freed American slaves, and is still to some extent under American tutelage.—*The Month.*

Process of De-imperialization

The progress of imperialism during the last few centuries outlined above may serve as a background to the opposite process of de-imperialization of more recent date. This process of de-imperialization has never and nowhere been quite voluntary. It has been due more or less to the pressure of circumstance. The last Great War was a great empire-destroyer. "Austria, Turkey, Russia, Germany, lost their previous imperial status as a result of it." France and Britain retained theirs, and Italy has recently extended her empire.

Mr. Joseph Keating, the writer from whose article we have made extracts in the previous note, observes that "all real empires are predatory and aggressive."

Coming to the "de-imperializing of the British Empire" he writes :

The process had begun, though against the will of the Mother Country, by the secession of the American Colonies in 1776, a severe lesson which taught her that settlements of her own citizens could not be treated as if they were "natives" and exploited for her benefit. The lesson was taken to heart and no further forcible interference with the fiscal relations of the Dominions is recorded, though for some time she tried to insist that the foreign trade of the Colonies should be carried in British ships.

The writer indirectly points out the difference between the British treatment of her "native" subjects and her white colonials. He describes the evolution of the Dominions to the status of "autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspects of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

As regards the status which Ireland acquired by the Treaty of 1921, the writer says that

"What happened in 1921 was not that Ireland was granted 'Dominion Status' or that a modified independence was conferred on her as a concession from Great Britain, but that the right of self-government, inherent in her nationhood and exercised in earlier ages, was at last restored and formally recognized. Her independence is natural, not statutory."

India, too, demands independence, not as a statutory concession, but as a natural right.

The writer notes that "its status is not yet definitely established." "The problem is exceedingly complicated." The Government of India Act "came into operation on April 1st of this year, but the elections held just before, put in power the All-India Congress Party, which repudiates the new Constitution and wants to do away with the British connexion altogether.

So the puzzle about India's definite place in the Commonwealth still remains, ... " A "Commonwealth" indeed is the British Empire of which the vast majority of inhabitants live in subjection in India!

The writer hopes in conclusion that

It is the after-War idea of Colonial Trusteeship, now safely embodied in various Mandates that, together with the extension of self-government, will serve to purge the conception of Empire from its old association with tyranny and wrong. This country, somewhat to its political disadvantage, has finally recognized the complete autonomy of Egypt, but elsewhere in Africa—in the old-established "Cape Colony" and in the post-War Protectorate of Kenya—unjust discrimination against the "native" is practised or projected. It is here that the spirit which started the Empire on its course, the desire of riches, seems to be still unduly prevalent. If that Empire is to conclude its evolution from force into freedom, it must not ignore primary human rights anywhere. Since the War, we have done with the school of "patriotism" which had Kipling as its prophet, and which expressed its ideal in the lines—

"Wider still and wider shall thy bounds be set;
God who made thee mighty, make thee mightier yet."

Our prayer should rather be for a deeper consciousness of justice and charity.

Acceptance of Office by Congressmen

We have in previous numbers stated our views on the question of acceptance of ministerships under the new constitution by members of the Congress or of other political parties. It is unnecessary and would be useless to re-state them now. Members of political parties other than the Congress had already accepted ministerships before the Working Committee of the Congress passed its resolution in favour of acceptance of office at its last session at Wardha, on the 7th July last. It is necessary only to place the Working Committee's decision on record, and we do so below.

"The All-India Congress Committee at its meeting held in Delhi on March 18th, 1937, passed a resolution affirming the basis of the Congress policy in regard to the New Constitution and laying down the programme to be followed inside and outside the legislatures by Congress members of such legislatures.

It further directed that in pursuance of that policy permission should be given for Congressmen to accept office in provinces where the Congress commanded a majority in the legislature if the Leader of the Congress Party was satisfied and could state publicly that the Governor would not use his special powers of interference or set aside the advice of Ministers in regard to their constitutional activities.

In accordance with these directions the Leaders of Congress Parties who were invited by the Governors to form Ministries asked for the necessary assurances.

These not having been given, the Leaders expressed their inability to undertake the formation of Ministries; but since the meeting of the Working Committee on the 28th April last, Lord Zetland, Lord Stanley and the Viceroy have made declarations on this issue on behalf of the British Government.

The Working Committee has carefully considered these declarations and is of opinion that though they exhibit a desire to make an approach to the Congress demand, they fall short of the assurance demanded in terms of the A. I. C. C. resolution as interpreted by the Working Committee resolution of the 28th April. Again, the Working Committee is unable to subscribe to the doctrine of partnership propounded in some of the aforesaid declarations. The proper description of the existing relationship between the British Government and the people of India is that of the exploiter and the exploited and hence they have a different outlook upon almost everything of vital importance.

The Committee feels, however, that the situation created as a result of the circumstances and events that have since occurred warrants the belief that it will not be easy for the Governors to use their special powers.

The Committee has, moreover, considered the views of Congress members of the legislatures and of Congressmen generally.

The Committee has, therefore, come to the conclusion and resolves that Congressmen be permitted to accept office where they may be invited thereto, but it desires to make it clear that office is to be accepted and utilized for the purpose of working in accordance with the lines laid down in the Congress election manifesto and to further, in every possible way, the Congress policy of combating the New Act on the one hand and of prosecuting the constructive programme on the other.

The Working Committee is confident that it has the support and backing of the A. I. C. C. in this decision and that this resolution is in furtherance of the general policy laid down by the Congress and the A. I. C. C.

The Committee would have welcomed the opportunity of taking the direction of the A. I. C. C. in this matter, but it is of opinion that delay in taking a decision at this stage would be injurious to the country's interests and would create confusion in the public mind at a time when prompt and decisive action is necessary.—*United Press.*

We asked in the last *Sraban* number of *Prabasi*, published on the 16th July, whether the Congress Working Committee approved of office-acceptance in pursuance of the determination expressed in the song, "Jhanda ooncha rahe hamara" or of the policy expressed in the words, "She stoops to conquer." Perhaps both.

It remains only to wait and see what the Congress and other ministries may be able to achieve.

Achievements and Intentions of Congress and Other Ministries

Congress ministries in some provinces have already set free some political prisoners, returned the security deposits of some presses and newspapers and withdrawn the bans against some associations. But in this work of political conciliation and justice, they had been anticipated by the Burma Government, which is not a Congress government. That shows that ministries or governments other than those with Congress personnel can do such work. That this is true has been also shown by the Bombay interim ministry's action in returning security

deposits amounting to more than thirty thousand rupees.

The U. P. Congress ministry has withdrawn the cases against some persons who were charged with sedition.

The Bihar ministry appears to have ordered the police not to be present at public meetings for reporting speeches and for espionage. That ministry is reported to have also put a stop to the practice of opening and censoring letters, etc., at post offices.

The Madras ministry first set the example of fixing the salaries of ministers at Rs. 500 per mensem, plus motor cars, and car and house allowances—an example which is being followed by other Congress ministries. The salaries of Congress Speakers and Deputy Speakers are also being fixed at similar moderate figures.

The above list of the achievements of Congress ministries is neither up-to-date, nor exhaustive. It cannot be.

All these show the spirit in which Congress ministers are acting and indicate the policy which they follow. Considering the large professional incomes of some of the ministers, the acceptance of a salary of Rs. 500 means for them immense sacrifice.

It is to be hoped that they will be able to carry out to a great extent, if not in full, the programmes adumbrated in the articles of Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Mr. Satyamurti, Dr. Choithram, Srimati Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya and other leaders.

But what work will the Congress M. L. A.s and M. L. C.s do in the legislatures of provinces in which they are a minority?

And what will Congressmen do outside the legislatures in the two groups of six and five provinces?

It is to be noted that what Congress ministries have achieved so far has required little expenditure of money and no fresh legislation. But economic and educational advancement will require both. Then the powers of the ministers and the possibilities of the constitution will be put to the test.

Bengal Governor on Release Of Detenus and Political Prisoners

Perhaps there has been far greater political discontent and unrest in Bengal than in any other Province and perhaps, therefore, repression has hit Bengal harder than any other part of British India. Consequently Bengal has a far larger number of detenus and political prisoners. So it was but natural that there should have been and be continuous agitation for their release.

On the subject of the release of detenus, on which the Dacca Municipality laid stress in their address to His Excellency Sir John Anderson, Governor of Bengal, on the 20th July, His Excellency is reported to have said, in part :

> I may, however, dispose here and now of the suggestion that the apparent delay on the part of Ministers in making definite and final pronouncements in this matter has been due to some disagreement between myself and my Ministers. I can say categorically that there has been no such disagreement and I cherish the hope and belief that no such disagreement will in fact arise. Ministers have their duty and I mine, but our responsibilities in this matter are coextensive. Moreover, we have to decide upon exactly the same material and we share the natural desire that the enforcement of emergency measures, involving preventive detention without normal legal process and various other abnormal restrictions upon personal liberty, should be brought to an end as soon as due consideration for the public safety will allow. I would however ask you to bear in mind the responsibility with which Ministers are charged in this matter—a responsibility which is in no way ousted or undermined by the existence of a special responsibility on the part of the Governor : that responsibility with which Ministers are charged requires and justifies on their part a thorough and conscientious examination of the whole matter : such an examination they have been engaged in making and I would ask you in all fairness to await its results.
>
> NO BIAS FOR DETENTION
>
> May I say one thing more on a note which I should hesitate to strike if this were not a very personal occasion. I am drawing near the end of my term as Governor of Bengal—a term which I know was heralded by copious references in the Press to my experiences or supposed experiences in Ireland. I recognise with gratitude that since I came here the vast majority of people have been content to judge me by my work in Bengal and that, no doubt, is as it should be. But I am aware that even now hints are dropped here and there that a liberal view could never be expected from anyone who had served the Crown in Ireland during what were called the "troubles." I have never talked about my work in Ireland. What I did or refrained from doing is a matter in which I was answerable not to public opinion but to the British Cabinet and I would not say what I am about to say even now were it not that by so doing I may remove misapprehensions and thereby serve a public interest. With this in mind I think there is one disclosure which after a lapse of 16 years may be made without impropriety. When in 1921 in pursuance of a treaty the British Government were about to transfer to Irish Ministers responsibility for what is now the Irish Free State there were many Irish prisoners still in goal as a result of the preceding conflict. As the principal permanent adviser of Cabinet Ministers in such matters I had to consider the situation and with full knowledge of all the facts and circumstances and after weighing up possible consequences and reactions with the greatest care I recommended the release of those prisoners. That course as a matter of fact was followed. Whether it was right or not is not now in question and I must ask you not to draw any analogy as regards the present situation from this personal reminiscence: the facts and circumstances were so different from those of Bengal that no practical inference can be drawn for us except this one inference which you may perhaps be good enough

to draw, that I do not approach and never have approached such questions with any bias in favour of keeping people in custody merely for the sake of doing so.

We have made this long extract from the Bengal Governor's speech for the sake of fairness.

There are two main points dwelt on by him in the passages quoted above. One is that in the matter of the release of detenus there has been no disagreement between him and his ministers. There is not the least difficulty in believing this to be an entirely correct statement of facts. As to why there has been no disagreement, that can only be a matter for speculation. Is it because the Governor is quite "constitutionally"-minded and "democratically"-minded and therefore when the ministers told him *of their own accord and unasked* that they were not in favour of releasing the detenus, that he, as in constitutional and democratic duty bound, nodded assent? Or is it because the ministers, led by the minister in charge of "law and order", intuitively and instinctively divined which way His Excellency was inclined, and therefore told him that they did not favour the release of detenus? Or, did His Excellency first give out his mind to the ministers on the subject and then they cried ditto? Or, lastly, did he and the ministers simultaneously arrive at the same conclusion?. . . .

But all this is futile speculation.

His Excellency has said that he and the ministers have to decide on the same material, that the latter are carefully examining the same, and the public should await the results of that examination. Of course, the public *must*.

One point has to be noted. The detention of the detenus has been incidentally referred to by His Excellency as "*preventive* detention." So they had not actually committed any crime but the police suspected or presumed that they would commit some crime and therefore they have been kept in indefinite detention? If so, they have never been actual terrorists?

In civilized countries the best course adopted by enlightened statesmen to prevent subversive activities, has been the inauguration of a full or at least a substantial measure of self-rule. Why was not this done in our country? We do not, of course, make Sir John Anderson responsible for the non-adoption of this course in this country. But he knows that Britain adopted this course, or was obliged to do so under pressure, in Ireland.

It may not serve any useful purpose to mention but nevertheless it should be mentioned here that, if Bengal had a Congress ministry, there would not have been agreement between the gubernatorial, and ministerial points of view on the detenu release question. Leading Congress M. L. A.s, like Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, have been continually agitating for the release of detenus, and if there had been a Congress ministry they would have been the ministers and would have released detenus and political prisoners as other Congress ministries have been doing. Moreover, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, the president of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, has earnestly requested His Excellency, the Governor of Bengal to release the detenus and has given the assurance that

"So far as we Congressmen are concerned, I can say with full sense of responsibility and on behalf of Congress organizations in Bengal that if the Government will do an act of belated justice we shall certainly respond by re-doubling our efforts for inculcating the spirit of non-violence among the people, for in any case in her own interest and in the interest of India as a whole, Bengal will have to fall in line with the principle, policy and method of the Indian National Congress."

It cannot be said that Congress ministries are less troubled by "due consideration for public safety" or are less zealous to promote "the cause of ordered and constitutional progress" than other ministries.

A Suggestion for Congress Ministries

Perhaps it may be suggested to the Congress ministries that among their portfolios that which is usually styled the portfolio of "Law and Order" may be re-named that of "Liberty and Order"!

The motto of at least one republic in the world is "Liberty and Order."

Sir John Anderson and the Case of Ireland

In the course of his statement to the press dealing with the present situation in Bengal, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has said :

"Five years ago, before Sir John left the shores of England, he was criticised for his part in the Black and Tan regime in Ireland and he retorted by saying that he had also participated in handing over power to the Irish people."

In his reply to the Dacca Municipality's address on the 20th July Sir John said something similar and asked the public to believe "that I do not approach and have never approached such questions with any bias in favour of keeping people in custody merely for the sake of doing so." There cannot be any difficulty in believing that Sir John Anderson has no such bias.

He takes credit for advising the release of Irish political prisoners before the inauguration of the Irish Free State constitution in 1921 and gives credit to the then British Cabinet for following his advice. But he adds that the cases of Bengal and Ireland are so different—"the facts and circumstance [of Ireland] were so different from those of Bengal"—and therefore no practical inference can be drawn, that is, we must not expect that because Sir John advised the release of Irish political prisoners therefore he will decide to release Bengal detenus, and political prisoners.

Before we note the differences between Ireland and Bengal, it may be pointed out that in releasing the Irish political prisoners the British Government of the day made a sort of virtue of necessity. If the British Government had not done it, the Irish Free State Government would have done it soon after—it had the power to do so. The first Article of the Irish Free State constitution describes that state as "a co-equal member of the Community of Nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations." That state is a "Dominion", and the Dominions are "autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs." Provision was made by Article 50 of the Irish Free State constitution for subsequent amendments. And by the exercise of the power implied in this provision,

"Under Mr. de Valera considerable changes have been made in this way, all in the direction of greater independence, such as the removal of the Parliamentary Oath, the abolition of the Senate, the prohibition of appeals to the Judicial Commission of the British Privy Council, and finally the establishment of a President elected by the Dail, instead of a Governor-General representing the King."—*The Month* for July, 1937.

Considering that the Irish constitution gave Ireland such a measure of self-rule that it enabled her to make these momentous changes, it was a foregone conclusion that, if the British Cabinet had not released the Irish political prisoners, the Irish Free State would not have lost any time in releasing them. Compared with the serious problems it has tackled it would have been a far easier job.

That is why we have said that in releasing the Irish political prisoners, the British Government made a sort of virtue of necessity.

Now we come to the differences in the facts and circumstances of Ireland and Bengal. We shall simply point out the differences. The Government and the public may consider their bearing on the release or non-release of detenus and political prisoners in Bengal.

The Irish Free State has got a constitution which enables it to become independent step by step without any reference to what Britain and the British Parliament may or may not do to hinder or help such a process. India (and Bengal) has not got such a constitution. Her constitution can be changed only by the British Parliament.

Ireland's constitution pacified Ireland. India's constitution has not pacified India.

There were repeated armed risings or rebellions in Ireland, in the course of which very many combatants and non-combatants were killed or wounded. There were other acts of violence on both sides of a serious description. There has not been any such rebellion in Bengal. If the acts of terrorism be described as a rebellion, it may be said that the number of casualties was very much smaller than in the Irish armed risings or rebellions.

As regards the prisoners in the two countries, in Bengal they are of two main classes, detenus and prisoners proper. Among the detenus, the alleged offence, if any, for which they have been detained, has never been proved in open court in a single case. Their detention is, as His Excellency the Governor of Bengal said in his last Dacca speech, preventive detention, as distinguished, we suppose, from punitive detention. We do not know if among the Irish prisoners who were released after the signing of the Treaty in 1921 any were detenus who had been deprived of their liberty without charge and trial. We presume there were none.

Among the political prisoners proper in Bengal, we do not know how many had committed or aided or abetted the commission of crimes of violence. But there are many who had committed only the technical offence of sedition by speech or writing. In Ireland, we presume most, if not all, of the political prisoners were found guilty of armed rebellion after trial—a more serious offence than the generality of offences committed by political prisoners in Bengal.

In conclusion we shall point out another difference between Ireland and Bengal. The bulk of the political prisoners (including detenus) in Bengal are Hindus. We believe, though we do not want to be dogmatic, the Bengali Hindu is more inclined to be non-violent than the Irishman—a fact which has been stated by many non-Bengalis in a different way, namely, by saying that the Bengali Hindus are timid and cowardly.

Agitation for Release of Detenus Practically Prohibited ?

On July 25th last, we found in some of the Calcutta dailies the following letter of the Press Officer with its enclosure :

The following letter of warning was issued by the Press Officer, Government of Bengal to the Editor of the "——" last night :

IMMEDIATE.

Bengal Secretariat,
Calcutta,
The 24th July, 1937.

D. O. No. 6003-11 Pub.

Dear Sir,

Apropos of the news which is being published in the newspapers relating to what is called "detenu-day," I am desired to draw your attention to the enclosed notification No. 6199 P., dated the 17th May, 1935, which prohibits among other things the publication of any information relating to detenu day or any information regarding any meeting or any action or statement in connection therewith.

Yours faithfully,
S. Basu

GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL
POLITICAL DEPARTMENT
POLITICAL
NOTIFICATION

No. 6199 P.—17th May, 1935.—

Whereas the Governor in Council is of opinion that the classes of information specified in clauses (a) and (b) of this order will tend to excite sympathy with, or secure adherents to, the terrorist movement;

Now, therefore, in exercise of the power conferred by Section 2-A of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931 (Act XXIII of 1931), as amended by Section 6 of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1934 (Bengal Act VII of 1934), the Governor-in-Council is pleased to prohibit absolutely the publication in any newspaper, news-sheet, pamphlet, leaflet, or other document of the following classes of information, namely :

(*a*) Any information regarding the "Detenu Day," announced for the 19th May, 1935, or which may be announced for any subsequent date, or any information regarding any meeting or any action or statement in connection therewith.

(*b*) Any information regarding any meeting or any other action, or any statement, held, taken or made or proposed to be held, taken or made, for the purpose of calling for the release of persons detained under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1930 (Bengal Act VI of 1930), or under the Bengal State Prisoners Regulation, 1818 (Bengal Regulation III of 1818), or for the purpose of exciting sympathy with any such person.

Sd.|- E. N. Blandy,
Offg. Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal.

Paragraph (*b*) of the Notification quoted above is so comprehensive and at the same time so vague that it appears to prohibit the doing of anything—even the printing of a humble prayer to the Governor for the release of any particular detenu—for the release or the alleviation of the reported or alleged sufferings of any detenu or his relatives, dependants or guardians. Are the statements published by the Bengal Civil Liberties Union banned? We doubt it.

While the Congress ministers in six provinces have been releasing political prisoners, here in Bengal people must not even do publicity work in connectoin with detenus. What a contrast! It should be noted that most of the statements made by the Bengal Civil Liberties Union have remained unchallenged and uncontradicted by the Government. The Union has published another statement after the publication of the Press Officer's letter.

The public would like to know whether the Bengal ministers are responsible for the warning and reminder sent by the Press Officer to newspapers. The member in charge of "Law and Order" may really be alone responsible. But constitutionally all the ministers are responsible, though the member in question, one of the "sporting eleven"(?), may have done the thing off his own bat.

Perhaps the Notification of May 17, 1935, is no longer legally valid. But that does not disprove the autocratic intention of the Government.

Whatever the validity in Bengal at present of the Notification of May 17. 1935, the Associated Press of India sent a brief report of the proceedings of the Calcutta public meeting of the 24th July to the press all over India, and it has appeared in the dailies outside Bengal along with the news of the re-publication of that Notification! So there is no harm in people outside Bengal knowing that which we in Bengal must not know!

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose on India's Spa's

The Tribune of Lahore has published the following :

LAHORE, JULY 22.

"I hope that under Swaraj our own mineral-spring health resorts and watering places will come into their own and be developed on the therapeutic lines—in which case we may not have to go abroad to pick up health at foreign Spa's" says Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose writing from Dalhousie to a friend who had enquired about the improvement in his health at Dalhousie and asked whether, as his continental advisers had suggested to him, it was his idea to complete his cure with a second visit to a place like Badgastein in Austria.

Mr. Bose says : "Perhaps there are useful mineral-spring health resorts and Spa's in India also, but little is known about their exact utility in particular cases. European Spa's, however, are scientifically developed and there is no doubt that, apart from the question of expense, a visit to them is bound to be beneficial to health.

"I was at first sceptical about these bath-places in Europe," continues Mr. Bose. "But I found from experience that the waters of Badgastein (Austria) are highly radio-active and, used as baths, have an excellent tonic effect upon the system. Large numbers of people spend their annual holiday at these bath-places. Each one has his own favourite resort—Karlsbaad or Badgastein, Aix-les-Baines or Vichy. At Badgastein you will find people from all parts of the world. It is not easy for us, living here in India, to go over there once every year or once in two years, but, if we could, we should benefit greatly so far as health is concerned.

"In India there are places like Rajgir (Bihar) and Bhubaneshwar (near Puri) where springs exist. I once visited a sulphur spring not far from Karachi. In a village near Dalhousie there are two or three springs the waters of which would be worth examining. Probably there are beneficial springs all along the Himalayas. One would like to see them developed and made use of for treatment and cure."—*A. P. I.*

What Mr. Bose has suggested ought to be done.

The late Major B. D. Basu of Allahabad turned his attention to the subject of the radio-activity and the medicinal properties of the hot water springs in different parts of India. There are references to it in some of his writings. He took both scholarly and practical interest in so many other important things that it is much to be regretted that he did not live much longer to serve his countrymen and humanity.

Who Should Be the Next Congress President

Mr. S. Satyamurti issued the following statement on the 8th July last through the Associated Press of India :

"I suggest that Mahatma Gandhi should be invited to preside over the next session of the Congress. The Congress Minister will have their most difficult time next year. M. Gandhi's wise guidance as President of the Congress will be invaluable to them. Moreover as the sole author of the Delhi A. I. C. C. formula on the acceptance of office by the Congress which has been substantially —but not completely—conceded, he is the best person to guide and counsel the Congress Ministers. His presence at the helm of Congress affairs during that critical year will make the Governors of the Provinces hesitate many times before they interfere with the Congress Ministers. It will also hearten and give tone to the Congress Ministers themselves. Above all his magnetic personality will help the Congress minorities in the other five provinces to become Congress majorities. That is the most urgent and important problem for the country today. An all-India tour by Mahatma Gandhi as President of the Congress next year will electrify the nation, make provincial autonomy real, perhaps make Federation still-born and prepare the nation for the last Swaraj fight. We may even get Swaraj without another fight. I appeal to all fellow Congressmen throughout India whole-heartedly to support this proposal."—*A. P. I.*

Mahatma Gandhi has retired from the day to day work of the Congress. It is only during some crises or at some emergency that he offers guidance and advice or is consulted by Congress leaders. If he presides over any session of the Congress, for at least one year after its sittings and also for sometime before the session he will have to give up his village work, his All-India Village Industries Association work and the like and devote all his time and attention to the details of Congress work as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been doing. If he has agreed to do so or if he agrees hereafter to do so, we shall support Mr. Satyamurti's suggestion. We shall do so because we think Mr. Gandhi is the wisest among Congress leaders though we do not accept all his views, and is the maker par excellence of the Congress as it is, not because of the reasons stated by Mr. Satyamurti.

He says the Congress ministers will have their most difficult time next year, and Mr. Gandhi's wise guidance *as President of the Congress* will be invaluable to them.

Now, the next session of the Congress will take place in February, 1938, that is, some seven months after the date of Mr. Satyamurti's suggestion. Will the ministers' most difficult time begin seven months hence? At least some people think the ministers' most difficult time has already begun. And some ministers have been already consulting him, though he is not the Congress president now. If non-Congress-president Gandhiji can guide the ministers for seven months, why would it be necessary for him to be Congress president in order to be qualified for the role of their guide, philosopher and friend after that period?

Gandhiji, the sole author of the office acceptance resolution or formula, has already written twice in *Harijan* about the programme and policy to be followed by Congress ministers. What he has written has been styled the Instrument of Instructions to the Congress ministers. Well, if he has been able to write such documents without being Congress president, and if the words of plain Gandhiji are considered authoritative for 7 months, as they ought to be, why should it be necessary for him to become president to invest his advice with authority seven months hence? Will President Gandhi be a greater and a wiser person than plain Gandhiji?

"His presence at the helm of Congress affairs during that critical year will make the Governors of the Provinces hesitate many times before they interfere with the Congress Ministers. It will also hearten and give tone to the Congress ministers themselves."

It has been pointed out above, that Gandhiji can be "at the helm of Congress affairs" *as president* seven months hence. Are we to presume that during these intervening seven

months the Governors will feel that they need not hesitate many times before they interfere with the Congress ministers? And if in consequence they do interfere during these seven months, what are the poor ministers to do?

Mr. Satyamurti says that during the critical [next] year *President* Gandhi's presence at the helm of affairs will hearten and give tone to the Congress ministers themselves. Certainly whenever Mahatmaji advises and guides the ministers, that will hearten and give tone to them. But it is not necessary for him to become president to help them in that way. If it were necessary for him to be Congress president to be able to be of effective use to them, how can he encourage and strengthen them during the difficult July 1937—February 1938 period? Must the Congress ministers remain disheartened and 'toneless' during these long months?

Finally, Mr. Satyamurti says that Mahatmaji's magnetic personality will help the Congress minorities in the other five provinces to become Congress majorities, &c., &c. But is it necessary for Gandhiji to become president of the Congress to be able to bring about all these results? Is Mahatmaji's personality less magnetic now because he is not President Gandhi? Will his magnetism increase if he becomes president? Can he not undertake an all-India tour as plain Gandhiji and achieve what Mr. Satyamurti expects him to achieve?

As we have indicated above, we are not opposed to the election of Mahatma Gandhi for the presidentship of the Congress next year. But we do not consider Mr. Satyamurti's reasons particularly weighty.

Mahatma Gandhi's presidentship would be valuable at any time. It would have been specially valuable just after the Congress constitution was changed according to his desire and instructions, but nobody then suggested that he should be elected president to show the public how the new Congress constitution should be worked. That is significant.

No Congressman can deny that Mahatma Gandhi has served and can serve the country and the Congress best. But all the service necessary cannot be rendered by him alone. Others have powers to serve. And they ought to have opportunity to do so in order that the country and the Congress may have all the service that is required.

Leaving aside Mahatma Gandhi, it is perhaps true that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is second to none among those who have filled the "Non-co-operation Congress" chair in energy, ability, the possession of a dynamic personality, driving power, etc. And it is no secret that he has all along been against office-acceptance. Yet plain Gandhiji has carried the day against President Jawaharlal Nehru. That shows that plain Gandhiji is more than equal to President Anybody in Congress politics, and that it is not necessary to prefix the word 'president' to his name to increase its magic powers.

Proposed Free Supply of Books in Calcutta Corporation Schools

The Calcutta Corporation has 250 free primary schools in which more than 30000 boys and girls receive education. In order to make the education given there really free, Mr. Sailendra Nath Ghosh, its education officer, has proposed that the pupils should be supplied with books free of cost. His proposal is now being considered by the Corporation Education Committee. It deserves to be approved and given effect to.

Mr. Fazlul Huq's Not Surprising Confidential Letter

Some Calcutta dailies have published a facsimile of a confidential letter of Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister of Bengal, which is characteristic of him and will cause no surprise. It is reproduced below.

88-2, Jhowtala Road,
Calcutta,
The 20th July, 1937.

Confidential.

Dear Brother in Faith,

You are probably aware that an attempt is being made by Congress leaders to win over the Muslim members of the Assembly and the Council, to form a group with the Congress opposition and to break down our Ministry. It is hardly necessary to point out that the Congress at the present moment is dominated by the Hindu Mahasabha and is bitterly communal in character. Bengali Congress leaders cannot tolerate the idea of a Muslim Chief Minister in Bengal and of a Cabinet where our authority is dominant. The break-down of the present Ministry will obviously mean a set-back to the advancement of Muslim interests from all points of view. It is, therefore, necessary that the Muslim members should close up their ranks and work with a united front. In order to discuss the situation I have called a meeting of all the Muslim members of the Assembly and the Council to be held at my residence No. 88-2, Jhowtala Road, on Tuesday, the 27th July at 7-30 P.M. I earnestly request you to come and attend this meeting and give us the benefit of your guidance and advice. I also request you to kindly consent to have your dinner with me that evening at about 9 P.M. An immediate reply is solicited so that I may make arrangements for the meeting and the dinner.

Yours very sincerely,
A. K. Fuzlul Huq.

To say that the Congress is dominated by the Hindu Mahasabha is the exact opposite of

the truth. But to comment on this letter would perhaps be honouring its writer too much.

Such a man is unfit to be the Chief Minister of a province.

Mr. Fazlul Huq on East Bengal Terrorists' Guardians

In the course of one of his many speeches delivered recently Mr. Fazlul Huq is reported to have charged the guardians of East Bengal educated youth with having encouraged terrorism there—we do not remember his exact words. No wonder many public meetings have been held to protest against such an accusation.

Death of Marconi

The death of the celebrated scientist Marconi will be widely regretted all over the civilized world. Though his name is prominently associated with the invention of wireless telegraphy, many other scientific discoveries and inventions stand to his credit.

At the meeting of the science department of the Allahabad University held to mourn Senator Marconi's death Prof. Meghnad Saha said in the course of his speech :

> Thus wireless telegraphy was discovered by a schoolboy of 22 who was not familiar with the great theories which prevented other scientists to take up the subject, illustrating the adage that sometimes 'ignorance is bliss.'

"Gandhiji's Advice to Congress Ministers"

Commenting on Gandhiji's article on "Congress Ministries," the *Servant of India* observes that, taking his suggestions as a whole, "one cannot say that they are particularly helpful or enlightening." The Poona Liberal weekly subjects three of his suggestions to separate criticism.

> Education, he thinks, can be made self-supporting. If hand-spinning were taught to scholars, the yarn they would produce would, according to him, yield the revenue needed to meet the cost of education. This is an old idea of Mahatma Gandhi but has nowhere been translated into a reality. We wonder if the Congress Ministry in any province would seek to test its practicability. Will at least Mr. C. Rajagopalachari who of all the Congress leaders adopts the Gandhian ideology to the largest extent seek to give effect to what appears to Mahatma Gandhi to be "perfectly feasible and eminently reasonable"?

As regards the purchase of khadi our contemporary observes:

> Another suggestion Mahatma Gandhi puts forward is that "all purchases of cloth should be in khadi." If he means that Government should purchase only khadi, the suggestion is of exceedingly diminutive dimensions. If, however, the public in general are to be compelled to buy khadi cloth alone, the suggestion is open to the gravest objection as making an inroad in a field which is everywhere reserved for every individual's own judgment.

But we doubt very much that Gandhiji has suggested or is capable of suggesting that the public in general should be compelled to buy khadi cloth alone.

Regarding the suggestion that salt should be made free to the poor, it is said :

> If something more than the tiny concession made in the Gandhi-Irwin pact is meant, two considerations suggest themselves : salt cannot be made free to the poor unless it is made free to everybody, *i.e.*, unless the salt duty is abolished, and the salt duty cannot be abolished by the provincial governments; such abolition falls within the sphere of the central government.

"The Fundamental Difference"

Under the above heading Mahatma Gandhi has contributed to *Harijan* an article which has been, unaptly, called his Instrument of Instructions to the Congress ministers. The first paragraph of the article runs thus :

> It is necessary to contemplate for a moment the fundamental difference between the old and the new order. In order fully to realize it we must try to forget for the moment the crushing limitations of the Act. Seeing that the Congress has gone to the farthest limit and has accepted office, let every Congressman note the power it has taken. Whereas formerly the Ministers were amenable to the control of the Governors, now they are under the control of the Congress. They are responsible to the Congress. They owe their status to the Congress. The Governors and the Civil Service though irremovable are yet answerable to the Ministers. The Ministers have effective control over them up to a point. That point enables them to consolidate the power of the Congress, *i.e.*, the people. The Ministers have the whip hand so long as they act within the four corners of the Act, no matter how distasteful their actions may be to the Governors. It will be found upon examination that so long as the people remain non-violent, the Congress Ministers have enough freedom of action for national growth.

The Governors and the Civil Service are only theoretically answerable to the Ministers to a small extent. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that the Governors are not at all answerable to them. The Ministers can do nothing to them if they defy them, whereas the Governors can dismiss the Ministers. It is taking a very optimistic view of the Government of India Act to say that "the Ministers have *effective* control over them up to a point" (what point?). Sections 240 to 260 of the Government of India Act, 1935, show what little power, if any, the Ministers have over the civil services.

Mahatmaji expresses the opinion that, so long as the people remain non-violent, the Congress ministers have enough freedom of action for national growth. Yes, but neither the pecuniary resources nor the power to initiate necessary legislation.

> Congressmen should also realize that there is no other political party in the field to question the authority of

the Congress. For the other parties have never penetrated the villages. And that is not a work which can be done in a day. So far, therefore, as I can see a vast opportunity is at the disposal of the Ministers in terms of the Congress objective of Complete Independence, if only they are honest, selfless, industrious, vigilant, and solicitous for the true welfare of the starving millions.

Mahatmaji says that parties other than the Congress have never penetrated the villages. Perhaps this is too sweeping a remark. We cannot speak of other provinces, but in Bengal non-Congress workers *have* done good work in some areas for reviving and reconstructing villages. And outside Bengal, some members of the Servants of India Society have done notable village uplift work in their own centres and in many other centres. By promoting the co-operative movement, whose place in rural uplift work is recognized on all hands, the Society has done important village work. There may be other parties, unknown to us, who are not Congress members, but who do village uplift work. Perhaps Gandhiji means that no other party has penetrated the villages for a political purpose.

No doubt there is great validity in the argument that the Act has left the Ministers no money to spend for the nation-building departments. But this is largely an illusion. I believe with Sir Daniel Hamilton that labour, and not metal, is real money. Labour backed by paper is as good as, if not better than, paper backed by labour.

But Congress Ministers have no power to issue paper money either to back or to be backed by labour!

Here are the sentiments of an English financier who has held high office in India: "The worst legacy we have left to India is a high-grade Service. What has been done cannot be undone. I should now start something independent. Whatever is being done today with 'money motive' should in future be based on 'service motive.' Why should teachers and doctors be paid high salaries? Why cannot most of the work be done on a co-operative basis? Why should you worry about capital when there are seven hundred million hands to toil? If things are done on a co-operative basis, which in other words is modified socialism, money would not be needed, at least not in large quantity."

But the question is, does the new Constitution give the ministers either the power or the influence to set the seven hundred million hands to work. Mahatmaji himself says immediately below what amounts to a confession that even a man of his great spiritual power, earnestness, sincerity and patience has not yet been able to influence a small village like Segaon. Says he:

I find this verified in little Segaon. The four hundred adults of Segaon can easily put ten thousand rupees annually into their pockets if only they would work as I ask them. But they won't. They lack co-operation, they do not know the art of intelligent labour, they refuse to learn anything new. Untouchability blocks the way. If someone presented them with one lac of rupees, they would not turn it to account. They are not responsible for this state of affairs. We the middle class are. What is true of Segaon is true of other villages. They will respond by patient effort as they are responding in Segaon though ever so slowly. The State, however, can do much in this direction without having to spend a single pie extra. The State officials can be utilized for serving the people instead of harassing them. The villagers may not be coerced into doing anything. They can be educated to do things which enrich them morally, mentally, physically and economically.

Principles of Co-operative Marketing

The lecture of Professor J. P. Niyogi, Minto Professor of Economics of the Cacutta University, on principles of co-operative marketing, has been published in the *Bengal Co-operative Journal*. In it he comes to the conclusion that

The non-stock organization is specially suited to trades whose requirements for capital are not very large. It has the additional advantage that it is really more in accordance with the co-operative ideal than the rival form of society. The non-stock form provides for a more democratic control and distributes earnings on the basis of business brought by members rather than according to their capital contributions. But it is doubtful whether we in India have yet reached that stage of development at which we can fruitfully copy this model. It is not likely to enjoy that degree of confidence which will enable it to obtain financial accommodation from banking institutions.

Co-operation as a Solution for Mass Unemployment

Professor Nripendra Chandra Banerji's article on the co-operative method as a solution for mass unemployment in the *Bengal Co-operative Journal* is in great part a review of Upton Sinclair's propaganda novel "Co-op," which, according to the reviewer, is of a very fascinating quality. The central theme of the novel is mass-poverty. Prof. Banerji rightly says that the problem is a world problem and the cures propounded by different peoples and set in action by different governments are various. He passes in rapid review the Russian communist solution, the Hitlerite Nazi solution, the Mussolinian Fascist solution, and the various devices of so-called soft-gloved democracies. In his opinion, the co-operative method offers the best solution. As he has not been an arm-chair politician and economist but gave up the Vice-principalship of a Government College and suffered imprisonment for his convictions, his views are entitled to weight as those of an earnest thinker. Says he :-

The method of co-operation in its practical shape is the only antidote to a violent socio-political upheaval. Competition for raw materials and for markets for manufactured products by big political economic combines spells unrest, misery, mutual distrust amongst nations,

antipathies and misjudgements and eventually makes for War and the destruction of all the fruits of Civilization. Competition and profit-hankering in the individual countries is the seed-bed of class-war and acts as a gangrenous canker eating into the Body Politic: carried between different nations it acts as an international plague, dividing civilized peoples equipped with all the knowledge for evil of modern science into rival camps and devastating the flowering gardens of age-old culture.

Co-operation in the production and marketing for goods from which the profit-motive has vanished and into which the collective social benefit idea has entered seems the only cure for civilization's ills. How to fit this Evangel into the frame-work of the administrative system which in our country is only just beginning to toy with the idea of state-aided co-operative enterprise in farming and small industry is the problem on the right and practical solution of which hangs the fate of millions of the pauperised cultivator and producer, the starving artisan and mechanic.

This is the gateway to peace: persistence in the old ways of make-believe can only lead to red ruin.

Present Temper of the Chinese

The hearts of all lovers of humanity cry out for peace and also for the emancipation of all who are in bondage. When fresh additions are attempted to be made by imperialist nations to those already in bondage, war sometimes breaks out. And thus war has broken out between China and Japan. No one can foretell how it will end.

Below are given some extracts from different articles in *The Voice of China* for July 1, to give some idea of the present temper of the Chinese people.

From "The Ferment of Democracy":

> A ferment is at work in China, which promises at last to bring to fruition the great hopes of our late leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Masses of our people have felt its leavening influence. In every corner of our land masses of our people are clamoring for practices consistent with his bequeathed profound teachings. The period of tutelage is drawing to a close, but it has long since prepared the stage for a further advance in the progress of our country.

From "Unity for Resistance":

> National unity has become the watchword of every person with conscience in our country. No more can civil war raise its ugly head within our land, without meeting the mass protest of our people against such wanton fratricidal waste. Those who for selfish reasons have tried to use our national patriotic slogans for their own ulterior purposes have learned to their cost that the urge for national unity will not tolerate their false leadership. The desire for national unity springs from the wide-spread desire that our country be strengthened sufficiently to free itself from vassalage to aggressive nations.

From "We Answer the Call" of the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen for educating and awakening the masses:

> Dr. Sun taught us that "If we want to solve the problem of livelihood we cannot rely solely on economic means. In order that the problem of livelihood be solved we must first of all start the work politically," and he showed us that the external political problem can be solved only through national liberation. But how are we to "start the work politically," so that we can reach our goal of national liberation? Dr. Sun also answered this question for us! "Go to the masses," he said, "teach the people,—the workers and the peasants—and arouse the masses." We hear the echo of Dr. Sun's teachings in the words of our present leader, General Chiang Kai-shek, when on June 14th he urged the students of the nation to go into the rural districts to teach the peasants. General Chiang pointed out that in spite of the progress made in reconstruction during the past five years, when we turn to the rural districts, we are overwhelmed by the evidences of the bankrupt rural economy and the plight of the peasants, and he added that as long as rural economy and the life of the peasants are not improved we cannot say that our revolution and the task of national rejuvenation have been achieved. General Chiang pointed to the responsibility of the students, who, he said, must take the lead in this work.

From "Chahar in Revolt":

> The torch of self-defense has been lit in the provinces of Chahar and Jehol, and its flare has started a mighty conflagration which in its fierce flames will destroy the Japanese aggressors and their puppets. During the past twenty days repeated mutinies of the puppet troops, together with the uprisings of the peasants throughout the provinces have greatly embarrassed Japanese imperialism. Despite the fact that the Japanese have attempted to put down these uprisings and revolts by means of the greatest terror, the movement continues to grow in scope and intensity.

And lastly, from "No Fear For The Future . . . ," an interview with Dr. Sun Fo, President of the Legislative Yuan:

> "I have no fear for the future of democracy in China." Dr. Sun Fo speaks with an air of quiet conviction.
>
> In the National Government as President of the Legislative Yuan, as member of many committees, in the National Economic Council, Dr. Sun's influence has been in the nature of a steady constant pressure for the furthering of the democratic principles of government advocated and bequeathed to China by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, his father.

Bihta Railway Disaster

The railway disaster at Bihta, near Patna, last month, was perhaps the most tragic and serious that has ever happened in India. The number of men, women and children who died immediately owing to the train smash or in hospital afterwards exceeded one hundred and of those who received serious injuries exceeded two hundred. The locomotive engine and many bogey carriages were totally wrecked and some were telescoped. There ought to be a thoroughly independent and impartial inquiry into the causes of the disaster, and steps ought to be taken to prevent similar disasters in future. Adequate compensation ought to be given to the relatives of the deceased and to the wounded survivors.

Adult Education in Rural Areas

The Bengal Government's scheme for adult education in rural areas, mainly through the instrumentality of the Rural Sub-registrars, who have ample leisure, will certainly impart much useful knowledge to the adult village population, literate and illiterate, if properly and vigilantly worked and if it be not used mainly as a means of official propaganda. Many of the Rural Sub-registrars are fairly educated men and the level of education of the rest is not below that of the teachers in village schools. And there will be many officers of other departments and non-officials, too, to help them. Hence, the scheme need not suffer for lack of workers.

The scheme does not seem to lay stress on the liquidation of illiteracy. We suggest, and, if we had the power, we would insist, that the liquidation of illiteracy be made an essential part of the scheme. The illiterate person has to depend on others for knowledge. Literates can help themselves by the reading of the printed page. Hence, literacy must be a principal means of both juvenile and adult education. Adults, if not also children, can be made literate in 30 or 40 days. Here is a corroboration :-

ALLAHABAD, JULY 27.

It is claimed that the scheme of making adults literate in Hindi in six weeks, which had been initiated by Babu Sangam Lal Agarwala, vice-chancellor of the Prayag Mahila Vidyapitha, has yielded good results.

Paragraph 3 of the Press Note on Adult Education, dated the 30th March, 1937, states :

The Royal Commission was decidedly of the opinion that adult education was a matter for non-official activity rather than for Government departments. Unfortunately however, at least so far as the province of Bengal is concerned, non-official activity in this direction has been very meagre and the Government of Bengal in the Education Department have accordingly felt that they must take initiative in this direction also in order to prevent the arrangement for rural education from being lopsided owing to the absence of any provision for adult education.

It is true that in Bengal non-official activity in the direction of adult education has been very meagre, and it is also true that the meagre activity of Government even in the direction of children's education is no excuse for insufficient non-official attention to adult education. But it cannot be denied that non-official activity in the field of adult education has been hampered and brought to the vanishing point by police activity. Otherwise it could have been expanded indefinitely. It may be stated in defence and justification of police activity that the police had to put a stop to real or alleged revolutionary movements. But the best weapon to fight any democratizing movement, by whatever name called, is to concede self-rule or a substantial measure of automatically progressive and evolutionary self-rule.

It is earnestly to be hoped that the scheme will be worked in the truly humanitarian spirit in which it was conceived by its originator and that it will not be allowed to degenerate into an indirect means of official propaganda.

Visva-bharati's Latest Educational Endeavour

Sometime ago Dr. Rabindranath Tagore publicly stressed the need for a society which would encourage the desire for knowledge among all persons who could not go to any school, irrespective of sex or age, publish lists of books to be read in different subjects, prepare such books as did not exist, and hold examinations at different centres to test the knowledge they had gained and grant certificates on the results of such examinations. Visva-bharati itself has now come forward to shoulder the burden. It is creating a new body called "Loka-Siksha Samsad" to do the work referred to above. An outline of the scheme for Bengal has been published. There are to be three examinations. For the present the first examination alone will be held. The subjects of which knowledge will have to be acquired are : language and literature, history, constitutional and general knowledge relating to India, arithmetic, science, geography, hygiene, and household work. A list of books in the different subjects has been prepared and published. Three of the books have been specially prepared for the purpose and will be soon out of the press.

More detailed information can be obtained from Mr. Rathindranath Tagore, Secretary, Visva-bharati, Santiniketan.

The project has great possibilities and deserves to succeed. It ought to be taken advantage of by all 'unschooled' Bengalis of both sexes in and outside Bengal, particularly those of the fair sex and those of them who live outside Bengal.

Oriental Institute of Hawaii University

Hawaii is in a very strategical position to serve both the Occident and the Orient as an interpreter to each other. In the Hawaiian Islands 38.1 per cent. of the inhabitants are Japanese or of Japanese descent and 7 per cent.

Chinese or of Chinese descent. Its rhythm of life is predominantly American. The University of Hawaii has an Oriental Institute, which already had well-organized Japanese and Chinese Departments when Dr. Kalidas Nag was invited last year to go to Honolulu and organize the Indian Department.

Some American and English Universities teach Sanskrit, and a few have courses that touch on Indian philosophy and religion, but perhaps Hawaii is the only university that has or plans to have a whole department devoted to Indian civilization and culture. In a printed leaflet relating to its Oriental Institute, sent to us by Mr. Gregg M. Sinclair, its Director, we read :

"India, with its long civilization, its literature greater in volume than the literatures of Greece and Rome—how is India to be represented? We have asked Dr. Kalidas Nag, of the University of Calcutta, to advise us as to the best method of bringing India to the attention of the West, and he has suggested these ways: (1) employ three professors of the very first rank, men comparable in professional standing with the professors in the Chinese and Japanese Departments; (2) acquire a library of Indian books worthy to rank with our Japanese and Chinese libraries; (3) start a museum of art objects, manuscripts, material expressions of the Indian spirit. We wish to act now upon his advice."

It was stated on the cover of the January number of the "Oriental Institute Journal," bearing a portrait of Dr. Nag :

"Dr. Nag joins the staff of the Oriental Institute in February, 1937 to help us to organize our Indian Department."

It announced the date of his arrival at Honolulu and the dates and subjects of some of his lectures.

The June number of the same Journal states the number of books relating to India acquired by the Oriental Institute :

Through regular University channels we have purchased 300; we have received from the University of Calcutta, Calcutta, India, the publications of the University of Calcutta Press, numbering 173 titles and totalling 500 volumes. Mr. Adolph C. Constable, Honolulu, presented 80 books on Indian philosophy and life,—books that Dr. Kalidas Nag found especially valuable, our library being ill stocked at the present time with Indian books.

The same number of the Journal records :

Dr. Kalidas Nag gave six lectures on "The Art and Culture of India": The Positive Background, Indian Art and Literature, Decorative and Folk Arts of India, Indian Sculpture, Indian Painting, India and World Art.

The following paragraph from the June number of the "Oriental Institute Journal" of Hawaii give the gist and drift of Dr. Nag's lectures :

In History and Civilization, Dr. Kalidas Nag has brought out clearly the absolute necessity for a revision of the history of man and of culture; the need for a planetary conception of the struggles of man with or against his environment, his early achievements in recording his spiritual hopes—the lack of all point in presenting the culture of a people through the recording of the achievements of a mere military monarch. Asoka's tremendous influence on two continents was due to the sudden impact of an idea—and the idea was one of cosmic significance; his reign became of world importance in consequence. Buddhism's contributions to the thinking of the West in the third and fourth centuries of our era its own change by reason of its contact with the civilization of China, China's own achievements after the contact of Chinese culture with the "barbarians"—a knowledge of these points—and they are listed out of many—will enable the serious student to find out why man is as he is today, why he believes as he does, why he thinks as he does. Too many histories are tribal histories; the new conception is of a cosmic nature, and seeks the truth, without clan bias. The twentieth century will see a change in attitude among thinking people toward man and his achievements.

And this new knowledge of history may help us to gauge more properly the possible effect of the impact of the East on the West and of the West on the East, which the scientists and the inventors and the "doers" are bringing about. Not to see that there will be a tremendous change because of these new relations is to be blind indeed; in less enlightened days Alexander's, Caesar's, Genghis Khan's soldiers moved about and they had an influence, albeit an important non-military influence. Today people are on the move, too; but we need not leave our homes in order to feel the "presence of the world;" through the radio, the telegraph, the newspaper, business, health service, we are all much more alive to the significances of peoples other than those in our immediate community. Dr. Nag has given us an idea of the past, with new perspectives in time and space.

Second Indian Conference in British Guiana

Wherever our people may be they appear to have the same or similar grievances, wants and aspirations. That is the impression one gets from a perusal of the speeches made and resolutions passed at the second conference of Indians in British Guiana, as printed in the June number of the *Indian Opinion*, official organ of the British Guiana East Indian Association. The resolutions demanded adequate representation on the Public Boards, rigorous enforcement of the Compulsory Education Act and the creation of machinery for adult education with a view to the liquidation of Indian illiteracy, an adequate number of places for Indians in the Teachers' Training College, Government schools in place of denominational schools, adequate number of appointments in all civil services, etc.

The Oriental Government Security Life Assurance Co., Ltd.

We have received the twenty-first Triennial Valuation Report of the above company which was presented to an Extraordinary General Meeting on the 7th of July 1937. The Oriental Government Security Life Assurance Company

Limited was incorporated in India in 1874. Since then it has been in the forefront of Indian Insurance concerns and stands today as a great financial institution which in range of activities, immensity of transactions and reputation, rivals the great insurance companies of the West. The present report shows that Oriental issued, during the period 1934-36, 1,47,532 Policies assuring Rs. 26,78,62,406, yielding a premium income of Rs. 150,38,048. These figures prove that Oriental stands head and shoulders above other insurance concerns in the matter of extensity of business. During the period Oriental had an income from premiums of over 10 crores of rupees and paid in claims to their clients about Rs. 3.35 crores. Owing to a fall in the average interest yield on investments, the company had to reduce their bonus to policy-holders slightly; but this speaks well of the far-sightedness of the Directors. The present trend of falling interest yield of gilt-edge investments is something which cannot be side-stepped by any financial institution. It is best to be wise rather than parade profits which are no longer there. In this Oriental has given the lead to less courageous concerns. We hope they will now, at least, have the boldness to follow

Altogether the report is highly satisfactory.

The War in Spain

The civil war in Spain continues with all its ferocity. Perhaps it is not quite correct to call it a civil war, as it is not confined to the Spanish government's forces on the one side and the Spanish insurgents on the other. If it had been strictly limited to these parties, most probably the insurgents would have been defeated long ago and peace would have been re-established. But the substantial help in men and munitions given to the rebels by Italy and Germany have enabled them to take possession of part of the country and to continue the struggle in other parts. The so-called policy of Non-intervention has resulted in the Spanish government not receiving any appreciable help from outside. The real inwardness of "Non-intervention" has been brought out by Madame Elen Horup (19, rue Henri Mussard, Geneva) in her pamphlet, "Spain the Battlefield of Capitalism" (Price six pence).

The Partition of Palestine

If a country is divided into separate states, whether dependent or independent, it becomes weaker than if it remained one state. If it be not divided into separate states but its inhabitants form themselves into mutually quarreling and conflicting irreconcilable parties, the situation cannot be considered better than if it were divided into separate states. If the parties in a country have neither the inclination nor the power to settle their quarrels themselves and if some powerful third party has already established its power there, the party conflicts give that third party the opportunity to consolidate itself and impose its will on the other two. Such is the position now in Palestine.

That the British proposal to partition Palestine is not quite altruistic goes without saying. The way in which the country has been proposed to be divided into three parts has not and could not have pleased either the Arabs or the Jews. Places which are considered holy by both Muslims and Jews are proposed to be included in the British zone. The sea-board, harbours and the main air and land routes are also proposed to be kept under British control. This cannot be pleasing to either the Arabs or the Jews, though such an arrangement may be felt necessary by Britain in the political and economic interests of her empire.

If the Arabs and the Jews had been able amicably to arrive at some agreement, that would have been the best and the only satisfactory settlement. But neither party has been in a compromising and conciliatory mood. The Jews desire and require a national home, and what can be a better home for them than the land where their ancestors lived and which is hallowed by memories of their ancient history? But the Arabs had for centuries been the principal inhabitants and masters of the country. They cannot agree to the unlimited immigration and increase of Jews in the country. Their political and economic supremacy is menaced by such unrestricted multiplication of the Jewish population. At the same time, a national home cannot be a national home for any people if the growth in their numerical strength in it is sought to be artificially restricted by some other people. It cannot also be denied that it is not the Jews alone who are growing in numbers and becoming prosperous in Palestine. The Arabs also are increasing in numbers and in wealth, and the increased prosperity of the Arabs is due not a little to Jewish immigration and enterprise. The Arabs have Arabia, Syria and other big areas as their home-land. They would not lose much by taking a sympathetic view of the Jewish desire for a national home. But we are not disposed to take sides, particularly as we have not studied all the literature on the subject and are not in a position to offer any acceptable

solution of the problem, which has become a tangled skein very difficult to unravel.

It should be added that all the present Jewish inhabitants of Palestine are not immigrant settlers. Some of them or their forbears had been there as autochthons before Zionist immigration set in.

Indian Women Delegates in China

It seems the Indian women delegates to the World Educational Conference in Japan, which meets this month in Tokyo, have visited China on the way out. "A Chinese Friend of India" writes to us from Tientsin about some of them, "who have been visiting China for some weeks and who have been making a splendid impression here in talks, etc., except to the British."

The Chinese friend of India continues:

"One of the delegates made a fine talk here in Tientsin, China, before a group of Chinese and foreigners. The talk was reported in full and without comment by the Chinese and American papers. But the British paper condensed it somewhat, and the next day it published a harsh editorial on the subject of India."

The Chinese friend has sent us clippings of both that condensed version of Miss Kapila Khandvalla's speech and the British paper's wild and foolish superficialities in criticism of the speech. These do not deserve any reply.

Panjab Chief Minister's Campaign Against Communalism

The Tribune of Lahore has published the following:

From Our Special Correspondent

SIMLA, JULY 26.

In pursuance of the mandate which the Assembly gave to the Punjab Government to take measures to stamp out communalism, Sir Sikandar, Premier, has prepared a list of public men and of journals, who have been fomenting trouble. This list includes persons of all grades of society.

The Premier proposes to keep a special watch on the activities of these persons and without giving any further warning will take drastic action against them at the first opportunity, when they attempt to foment trouble.

The special powers, given by the Criminal Law Amendment Act, will thus be used hereafter not so much against those who preach political creeds as against those who would disturb the communal atmosphere.

The Bombay ministers also are taking similar steps against communalism.

In Bengal the chief minister is himself a communalist and another minister is believed to have his organ in the rabidest Anglo-Muslim paper in India.

Muslims and the Congress

A board of three Congress leaders, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Babu Rajendra Prasad, is to advise, guide and, where necessary, control the Congress ministries and Congress legislators in the provinces. While all the three appear to have general charge of all the provinces, each of them has particular charge of some provinces. The biggest charge is that of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. He has all the four Muslim majority provinces and in addition the United Provinces, the most populous Hindu majority province. Mussalmans should note that while the other two members have charge of three provinces each, not one of which is a Moslem majority province, the Maulana has charge of five provinces, which include all the Moslem majority provinces and the biggest Hindu majority province. So, while no Hindu leader has special control over any Moslem majority province, the Mussalman leader has special control over the biggest Hindu majority province.

Yet in the opinion of Maulvi A. K. Fazlul Huq and men of that sort Congress is Hindu Mahasabha-ridden! Incidentally we must say that the Hindu Mahasabha is not and never has been communalistic in the sinister sense in which the Muslim League is communalistic.

In all the Hindu majority provinces the ministries contain one or two Mussalman ministers. Their proportion to the total number of ministers is nowhere less than the proportion of Muslims to the total population. If any Mussalman critic is arithmetically-minded, he should find out how many per cent of the members of Congress are Mussalmans in each province. He will then find that Moslems have got more than their due percentage of ministerships on that basis. If the number and percentage of Mussalman Congress M. L. A.s in each province be taken into consideration, it will be found that Muslims have got far more than their due share of ministerships. Had there been a single Mussalman M. L. A. in Orissa, he would have got a ministership.

A false impression has been produced in the minds of Mussalmans that the Congress is prejudiced against them. It is the exact opposite of the truth. There is no bar to Mussalmans becoming members of the Congress. If they want freedom, they cannot have it by their own unaided separate efforts. Moreover there is no Muslim political organization whose main object is or has ever been the liberation of India.

The best organized, biggest and strongest non-communal political body which has been struggling for India's freedom is the Congress. And the freedom which it wants is for all Indians, irrespective of creed, colour, race or caste. So, for the sake of nationalism, or national freedom, which includes their freedom, Muslims should join the Congress. There is an additional reason why in the provinces where they are a minority they should become members of the Congress, namely, thereby they can make their voice more effective in administrative affairs than otherwise.

Bengal Muslim League and Political Prisoners

It is significant that the executive council of the Bengal Presidency Muslim League has passed a resolution demanding the release of all political prisoners and detenus.

Progressive Move of Some Bengal M. L. C.s

Evidently there are some members of the Bengal Council of State who want to remove from the public mind the preconception that upper houses of the legislatures are more obstructive than otherwise in the struggle for political progress. They have given notice of some resolutions which people do not generally associate with political obscurantism. One of these asks for the release of all detenus and political prisoners. Another says that departments of the Government purchasing cloth should purchase cloth of indigenous manufacture alone. A third is somewhat revolutionary for an upper house. It expresses the opinion that the governor of the province should be appointed by His Majesty the King on the recommendation of the two houses of the legislature at a joint sitting convened for the purpose. The practice which is growing up in the Dominions is not the same with but somewhat similar to what is demanded in this resolution. It is that His Majesty appoints the governor on the recommendation of or after consulting the prime minister of the Dominion concerned. The prime minister is presumed to know the opinion of the legislature of the Dominion.

Zanzibar Situation

A press communique, dated Simla, July 26th, begins thus :

> The possible effects upon Indian interests in Zanzibar of the Clove (Purchase and Exportation) Decree, which was recently passed by the Zanzibar Legislative Council, have formed the subject of much comment and criticism both in India and in Zanzibar. In view of a number of statements which have appeared in the press and which appear to be based upon either inaccurate information or a misapprehension of the points at issue the Government of India think it desirable to publish a statement explaining the principles which have been involved and elucidating certain questions of fact upon which some uncertainty seems to remain.

Then follows a statement which is too long to quote here. In the concluding paragraph of the statement,

> The Government of India earnestly hope that the new scheme will be given a fair trial by the Zanzibar Indian community. If as a result of experience of its working a further approach to the Zanzibar Government becomes necessary, it will be made. *A. P. I.*

The Zanzibar Indian community's considered opinion has now to be heard.

Meanwhile *The Leader* has criticized the Government of India's statement partly thus :

> They claim that the 'whole complexion of the Clove Growers' Association has now been altered,' and that necessary provision to safeguard Indian interests has been made. We can only say that if they are satisfied with the changes that have been made, Indian public opinion is not. In our opinion the Government of India would have been well advised to have consulted the leaders of the Indian community in Zanzibar before they decided to conclude an agreement with the Zanzibar Government. Their failure to do so is greatly to be deplored . . . The Government of India argue that the Clove Growers' Association is like a marketing board. 'It is worth noting,' they add, 'that an agricultural marketing board established under the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1933 in Great Britain may take power to be not only the sole purchaser but also the sole seller.' Assuming for the moment that the Clove Growers' Association corresponds to the British agricultural marketing board, we ask whether the British Government would have insisted on establishing such a board if it had been proved that it would result in bringing about the ruin of those who had built up some of the most important industries of Britain. Incidentally, since the Government have made a reference to conditions in Britain, will they also tell us whether in that country certain communities are prevented from acquiring agricultural land, as is the case in Kenya and as is proposed to be done in Zanzibar?

S. N. Pochkhanawala

The untimely death of Sir Sohrabji Nusserwanji Pochkhanawala has been a great loss to the business world of India. He was the founder and managing director of the Central Bank of India, Limited, India's foremost indigenous banking concern. He built it up by his uncommon spirit of enterprise, his business acumen and his capacity for hard work. The bank founded by him has branches not only in the principal business centres of India but one also in London, opened by him a short time ago. No bank in India founded, owned and

managed by Indians, has such a branch in foreign lands.

Bengal Budget Estimates for 1937-38

In previous years it was not practicable for us to comment in detail on the financial statements of the Governor's Provinces, as they were presented to the respective provincial legislatures during almost the same week or fortnight. This year we thought we should be able to deal in some detail with at least the budget estimates of Bengal, as at the time of its presentation there would not be any other financial statement of any other province presented to its legislature. We wanted to do it for two reasons: the budget estimates for 1937-38 would be the first to be presented after the inauguration of the new constitution, and they would be the first in Bengal to be presented by an Indian finance member . . . . But it was in the morning dailies of the 30th July that we first saw his budget speech. And on this day we have to finish printing the August number.

The budget speech of the finance member is long. We have not attempted to read it. And the dailies have not printed the full financial statement—they could not possibly do so.

So we shall not attempt any criticism of the budget estimates for 1937-38 and of the speech with which Mr. Nalini Rajan Sarker placed it before the Assembly.

From the big type headings and sectional headings given in the dailies, it appears that Mr. Sarker has been lucky enough to be able to present a surplus budget, though the surplus is a small one. This is due to the fact that the receipts are more than what they were during the previous decade, owing to the new financial arrangements between the Centre and the Provinces.

It is an encouraging and pleasing feature of Mr. Sarker's speech that he has taken a broad survey of the condition of the people of Bengal, both material and non-material. But, though he has taken such a survey, it does not appear that he is in a position to adopt adequate remedial measures. We find from a sectional heading that he has said: "I may freely admit, that our means are still far from adequate for the needs of national reconstruction." We do not know what the ministry have done to increase these means by retrenchment. The Police and General Administration and the like have hitherto swallowed up large slices of Bengal's provincial receipts. We are not sure but it does not appear that there has been any retrenchment in these directions.

Advance writes: "The Police Budget remains as it is; the Budget for the Jails and Convict Settlements remains as it is; no attempt is foreshadowed to reduce the cost of the top-heavy administration." The Congress ministry provinces have effected some savings in the ministers', speakers', deputy speakers' and parliamentary secretaries' salaries, and perhaps in other directions. The Bengal ministry have done nothing of the kind. The following passages in Mr. Sarker's speech are an apologia for police and jail expenditure, but they are no remedy or compensation for the seriously depressing effect produced on the mind of the people by the repressive policy of the Government:

"The estimate of expenditure included more than half a crore on account of measures taken both as a cure and as a preventive for the anarchist movement. Of this amount more than half is accounted for by the additional staff in the Police and the Jail Departments. It can be reasonably hoped that it may be possible to reduce the expenditure considerably under this head within the course of a year or two.

"Even if all political prisoners could be released at once, that would not give us an immediate saving of Rs. 54 lakhs. For the release of detenus is not identical with the complete disappearance of subversive movements, and for some time after such release can be effected, the additional machinery may still have to be maintained to a certain degree to meet the possibility of recrudescence of the terrorist movement or the appearance of other subversive movements. But, eventually with an improvement in the position, it may be possible, no doubt, to effect a saving of nearly the whole amount.

"But I would at the same time set off against this saving a liability which we cannot ignore. It may prove profitable to spend a portion of this saving on Students' Welfare movements as a more radical antidote to the canker of subversive influence."

All the expenditure incurred for and on repression could have been saved if the British Government had given self-rule to the people betimes. But Britain has never yet made a timely concession to India. For that, of course, neither Sir John Anderson nor his ministers are responsible. The situation can still be saved by the grant of self-rule. But they are not the persons who can grant it. But what Indians should do and are expected to do is to refrain from describing or referring to repressive measures and arrangements in such a way as to produce the impression that nothing else was or is possible.

We do not want to be unfair to Mr. Sarker, and, therefore, guided by a sectional heading, lift the following paragraphs of his speech from

The Amrita Bazar Patrika to show what the Bengal ministry want to do in the direction of "nation-building":

We have provided for increased grants to Universities and other educational institutions. Both the Universities of Dacca and Calcutta made demands for larger grants to extend their activities, and the estimates provide for an additional grant to them of about 1½ lakhs. The University of Viswabharati at Bolpur, which plays a significant role in our educational system, and has helped to bring India and the outside world into closer cultural contact, has also received some measure of assistance. A larger grant has been provided for the Islamia College. The needs of technical education for the backward classes have also received attention. Enhanced provision has been made for primary education. Agriculture and Industry have received additional grants of 1½ and over 2 lakhs respectively. This money is intended to finance an Agricultural Institute at Daulatpur, a dairy farm at Dacca, and developments of handloom and sericultural industries. Provision has been made for the extension of rice research, for a grant to the Industrial Credit Syndicate and for an enquiry into the development of fisheries. Co-operative Credit will receive an additional grant of 2 lakhs.

The additional provision under the head "Medical" is 2½ lakhs. The actual increase under "Public Health" amounts to 7 lakhs. This increase is partly accounted for by enhanced provision for rural water-supply (1½ lakhs), additional quinine grants (60 thousand) and kala-azar charges (30 thousand). We have also made an additional provision of 1½ lakhs for more public health units in rural areas, and of one lakh for grants to sanitary and drainage schemes.

Under "Civil Works" a very substantial increase in expenditure has been provided for. Special mention may be made of the provision for an expenditure of nearly 30 lakhs in the current year in excess of what was spent last year on road development, buildings and improvement of communications. The Government have been examining the feasibility of capitalising a portion of the Provincial share of the Road Fund with a view to execute all the approved schemes of bridge construction with the least possible delay.

I would draw the attention of the House to certain projects taken in hand by the Government as being of special importance to the irrigation and waterways problems of West and East Bengal. The survey in connection with the Damodar-Hooghly flushing scheme, as provided for in the Budget is alone calculated to cost 1-1|3 lakhs. This scheme together with expansion in the operation of the Bengal Development Act will, it is hoped, go a long way to meet the irrigational needs of West Bengal. It has, again, been proposed to establish a Waterways Board under the Bengal Waterways Act, 1934, and 1¼ lakhs have been provided for making a beginning. The Board, it is hoped, will help towards an effective tackling of the inland waterways problem of East Bengal. Provision has been made for the electrification of Government buildings in the mufassil districts. This is a measure which will be of great help to mufassil electric supply companies.

With a view to extend the operation of the Bengal Agricultural Debtors Act throughout the Province, an additional sum of 14½ lakhs has been provided for the establishment of debt conciliation boards in all the districts. A sum of 28 thousand has been provided for the constitution of a Labour Department, the utility of which will, I hope, be readily appreciated by the House.

The estimates also include a sum of 50 thousand for the appointment of a Commission for making an enquiry into the system of land revenue administration in this Province.

We must be thankful for small mercies. So while we are really glad that all these amounts have been provided, we must also say that they are inadequate.

As the exact sums proposed to be given to the Calcutta University, the Dacca University, the Visvabharati, and the Islamia College are not before us, we cannot say whether the allotments have been made under any communal influence.

The more Government spends on higher education the better. But a greater need is that of universal elementary education. What is going to be done in that direction? How much money will be spent? For decades the Bengal Government, ruling over the most populous province, has spent less on education than most other major provinces with a smaller population.

Mr. Sarker refers to the irrigation and waterways problems of West and East Bengal, and says that "the survey in connection with the Damodar-Hooghly flushing scheme, as provided for in the Budget, is alone calculated to cost 1⅓ lakhs. This scheme together with expansion in the operation of the Bengal Development Act will, it is hoped, go a long way to meet the irrigational needs of West Bengal."

Shall we smile or shall we weep? Mr. Sarker may feel bound to hope anything, we West-Bengal men do not. He is not a stranger to statistics. The Panjab, which means the *land of the five rivers* (and of numerous smaller streams) had already incurred a capital expenditure of *more than thirty-three crores of rupees* before going in again this year for an additional capital expenditure of nine crores of rupees for productive irrigation works! Bengal has not yet spent even two crores, though from the beginning of British rule in India it has been the British Sarkar's most productive milch-cow.

Following the trail of a sectional heading of Mr. Sarker's speech, we find that he refers to the non-votable supplies according to the new constitution. The whole passage tends to produce the impression that they do not come to much! But we should like to know the sum total of *all* those kinds of expenditure over which the legislature has no control, though in relation to them it may discharge the duties of a debating club. Readers may be asked to read our short article in this issue.

Forty-Hour Week

Though Great Britain is a highly-industrialized country, yet it appears that a 40-hour week, as demanded by champions of Labour, is looked upon by employers there as a menace to the British textile industry. Messrs. Thomas Ashurst, John Pogson and Willian Scholes, who were the British textile employers' delegates to the International Labour Conference at Geneva, have issued a statement to explain why they opposed the forty-hour week proposal. They say that if Britain ratified that convention then that would bring nearer the day when the British cotton trade would exist only for the supply of the home market and even for that it would have to be heavily protected.

The cotton textile industry is almost in its infancy in this country--particularly in Bengal. If a 40-hour week hits Lancashire, surely it would hit India and particularly Bengal harder. In that case, many, if not all our mills, may close. And that would be a greater blow to Labour than not getting a 40-hour week.

Congress Faction Fight in Bombay

Bengal Congressites have earned a bad name by their party squabbles. It is no consolation to them and the non-Congressite Bengal public that there are such party squabbles elsewhere too, particularly at present in Bombay between the friends and followers of Sardar Patel and Vir Nariman. Washing of dirty linen in public is unedifying. Of course, it has to be done if it be indispensably necessary for some public good. But is it? *The Subodha Patrika* of Bombay thinks otherwise. It writes :

> There is now going on in the Congress camp a dispute between two leaders about happenings in the past which, to our mind, is sheer waste of time and no diminution of acerbity and ill-feeling which are detrimental to public interest. We, of course, refer to the controversy between Mr. Patel and Mr. Nariman, over the election of Mr. Kher, as the leader of the Congress party in the Bombay Legislative Assembly.
>
> We do not understand what good it will do to either of them, if it will not add to the rancour between the two sides to the controversy. . . . What is the benefit to the country, or enlightenment on an important matter, that this will bring in? We are so much accustomed in this country to dispute and argue over trifles, and to let alone more important matters that deserve our attention better than them! This is neither public spirit nor public service . . . . We have nothing to do with the particular issues involved in it. But we are inclined to stress the point, that such controversies in the end lead nowhere and are bound to leave a sore behind.
>
> No truth is going to be sifted through them. No peace will be born of them. Mere delight in their pursuit is vicious. Controversies are wretched when they are carried on to prove that another is wrong. This way no one gets at truth and the last condition is worse than the first. Controversies of the nature referred to above are no better than the quarrels of mad men. For a mad man is not cured by another running mad also.

Italo-German Designs in Spain

VALENCIA, July 18.

> "The Germans and Italians are not here to defeat the Republic but to take our mines and naval bases in order to check other Powers like Britain and France," declared President Manuel Azaña, when addressing a crowded meeting here today on the occasion of the anniversary of the beginning of the war.--*Reuter.*

Indianization, and Importation of British Experts

The word 'Indianization' does not occur in the Government of India Act of 1935. Why should it? That Act calls it 'discrimination' if Indians want to have that place in the administration, commerce, industries and professions of India which the nationals of other countries have in theirs.

Instead of Indianization we are having an expanding process of creation of new highly-paid posts and filling of them with Britishers and the importation at fancy salaries and allowances of British experts who know nothing of India.

Mahatmaji Lays Stress on Character

WARDHAGANJ, July 7.

> "Our Hindi 'Pracharaks' must be of good conduct and unimpeachable character. These are indispensable qualities for them. I can forgive a 'pracharak' if he is not acquainted with both the scripts of Hindustani. I can even forgive him if he is not well up in Hindi grammar. But I can never forgive him if he lacks in moral character. The work of our social or educational institutions suffers if people in charge of them are of a doubtful character."
>
> Thus stressed Gandhiji in opening the Rastrabhasa Adhyapana Mandir this morning at Rastrabhasa Bhawan, Wardha.

If any public man, author or artist is a person of bad character, he spreads infection all around.

Marriage Reform

A Bengal M. L. A. has prepared a bill for the Bengal Legislative Assembly with a view to reforming some of our marriage rules and practices. One provision in it is that before a man can marry he must produce a medical certificate that he is free from any contagious, infectious or dangerous disease. Another object of the bill is to prevent marriages of men of 50 or past 50 with women under 25. It also seeks to place restrictions on the system of exacting or extorting dowries. The bill deserves support.

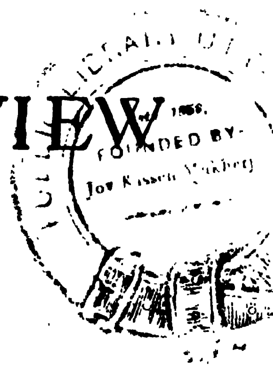
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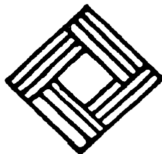
AT WORK
Nirmalchandra Mukherjee

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INDIAN STUDENTS AND FOREIGN SCHOLARSHIPS

BY SCIENTIFICUS

FOREIGN SCHOLARSHIPS, *i.e.*, scholarships which enable students of one country to proceed to another, foreign, country for the prosecution of higher studies in science or literary subjects or for training in new methods of industry or technology, have been a feature of the progressive measures taken by all national governments. All countries have recognised that this is the best way of training the young generations for the purpose of taking up leadership in education, scientific work and national organisation. When Japan in the seventies of the last century arose to the consciousness of the inferiority of her political position to that of Europe and America, she found that the root cause was that the system of training then available in Japan itself was not sufficient to enable the students to be good professionals in science, industry, and national reconstruction. She instituted a system of scholarships by which thousands of her most capable graduates were enabled to proceed to America and European countries for training in research, science, industries and other occupations. This method has been continued ever since. Though the present system of education in Japan in all subjects is as good as anywhere in the world, any casual traveller to Europe and America knows that almost every laboratory and research institution in these countries contains one or more Japanese workers. They are sent by their Government to gain more experience, and familiarise themselves with the latest progress in their subjects, and come into contact with the best foreign minds.

Let us see what is the previous equipment of these scholars. Japan itself has organised a very sound system of education based on the needs of the country. The students are first required to take advantage of Japan's own system of education, *i.e.*, learning such of the subjects as they are going to specialise in Japan itself. Then the most brilliant graduates in these subjects are chosen after some professional training and sent to foreign countries. The whole system is based on accurate planning and the needs of the country. When the scholar returns, the Government finds for him some suitable position in educational institutions, in industry or in national research organisations. The soundness of this system is seen from the fact that within the last sixty years, Japan has built up a system of modern industries the efficiency of which compares favourably with that of any European country. She has developed her power resources to the maximum extent and all the industries based either on Agriculture or Mining have been developed to the fullest extent and very efficiently. The Japanese students who have returned from Europe have been leaders in these national works. It may be added that no Japanese foreign scholar is allowed to seek a foreign degree.

It is apparent to everybody that, whenever any country which is backward according to present-day standards wants to make up her deficiency, she must follow the example of Japan. China and the countries of the Near East are

following Japan in her programme of sending scholars to foreign countries. But on account of the disturbed political conditions in these countries, progress there has not been so apparent or rapid.

Indian Conditions

Let us now consider the case of our own country—India. Nobody will dispute that the plan of Japan is the best. But owing to the political conditions over which Indians themselves have had no control, foreign scholarships have been few and even these have been managed in a very haphazard fashion. Previously a number of foreign scholarships used to be given to students for proceeding to foreign countries by the different Universities. These students either tried to appear for the I.C.S. examination, and, if unsuccessful, they appeared for Barristership or some other examination for which there was expectancy of a lucrative appointment in this country. A number of industrial scholarships have also been given by the different provinces, but very often without any plan and many of the scholars have been sent to foreign countries without any adequate preparation and were unable to take full advantage of the conditions available there. Ever since the days of the Swadeshi agitation dating from 1907, private organisations have tried to encourage students to proceed to foreign countries for learning methods in industry and manufacture. Many of those 'foreign-returned' students have tried to set up industries, but their success has not been very marked on account of a large number of factors, *viz.*, want of capital, want of beneficent legislation and absence of any definite policy on the part of the Government for the development of the natural resources of the country, and primarily lack of business experience on the part of the returned scholars.

Foreign Scholarships Ought to be Continued

Now, since in many of the provinces the Congress has taken the ministry, it is desirable that this question should be approached from a new angle of vision. There can be no progress if the Governments merely confine their attention to taxing the landlords and rich men of the country and giving the rural population a certain amount of relief in the matter of taxation. The Governments must undertake the policy of national development based on accurate study of the economic conditions, the possibility of development of industries and of the national resources in agriculture, power and industrial products. If the desire is to obtain the best results, it is necessary that the Governments follow the example of Japan and every year send up a large number of scholars to foreign countries on a properly co-ordinated plan. The choice and training of scholars should be based on the needs of the country and when they return they should be provided with suitable opportunities for displaying their ability and talents in the service of the country.

Scholarships for Academic Research

Apart from these foreign scholarships which should be awarded for the development of the industries and the natural resources of the country, a number of scholarships should be placed at the disposal of the Universities and awarded for purely academic reasons. For unless our highest culture is on a par with those of other countries, we can never expect to do well in the struggle for existence. Any one who knows the history of development of industries since the Industrial Revolution need not be told that what is academic research today becomes tomorrow the basis on which great industries are built up. The purely academic researches which were carried out about the sixties of the last century on Electro-Magetic Induction are the foundation on which all development of electrical power and industries employing millions of people have been based, and countries like England, America and Germany, which were the earliest to take advantage of these academic researches for building up a new industry, were enabled to do so because these new acquisitions to knowledge were first made by their own nationals. Countries like Russia which have been backward in their encouragement of academic research have fallen far behind in the race and it is only recently that they have been able to make up the lost ground by an aggressive policy of planning.

Under the conditions which are going to prevail in the country in the next few years, it is expected that there will be very few people with big salaries or surplus to spend on their children for the purpose of sending them to foreign lands. Formerly a large number of such people were able to do so in the expectation that on returning, their wards would be able to get lucrative posts. It is true that this policy was not at all sound. A large number of rather incompetent students or students with insufficient equipment used to be sent out. On their return they were enabled to get quite lucrative posts on account of the high positions held by their parents or relatives and they were further helped by the idea that any foreign degree was better than any Indian degree. The educational

institutions in this country are too much loaded with such incompetent persons whose only qualifications are doubtful foreign degrees which they are keen on displaying. But we umst bear in mind the fact that if we wish that our educational institutions should attain a higher standard and should compete in the creation of knowledge with the other countries of the world we must select and send a large number of our brilliant students irrespective of their caste, creed or position. This can be done if a large number of foreign scholarships are created by the Government.

International Scholarships Available for Indians

The number of scholarships available to Indians for this purpose has been rather few. Under the pretext of economic depression, most Provincial Governments have abolished the foreign scholarships. A number of private scholarships are given by such endowments as those of Palit and Ghosh in Calcutta, by the Tatas in Bombay and some others. A number of international scholarships to advanced students and professors are given by a number of bodies amongst which the following may be mentioned :

(1) The Rockefeller Foundation.
(2) The Carnegie Corporation of New York.
(3) The 1851 Exhibition Scholarship Trust.
(4) Scholarships awarded by the Deutsche Akademie of Munich, Germany.
(5) The Various Tata Charities.

(1) The Rockefeller Foundation :—It is well-known that this body which controls a capital of 600 million dollars gives only a few medical scholarships to India. It has not yet thought fit to award any scientific scholarship to Indian students or professors as it does to other countries. Up to this time, excepting the Public Health Institute of Calcutta, no Research Institute in this country has been the recipient of Rockefeller's benefactions. Many attempts* have been made in the past to induce the Rockefeller Authorities to extend their patronage to India, but they have refused to do anything. This attitude is strange in view of the fact that the Rockefeller Charities as far as their Charters go profess to be international and therefore they should be extended to all countries. In the past, a large number of scholarships to students or younger professors to all countries, including Russia and Japan, have been given, not to speak of France, England and other West European countries. The Rockefeller Foundation is also erecting research institutions in all countries of Europe, Fascist Germany not excluded. They have recently built a Physics Section at Dahlem for the Kaiser Wilhelm Society in China and has given funds for founding libraries in Paris and Cambridge. According to our eastern standard the scholarships should be given to such persons or institutions as are in *actual want* or to such countries whose Governments are in a bad financial way. But it is well-known to everybody that all these European countries and Japan which are helped by the Rockefeller Charities are making huge preparations for armaments; and if they have a surplus wealth for armaments, they can certainly spend from their own coffers in the matter of scientific research or grants to research institutions. No rational explanation can be found for the strange attitude of the Rockefeller Foundation in refusing all assistance to India except in medical affairs. The impression is that their charity programme is not after all so disinterested as it is claimed to be. Their policy appears to be guided by deep political, economic and commercial reasons of which the public in general are quite ignorant.

(2) The Carnegie Corporation of New York:—The late Mr. Andrew Carnegie, as is well-known, migrated from Scotland while he was a boy of 13 on account of the oppression of the British Government on the labour classes during the Chartist agitation in the forties of the last century and earned all his millions in America. He gave away nearly 400 million dollars in charity and created a most elaborate instrument for their administration and he took upon himself the task of guiding the board of administrators for the last 20 years of his life. Though Carnegie was a native of Scotland, barely 5 per cent of his total charities have been given over for the benefit of Scotland. He held that as he made all his millions in America it was his duty to spend his charities primarily for the benefit of the country of his adoption. Recently the Carnegie Corporation of New York, which is the principal of the main Carnegie bodies, has extended a few scholarships to the British colonies and one or two scholarships have been given to Indians. But otherwise India has not profitted much from the Carnegie Charities.

(3) The 1851 Exhibition Scholarships :—The story of the 1851 exhibition scholarships is very interesting and should be better known in

* The late Dr. J. T. Sunderland made a strenuous attempt but failed. Old readers of *The Modern Review* know the reason.—Editor, *M. R.*

India. In the year 1851, a great international exhibition was held at South Kensington in London under the initiative of Prince Albert, Consort of Queen Victoria. Subscriptions were raised for this exhibition from all parts of the British Dominions. *India contributed not less than one-third of the total subscriptions.* The exhibition was a great success. There was a large surplus which was invested in buying land in the South Kensington area of London, which was then undeveloped. In course of time, this land appreciated more than 100 times and brought a large income to the funds. The full story is given in *Science and Culture* (February, 1936). Out of this fund a large number of scholarships has been awarded to advanced students in England and the British Dominions to enable them to prosecute their higher research studies in England. Up to 1935, 560 scholarships have been given, each amounting to £200 to £400 per year. Of these scholarship-holders 16 had become Chancellors and Principals and Deputy Principals, 144 have become Professors. No fewer than 40 of the scholars have been elected to the Fellowship of the Royal Society and 2 have achieved the distinction of winning the Nobel Prize. *Though India is fully entitled to one-third of the total scholarships on account of the contribution which she originally made to the funds, not a single scholarship was given to any Indian before 1935.* The matter was taken up at the initiative of the Indian Science Congress from 1927 and as a result of persistent agitation and representation to the Indian Government by the Indian Science Congress, the Commissioners have at last awarded *one* scholarship this year to India! Another scholarship has been given to a Parsee scholar, Dr. Bhaba, who is at present a scholar in Cambridge.

But India can justly claim one-third of the scholarships given by the Governors of the 1851 Funds, and if she were in the position of a Colony like Canada or Australia and not a dependency, she would have seen that her claims were enforced. It is desirable that the matter is taken up vigorously by the Members of the Central Assembly and the Indian Government is forced to make adequate representation to the proper authorities so that the injustice which is being meted out to India for the last 40 years may be once for all remedied.

(4) Scholarships Awarded by the Deutsche Akademie of Germany :—Compared to this treatment which is meted out to the just demands of India by our British guardians, who are never tired of proclaiming their solicitude for the welfare of younger India but who like the guardians of minors believe in the first enjoyment of benefits by themselves, we may contrast the attitude of Germany. In 1928, Professor Arnold Sommerfeld of the University of Munich and one of the most distinguished German Professors of Physics was invited to Calcutta to deliver a course of lectures. After his tour in India, Professor Sommerfeld was convinced that Indian students are so poor that many deserving scholars cannot proceed to Germany on account of the absence of suitable scholarships. On return to Germany he induced the Deutsche Akademie of Munich to institute about 20 scholarships for helping poor and deserving Indian students. These scholarships some time take the shape of small monetary grants, some times exemptions from University fees and sometimes provision of free boarding and lodging. They are mostly awarded by German industrialists and manufacturers and have been a great success. Within the last eight years, more than 100 Indians from all parts have been enabled to proceed to Germany and take advantage of the mangnificent educational system of Germany in research and higher studies and in the latest methods of technology and manufacture. This philanthropic work on the part of Germany has not been duplicated either by rich America or our solicitous guardians, the British.

(5) The Various Tata Charities :—Last of all I come nearer home to the Tata Charities. It is not probably known in this country that the Tatas control very big charities out of which they award a large number of scholarships to foreign scholars and to foreign research and educational institutions. *Only a microscopic part comes to India.* Evidently the Trustees of the various Tata Funds unlike Carnegie believe more in international charities than on charities at home.

It is very difficult to understand why the Trustees of the Tata Funds should take this peculiar attitude. We may contrast it with that of Carnegie who expressly reserved 95% of charities to Americans because he felt that, as he earned all his money in America, he could not conscientiously spend it in another country. The Parsees have been in India for over 1300 years. They have flourished under Indian protection. They owe their success in business and industry primarily to Indian sentiment of patriotism. We may take an example. The greatest of Tata industries is the Iron and Steel Works of Jamshedpur. The late Mr. Jamshedji Tata, who may be called the Carnegie of India, formed a plan of starting the Iron and Steel industry in India and was helped to the choice.

of the site of Jamshedpur by the late Mr. P. N. Bose of the Geological Survey of India and the late Maharaja Sriram Chandra Bhanj Deo of Mayurbhunj. He could not find proper capital for starting the concern. At first, the Company was floated in England, but British capital did not respond to Indian enterprise. The promoters then approached some British capitalists privately. Some were sceptical, others were jealous, but one iron and steel firm which knew better than the rest gave a proposal which amounted to the virtual transfer of control to themselves. Greatly discouraged by this poor response to their appeals from English capitalists the Tatas tried their luck in India. At this time the Swadeshi agitation was at its highest tide in Bengal and other provinces were beginning to be infected with love of Swadeshi. The Tatas took advantage of this sentiment and floated their company and opened their shares to Indian capitalists in Calcutta and Bombay. The succes was tremendous. The late Maharaja Scindia took a lead in buying a large number of shares and other Indian capitalists also followed suit. It was only Indian patriotism and sentiment which enabled the Tatas to start the magnificent Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur, which is fast becoming the Birmingham of India. It is also well-known that the Government of India has never looked with favour upon this growing industry. On many occasions when the Tatas were threatened with loss and extinction on account of unfair foreign competition and want of beneficent legislation, they were compelled to appeal to Indian sentiment and canvass the members of the Assembly to impose protective tariff duty on iron and steel imported from foreign countries. It is strange that in spite of these facts, the Tatas should spend 95 per cent of their charities for giving scholarships to foreign countries. As illustrations we may refer to the fact that they have built up with their grants the Department of Physical Chemistry at Cambridge and given grants to the London School of Economics, but no Indian University, excepting the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, has been the recipient of their grants.

Besides, a very large number of scholarships, sometimes each amounting to £400 per year, are being given to European and American professors whose own countries are rich enough to look after them. All this is being done under the pretext that charity should know no geographical boundary. But charities must begin at home, and there can be no justification for export of money earned in India for purposes of charity to foreign countries when the needs of India are colossal. A large number of young students cannot proceed to foreign countries and complete their education. They have a legitimate right to demand of the Tatas that their charities should be cent per cent devoted to the benefit of India. It is desirable that the Indian public should take up the agitation and bring sufficient pressure upon the present Trustees of the different Tata charities so that they may be forced to adopt a more patriotic policy. The total amount of charities may not be known, but the endowed capital is several crores (possibly six or seven) and the income is not less than 20 lakhs per year. If the charities are all ear-marked for Indian scholars and Indian research institutions, India would be helped to the path of progress. Let us hope that this will be done.



THE ROYAL VETO IN THE NEW CONSTITUTION

By Dr. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph.D., *Lecturer, Lucknow University*

The right of the Crown to veto even after a year Acts duly passed in India, and formally assented to by the Governor, and the Governor-General is an unusual constitutional device introduced in the Act of 1935. That this is an altogether novel procedure will be apparent, if it is borne in mind that a royal veto of this type is not only totally foreign to the spirit of the British Constitution, but had never been considered necessary even for the Indian Constitution so far. That such an abnormal royal prerogative had to be thought of in connection with the new Indian Constitution is an eloquent illustration of its intrinsically undemocratic character. To the student of the Indian Constitution this would surely appear to be one of the most interesting innovations which characterise the new Reforms, and it is not a little surprising that it has not sufficiently attracted the attention of publicists and politicians in India.

Under the previous Constitutions when a Bill was passed by any local legislative council, the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or Chief Commissioner might declare that he assented to or withheld his assent from the Bill, or return the Bill to the Council for reconsideration, either in whole or in part, together with any amendments which he might recommend, or again reserve the Bill for the consideration of the Governor-General. The latter on his part, instead of either assenting to, or withholding his assent from any Act passed by a local Legislature, might declare his decision to reserve the Act for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon, and in such cases the Act did not become valid until His Majesty in Council signified his assent. In regard to central legislation, too, a Bill passed by both the Chambers might be assented to by the Governor-General, or could be sent back for reconsideration by either Chamber, or again in extreme cases might be reserved for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure. In the new Constitution, too, the aforesaid ordinary veto powers are, of course, continued. For example, under Section 75, a Bill which has been passed by the Provincial Legislative Assembly, or in the case of a Province having a Legislative Council, has been passed by both Chambers of the Provincial Legislature, shall be presented to the Governor, and the latter *in his discretion* shall declare either that he assents to the Bill, or that he withholds assent therefrom, or that he reserves the Bill for the consideration of the Governor-General. Again, under Section 76, where a Bill has been reserved by a Governor for the consideration of the Governor-General, the latter shall *in his discretion* declare, either that he assents to the Bill, or that he withholds assent therefrom, or that he reserves the Bill for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon. A Bill reserved for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure shall not become an Act of the Provincial Legislature unless and until, within twelve months from the day on which it was presented to the Governor, the Governor makes known by public notification that His Majesty has assented thereto. Similarly under Section 32 (1), a Bill when it has been passed by the Federal Legislature shall be presented to the Governor-General and the latter shall either assent to it, or withhold assent therefrom, or he may reserve it for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure.

Thus it is clear that the sections cited above are by themselves no innovation on the Montford Constitution, and are also by no means very extraordinary. The new Constitution, however, makes an unprecedented enlargement of the aforesaid veto power normally reserved to His Majesty. In regard to provincial legislation, Section 77 provides that any Act assented to by the Governor or the Governor-General may be disallowed by His Majesty within twelve months from the date of the assent, and where any Act is so disallowed the Governor shall forthwith make the disallowance known by public notification, and from the date of the notification the Act shall become void. In the same manner, so far as Federal legislation is concerned, under Section 32 (3), any Act assented to by the Governor-General may be disallowed within twelve months from the day of the Governor-General's assent. In this connection it may be mentioned incidentally that Prof. K. T. Shah in his valuable work on Indian Constitution, Vol. I, has wrongly surmised (as would appear from his query in the foot-note, page 258) that this royal veto might probably be applicable to Provincial Legislation alone. It is needless to say that he has evidently overlooked sub-section 3 of Section 32 which applies to Federal Legislation.

The sections 77 and 32 introduce a new kind of constitutional safeguard the iniquity of which cannot be over-exaggerated. This may also to certain extent prove peculiarly anomalous. Under Section 32 (1) and 76, whenever the Governor-General, or the Governor, as the case may be, gives his assent to a Bill, he has to do

so not in his own name, but in His Majesty's name. In case, however, if the Bill is to be vetoed within twelve months, the disallowance by the King of what had been assented to in his own name might appear to be an apparent self-contradiction. This technical incongruity, however, is no serious matter at all. This veto power is significant for different reasons.

Firstly, even the formal assent of the Governor, or the Governor-General to a Bill passed by the Legislature is not sufficient for the validity thereof. This provision indirectly assumes that even the Governor, or the Governor-General, in spite of all the safeguards, may inadvertently act against the interests of the Crown.

Secondly, a Bill need not be immediately vetoed, as would be normally expected. The Crown may postpone the disallowance of a Bill for nearly one year or so which is undoubtedly too long a period of suspense.

Thirdly, the royal veto as a matter of fact implies that it will be exercised at the advice of the Secretary of State for India. Thus this extraordinary power really would mean an addition to the latter's powers of superintendence and control, and would make him in theory the supreme arbiter of all legislation in India, for after all he is the Crown's Agent for the exercise of all authority vested in the Crown in relation to the affairs of India.

Fourthly, such extreme authority reserved to the Crown is entirely new and theoretically unconstitutional, because it amounts to an undemocratic restriction on the powers of the local governments and Legislatures. It may be added that the King has no right to disallow any Dominion Bill in this manner, and he has to accept the advice of his Dominion Ministers in respect of all local legislation, even though that advice may be in opposition to that of his own Ministers in Britain.

Fifthly, although in England the King's veto has actually gone out of use, it has now been revived in a new form for India with a view to strengthen thereby Parliamentary and Cabinet control over the Indian Legislatures.

Lastly, it is obviously based on the strange presumption that within twelve months conditions may suddenly change so radically that an Act duly passed and assented to by the local authorities may prove wholly undesirable. But, it is indeed impossible to visualise conditions under which all the numerous specific provisions against mischievous legislation could be so successfully and ingeniously evaded by the Indian Ministers without the knowledge of the Governor and the Governor-General that such an extraordinary veto would be considered necessary after the lapse of about a year. That in spite of this the aforesaid power has been secured for the Crown shows the extreme anxiety of the British authorities to allow not the least loophole for anything being done in India against British interests in spite of the safeguards.

The White Paper on Indian Constitutional Reform contains two paragraphs on this matter (*vide* Para. 40 and Para. 90), wherein it is unobtrusively entered in the fewest words possible that any Act assented to by the Governor-General or the Governor will within twelve months be subject to disallowance by His Majesty in Council. It is, however, extremely surprising that there is not the slightest hint or comment about it in the Report of the Joint Committee. This omission is glaring. The authors of the Report took pains to find English, Dominion, or Indian precedent for many of the provisions incorporated in the White Paper proposals. Is it because they could find no precedent for this unconstitutional authority that they chose to be reticent about it? In any case, the fact remains that this extraordinary veto completes the chain of meticulous and exhaustive safeguards provided in the Act. If the safeguards be considered to have resulted from an excessive distrust of the Indian Legislatures, this provision may appear to have been inspired by a distrust of even the Governor and the Governor-General. Can it be that this extraordinary power was considered necessary to guard against the danger of some temporary Indian Governor (temporary appointment of Indian Governors is not unlikely) assenting to some Bill which might subsequently be found to prove prejudicial to Imperial interest?

As disallowance of a duly approved Act after a year is a most unwarranted violation of the spirit of democratic government, Prof. K. T. Shah has suggested in his book that a simple Act of Repeal would more justifiably answer the same purpose, and would not also upset the entire constitution in its basic spirit. It is, however, difficult to agree with the learned writer in this. How could an Act of Repeal be passed in India in the teeth of opposition in the Legislature? And, if it were to be passed by the British Parliament, as would be necessary, would it not amount in fact to the same thing as veto? Repeal or veto would equally prove a violation of the constitution in its basic spirit, because in either case the will of the Indian Legislature would stand flouted.

DIFFERENTIAL FERTILITY IN INDIA

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, M.Sc., Ph.D.

Differential fertility, or more properly, differential birth or survival rate, among different classes, both biological and sociological, is a universal phenomenon. While such disparity in fertility affects population composition and social trend in all countries, nowhere else is its effect so profound as in India, where race, caste, creed and occupation still play a very important role in the organisation and development of society.

The question of differential fertility has been the subject of study in Western countries for over a generation. In recent years, the matter has also received some attention in India.[1] The object of this study is to collect all the available data on the subject, with a view to (1) determining the extent of differential fertility among different classes; (2) analysing their fundamental causes; and (3) indicating some of its possible effects upon the quality of population and the progress of culture.

I. Extent

In fifty years from 1881 to 1931, the population of India including Burma, has increased from 254 million to 353 million, thus showing an increase of 99 million or 39 per cent. Since 1891, the decennial increase varied from 1.2 per cent. in 1911-21 to 10.6 per cent in the last decade. This increase differs greatly, however, in different social groups, and has raised several problems.

Racial Groups

The first question of differential fertility is that of racial groups. But although the population of India has been derived from a variety of races, such as the proto-Australoids or pre-Dravidians, the Mediterraneans or Dravidians, the Alpines or Indo-Aryans and the Mongolians, the present population presents such a conglomeration of race mixture that it is impossible to divide it into pure racial groups for statistical study.

It must, however, be pointed out that, owing partly to the geographical distribution of population and partly to the system of social organisation, some of the racial traits are much more concentrated in certain regions and classes than in others, as indicated by the following facts: First, Aryan, Dravidian and Mongolian traits are more to be found in the North, the South and the East respectively, which served either as gateways to invasion or abodes of early settlement. Second, aboriginal races, such as the Bhils, the Gonds and Santals are still located in largest numbers in mountain fastnesses and forest regions where they were driven to by subsequent invaders. Some of the tribes, *e.g.*, the Andamaneses, are however, dying out in contact with modern civilisation. Third, the caste system as developed by the Aryans helped to preserve some of their traits more pre-eminently among the higher caste Hindus. And finally, due to social discrimination and inequity, it was mostly the lower caste Hindus, untouchables and even primitive tribes, who became converts to Mohammedanism and Christianity. The study of differential fertility among the religious and caste groups would, therefore, also indicate some differential fertility among various races.

Religious Groups

The Indian population may more precisely be divided into different religious groups, in which differential fertility is very well marked. Of the various religious groups, the most important are the Hindus, the Muslims, the Christians, the Sikhs and the animists or primitive tribes,[2] the proportions of whom were respectively 68.24, 22.16, 1.79, 1.24 and 2.86 per cent. in 1931.

The study of differential fertility among the various religious groups presents, however, some difficulties. Mohammedanism, Christianity and Sikhism are proselyting religions, and besides natural growth, a part of the increase among them contains converts from other

1. Attempts were made by the Commissioners of Census in 1911 and in 1921, to collect some preliminary data on the subject, but it was not until 1931 that sufficient data were collected for a systematic study. This treatise has been based mostly upon the census reports of the Government of India.

2. There are also the Buddhists. the Jains, the Parsees and the Jews, but they form rather insignificant numbers of the population in India and may be conveniently omitted. Moreover, the Buddhists are mostly located in Burma, which has just been separated from India proper.

religious bodies. Hinduism itself was once a proselyting religion and even now considerable numbers of primitive tribes register themselves as Hindus. But since both the Hindus and the Muslims represent such large proportions of a vast population, the converts form a rather insignificant part as compared with the natural increase.

Population growth among various religious groups in the past fifty years varied widely, as shown below. The increase was the highest among the Christians, due mainly to conversion from other religious bodies. Of the total increase of 32.5 per cent. in the decade of 1921-31, for instance, only 12 per cent. was due to natural increase and 20.5 per cent due to conversion. The same is more or less true in the case of the Sikhs, who converted a large number of Hindus and gained over 30 per cent in course of the decade. It is also noticeable that, in spite of great loss through conversion, the increase among the primitive tribes is larger than among the Hindus, who show the lowest increase in the past fifty years.

POPULATION GROWTH AMONG RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN INDIA, 1881-1931[3]
(Numbers in million)

Religious groups	1881	1931	Per cent increase
Hindus	188·68	239·19	26·8
Muslims	50·12	77·67	55·0
Christians	1·86	6·29	238·1
Sikhs	1·85	4·33	133·9
Animists	6·57	8·28	28·8

The proportional strength among different religious groups in each decade during the first fifty years is brought out more clearly in the table below. As noted above, increasing proportional strength among the Christians and the Sikhs was mostly due to conversion from other religions. The table clearly shows that the proportional strength of the Hindus declined by over 6 per cent as compared with the gain of over 2.4 per cent among the Muslims.

PROPORTIONAL STRENGTH OF MAIN RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN INDIA[4]
(Per 10,000 of the population)

Census year	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Sikhs	Primitive tribes
1881	7,432	1,974	73	73	259
1891	7,232	1,996	79	67	323
1901	7,037	2,122	99	75	292
1911	6,939	2,126	124	96	328
1921	6,856	2,174	150	103	309
1931	6,824	2,216	179	124	236

3. *Census of India*, Vol. I, Part 1, p. 387; *Statistical Abstract relating to British India*, 1906-07, p. 7.
4. *Census of India*, 1931. Vol. I. Part I, p. 387.

A most important gain on the part of the Muslims is to be noted in Bengal, where in the past fifty years the proportional strength of the Hindus declined by 5.5 per cent as compared with the gain of 4.7 per cent among the Muslims. The natural rate of increase is much lower among the Bengali Hindus. In 1911-21 there was an actual loss of 0.7 per cent among the Hindus as against an increase of 5.2 per cent among the Muslims, but in 1921-31 the Hindus gained 6.7 per cent as against 9.1 per cent by the Muslims.

Various causes may be ascribed for the high rate of increase among the Muslims as compared with the Hindus, such as polygyny and widow re-marriage. It must also be noted that the number of Muslim women of reproductive age is larger, the females of 15-45 years of age per 1,000 males of 20-50 years of age being 1,026 among the Muslims as compared with 897 among the Hindus exclusive of the widows. The lower level of culture among the Muslims as compared with the Hindus has also been assigned by the Census Commisioner of 1931 as a cause of the higher fertility.

CASTE GROUPS

Besides religious groups, caste groups must also be taken into consideration in India's population composition. Caste is in fact one of the most important social institutions in India and even the Christians and the Muslims have been affected by this system. There are, however, some difficulties in separating caste groups from racial and religious groups, as they often overlap. The different religious groups may, for all practical purposes, also be regarded as caste groups. But caste is a special feature of the Hindu social organisation and so the study of differential fertility among different castes may be confined only to the case of the Hindus.

Classifying the numerous Hindu castes under three main groups, such as the Brahmins, the interior castes and the exterior castes, it will be seen in the following table that the average number of children born is the highest among the Brahmins, and the survival rate the highest among the interior castes.

SIZE OF THE FAMILY BY MAIN CASTE GROUPS, 1931[5]

Caste	No. of families	Average number of children born alive per family	Average number of children surviving per family
Brahmins	7,875	5·2	3·3
Interior castes	21,624	4·9	3·4
Exterior castes	35,349	4·2	2·9

5. Adapted from *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, Part I, p. 210.

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Finally, there is also variation in fertility among different occupational groups, as indicated by survival rates. There are several factors which affect fertility among occupational groups, such as social status depending upon income rather than upon occupation, the mode of life depending on whether a person lives in the town or in the country, and the employment of women in industry. It may also be pointed out that occupation is often determined by caste among the Hindus.

An examination of a large number of families by the census of 1931 indicates that both the birth and survival rates are the highest among the producers of raw materials or agricultural population. The birth rate is the lowest among the public administrators and professional classes and the survival rate the lowest among the miscellaneous groups.

SIZE OF THE FAMILY BY OCCUPATION OF HUSBAND, 1931[6]

Occupation	Number of families	Average no. of children per family	Average no. of children surviving per family
Production of raw material (mostly agriculture)	223,391	4·4	3·07
Industry, transport and trade	92,323	4·2	2·89
Public administration and liberal arts	34,453	4·0	2·88
Miscellaneous	57,994	4·1	2·81
Total ..	408,161	4·3	2·97

Differential fertility among various occupational groups becomes still more evident when the above main groups are sub-divided into smaller groups, as shown in the table below. It will be seen that the largest size of the family exists among those classes which live on their own income and is followed by those of professional classes, of agricultural labourers and of the inmates of gaols, asylums and alms-houses, as well as the beggars and vagrants.

SIZE OF THE FAMILY BY OCCUPATION OF HUSBAND IN A FEW SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, 1931[7]

Occupation	Number of families	Average no. of children per family	Average no. of children surviving per family
Cultivators	203,948	4·2	2·91
Cultivating owners	23,381	4·4	2·93
Agricultural labourers	13,421	4·3	3·01
Artisan classes (sawyers, carpenters turners and others)	24,705	4·3	2·89
Professional and liberal arts	12,550	4·3	3·09
Persons living on their income	3,407	5·0	3·56
Domestic service	6,401	3·8	2·62
Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified	29,142	4·1	2·84
Inmates of jails, asylums and alms-houses, beggars and vagrants	2,204	4·3	3·04

The significant feature of the above table is the lower fertility among the domestic servants, the number of whom amounts to 7 million; on the other hand, agricultural labourers numbering 31.4 million, including 23 million landless labourers, show comparatively large families. The number of persons living on their income is only 281,000, but of those following professions and forming a very important social group amounts to 2.72 million.[8]

The size of the family among industrial workers is shown below. It will be seen that the size is larger among railway employees than among textile and other workers. The employment of women in textile industry may partly explain the reason for the comparatively small size of the family in some centres such as Ahmedabad. It is not so much the actual number of women employed in factories as the possibility of their realising the advantage of a small family and of their acquiring the knowledge of voluntary parenthood which accounts for smaller fertility.

SIZE OF THE FAMILY AMONG INDUSTRIAL WORKERS IN INDIA.[9]

Localities	Date	Industries	No. of families	Average size of family
Bombay	1921-22	All industries	2,473	4.80
Sholapur	1925	Textile	902	4.68
Ahmedabad	1926	Textile and manual	872	4.00
Cawnpore	1930	Textile, engineering and leather works	729	4.48
South India	1930	Railways	283	5.78
United Provinces	1930	Railways	253	5.24
Bihar and Orissa	1930	Railways	213	5.53

6. Adapted from *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 207-8.

7. Adapted from *Census of India*, 1931, pp. 207-8.

8. Some of the small groups among professional classes show still higher fertility, but the number of their families is too small to indicate any definite tendency.

9. Compiled from the Reports of the Royal Commission on Labour in India, 1931, and of the Bombay Labour Office.

The above tables are incomplete inasmuch as the number of families is too small in most cases and does not therefore warrant any general conclusion. But they nevertheless indicate some general tendencies in differential fertility: First, fertility tends to be higher among agricultural population than among others. Secondly, fertility tends to vary inversely according to the higher social and economic status of the class. The socially and economically backward classes tend to have higher fertility than those more advanced.10

II. Causes

Some of the causes of differential fertility are still unknown. But those which are known and which affect differential fertility in India may conveniently be described under two headings, namely, (1) the biological, and (2) the sociological.

Biological Factors

Of the various biological factors affecting differential fertility, the most important are: (1) sex proportion, (2) age of wife at marriage, (3) duration of marriage, and (4) infant mortality, all of which vary from class to class and from region to region.

First of all, there is variation in sex proportion among different geographical regions and social classes. Fewer females are born in India than males, the number of first-born females per 1,000 first-born males being only 779, and although the number of females becomes proportionately larger in subsequent births and, owing to greater resisting power, more females survive in infancy than males, their proportion remains smaller in almost all periods of life except between the ages of 20-25 and in the extreme old age. Moreover, there has been a steady decline in the proportionate number of females within the past generation, the number of females falling from 963 in 1901 to 940 in 1931. This is quite in contrast to the condition in most countries in Western Europe, where the number of females is larger than that of males, being, for instance, 1,090 per 1,000 males in England and Wales.11

What brings about differential fertility is the variation in sex proportion among different regions and groups. The number of females per 1000 males, for instance, varies from 831 in the Punjab to 1025 in Madras and from 902 among the Brahmins (priest caste) to 1056 among the Tantis (weaver caste). The deficiency of females seems to increase from south-east to north-west and from the lower castes to the higher castes. The number of females is almost equal to that of males among the primitive tribes, but falls shorter among other religious groups, though in varying degrees, as shown below:-

Females per 1.000 males in India, 1931.[12]

Sikhs	784
Muslims	904
Christians	952
Hindus	953
Primitive tribes	1,009

Both the age of wife at marriage and the duration of marriage are also important factors in differential fertility. A certain amount of sterility seems to develop with the increase in the age of marriage. An enquiry into a number of fertile and sterile marriages of different age groups in 1931 indicated that, while the percentage of sterility was 6 in marriages that had lasted 15 years or more, it was 4 in the case of wives married at 13 or 14 years of age, but rose to 7 in the case of wives married above 14 years. Another enquiry into 899, 783 families in 1931 also indicated that while the average number of children born of all marriages, complete and incomplete, was 3.9, it varied from 1.7 in the case of duration of marriage under 10 years to 5.8 in the case of duration of marriage for 33 years and over, *i.e.*, in the case of complete marriage.

Besides birth rate, the age of the wife at marriage is also a factor in the survival rate, as shown below. It will be seen that the average number of children born of wives married at all ages was 4.2 and their survival rate 2.9, but both the number born and survival rate seem to have increased with the age of wife at marriage and were at the highest for wives married at 30 years and over. The average size of the Indian family seems to be 4.9 and the increase in age of marriage does not appear to be unfavourable to the size of the family.

Average size of the Family co-related with Age of Wife at Marriage. 1931[13]

Wife at	Number of families	Average no. of children born alive per family	Average no. of children surviving per family
0–12 years	40,729	3.8	2.8
13–14 "	191,783	4.2	2.9
15–19 "	249,874	4.1	2.9
20–29 "	75,758	4.3	3.1
30 years and over	10,484	5.1	3.6
All ages	568,628	4.2	2.9

10. *Census of India*, 1921, Vol. I, Part I, Appendix VII. *Census of Baroda*, 1931, Part I, p. 176.
11. Reference to the year 1930. *Annuaire Statistique*, Paris, 1935, Divers Pays, p. 251.
12. *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I. Part I. p. 200.
13. *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, Part I, p. 206.

The last, but not the least important factor affecting differential fertility is infantile mortality or death of infants during the first year of life. But over 40 per cent of such deaths takes place in the first week and 60 per cent in the first month of birth in India.[14] Owing to premature and frequent maternity and lack of pre-natal and post-natal care, including insanitary conditions, infantile mortality is very high in India, being, for instance, 180.63 per 1,000 live births as compared with 60 in England and Wales.[15] Infant mortality varies, however, from province to province. The number of deaths of male infants under one year of age, for example, varies from 142.63 per 1,000 live-births in the United Provinces to 215.1 in Bihar and Orissa.[16]

Social Elements

Of the various social elements affecting differential fertility, the most important are the following: (1) early marriage; (2) universality of marriage; (3) abortion and infanticide; (4) polygyny and enforced widowhood; and (5) voluntary parenthood.

The effects of early marriage, which often meant in India until the passage of the Child Marriage Restraint Act[17] of 1930 marriage before puberty among girls and immature maternity have already been discussed. Owing partly to the cult of ancestral worship and partly to the economic value of the child, marriage has become universal among almost all classes of people. But what brings about differential fertility is the age of marriage among different classes of people affecting both natality and mortality.

Neither abortion nor infanticide plays any important part in differential fertility in India. The early and universal system of marriage limits the scope of abortion. Infanticide was once a more common practice for controlling numbers among the primitive tribes and avoiding the high cost of marriage among certain classes, but has gradually declined all over the country.

Among other factors influencing differential fertility are polygyny and enforced widowhood, as referred to above. Polygyny is permitted among the Hindus under certain circumstances, but is more customary among the Muslims. Moreover, widows are prohibited by high-caste Hindus from remarrying and this custom is also almost universally observed by other Hindus. In 1931, for instance, out of 54.47 million Hindu women of reproductive age, 8.31 million were widows, thus reducing the proportion of females per 1,000 males of reproductive age from 1,059 to 897. **The abolition of all restraint against remarriage of the widows among Hindus,** for which a movement was started about two generations ago, **may increase the fertility among the Hindus by over 15 per cent.**

Finally, voluntary parenthood varying among different classes, is also an important factor in differential fertility. Many high-caste Hindus practise continence after a certain age as a part of moral and religious duty and avoid parenthood. What is more important in modern times is the rise of personal ambition and a higher standard of living as well as the increasing knowledge of birth control, both of which vary from class to class and bring about differential fertility. The use of contraceptives is slowly but surely growing in India and there are also a few clinics established by municipalities for the propagation of birth control. Such practice generally begins with classes which are both socially and economically more advanced. But in recent years there has been a growing tendency even among the working classes towards voluntary parenthood, as indicated by falling birth rate among industrial workers in cities like Ahmedabad.

III. Significance

What is more important to this study is the effect of differential fertility upon the quality of population and the progress of culture. The significance of differential fertility may thus be studied under these two headings.

Quality of Population

One of the main objects of all rational activities is the conservation and, if possible, improvement of the biological heritage of human race. As far as differential fertility is concerned, this object can be achieved in a two-fold way, namely, (1) the encouragement to the growth of those groups which are supposed to have higher inherent qualities; and (2) the discouragement to, or even suppression of, the growth of those groups which are known to be congenitally defective.

As in other countries, no group, whether racial or social, has been proved to be superior to others in India as far as potential mental

14. *The Indian Yearbook*, 1932-33 p. 891.
15. Reference to the year 1930. *Census of India*, 1931, pp. 92-97 and also *Annuaire Statistique*, Paris, 1935, Divers Pays p. 251.
16. Refers to the year 1933. *Statistical Abstract for British India*, 1937, pp. 532 and 537.
17. The Act was first passed for Hindus only and was made applicable to all communities in that year.

qualities are concerned; differential fertility among racial groups does not, therefore, raise any problem. It may in fact be pointed out that a wider inter-mixture of different racial groups may bring a three-fold benefit to India: First, it may solve the problem of shortage of female population, which is often regarded to be the effect of endogamy practised by most groups in India. Secondly, it may add virility to the people, as the inter-mixture of blood, especially among allied racial and sub-racial groups, is often regarded as an important cause of national virility. Finally, it may lead in the long run to the more uniform and harmonious growth of racial characters in national population.

A more practical method of improving the human race is the elimination of congenital defects from population. There is, however, scarcely any reliable data on the extent of the mentally defectives in India, except for those who are enumerated as insane, deaf-mute, lepers and blind, although some of them may not suffer from any congenital defect. The number of such people increased from 229 per 100,000 inhabitants in 1901 to 314 in 1931,[18] owing to a more thorough system of census record. But these figures are by no means indicative of the real extent of the congenitally defectives. It has been estimated that only about one-tenth of lepers in certain localities has been included in the census of 1931. Like many potentially good qualities, many of such defects remain dormant through the lack of intense life in India and can be detected only by expert knowledge. Another disquieting feature is the disproportional increase among the inmates of gaols, asylums and alms-houses as well as among the beggars and vagrants, who have, on the average, a birth rate of 4.3 children and surival rate of 3.04 children per family, that is, more than those among most other classes. It is by no means implied that all these persons are congenitally defective, but they are not socially desirable people to have large families.

Progress of Culture

While the superiority of one group over another, whether racial or social, in potential mental qualities is still an open question, that in culture or the sum total of human achievements in art, science and philosophy, is an admitted fact. Cultural progress depends upon the physical, intellectual and moral strength of a people and is assured by a larger increase in fertility among those groups which are socially, economically and politically more advanced. Differential fertility in India has therefore several effects upon cultural progress.

First, except in France, the rural population has often been a source of sturdy generation, but the problem of differential fertility between rural and urban populations does not arise in India inasmuch as only a little over one-tenth of the population lives in the town. What is more serious is the larger fertility among the poorer classes, specially among wage workers, the number of whom already amount to 56 million, or 36 per cent of all the gainfully occupied persons. The misery and degradation of the masses is no mean cause of India's backwardness.

Secondly, however incongruous the caste system may be, differential fertility among caste groups does not raise any social problems, as both the interior castes and the Brahmins appear to be increasing faster than the socially backward exterior castes. But differential fertility among various religious groups with their different outlook towards life is bound to have great effect upon the social structure of the whole nation.

Finally, differential fertility among various religious groups has also changed their relative political status under the newly inaugurated Constitution and has raised a very complicated, though temporary, political problem. The new Constitution is avowedly based upon communal representation and various communities may be tempted to seek the interest of their own particular groups rather than that of the nation as a whole.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that the problem of differential fertility is neither so complex nor so serious as it appeared to be a few years ago. Means have been found by several advanced countries for the control of the dissemination of congenital defects in population growth and the rising level of culture and standard of living has also reduced the size of the family among socially and economically backward classes in recent years.[19] As far as India is concerned it is still a problem and requires several remedial measures:

First, the appointment of a board of applied eugenics for adopting means for the maintenance and, if possible, improvement of the biological heritage of the population.

Secondly, the raising of the general level of culture through compulsory education and of the standard of living through rapid industria-

18. Excluding multiple infirmities.

19. This is especially so in the case of Prussia during the years 1925-29, as pointed out by Dr. Tietze. *Cf. Eugenics Review*, April, 1932.

lisation so that there may grow among the masses a sense of responsible parenthood and a desire to limit the size of the family to the economic means.

Finally, the democratisation of social and political institutions and the abolition of caste, communalism and special privileges for the growth of intelligent citizenship among the population, so that all classes, irrespective of race, caste, creed and occupation, may find their fullest self-expression in the general progress of the whole society.

Paper read at the International Congress of Population, Paris, 1937.

CAN WAR BE AVERTED ?

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

"A Measure of non-intervention designed simply to localise the conflict is insufficient either to meet the immediate situation or to satisfy the moral sense of mankind." This sentence occurs in an appeal just issued by the Embassies of Reconciliation and published simultaneously in England, America, France and several other countries. It is addressed to the neutral Powers and its object is to persuade them to take up the active role of peace-making between the two sides in Spain—instead of continuing with the present business of non-intervention, that so-called non-intervention which is always being flouted and is nothing but a snare and a delusion. Indeed, it is such an open delusion that people go about saying that we only continue with it because it suits us to do so until we are sufficiently re-armed.

Non-intervention, like all negative attitudes, is a boomerang. Mr. Eden and M. Blum may believe, and perhaps believe rightly, that anything is better than risking a world war. But while they are counselling moderation, the provocative acts which they refuse to denounce are raising a very devil of indignation and hatred all the same! If they had taken a strong line from the first, the perpetrators of these acts would certainly not have grown so bold. But, as it is, the Dictators have gone unchecked from one enormity to another and their followers have grown more and more swollen with pride. While in the non-intervention countries, with their Pilates at the top washing their hands all the time, the common people are beginning to seethe with impotence and rage. This was vividly brought home to me the other day. A man who was a pacifist in the last war told me that he had had to sit in his seat in the underground railway while an Italian woman he knew (whose father by the way he had helped when he was in difficulties in this country) told him she had just come back from Rome, and she had to tell him that Signor Mussolini and General Franco were the saviours of Christendom from Bolshevism and that England was quite mistaken if she thought she could stop them, etc., etc. All this was said at the top of her lungs for the benefit of every one sitting near them. He said he let her run on till it was time for him to get out. Then he just said to her (no doubt at the top of his lungs too): You will be writing to your father soon, won't you, and you can tell him this. All this farce of non-intervention is just nothing. We are waiting until we are re-armed. And when we are, in about eighteen months time, every city in Italy will be as flat as a pancake! And we shall see then what this nation of hotel-keepers and ice-cream makers knows about fighting. . . Which of course was deplorable—but it exactly illustrates the consequences of policies of non-intervention.

In this connection it is perhaps worth reflecting on the words of the Chairman of the U. S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Japan is making war again on China. It is Manchuria over again. She intends to make of Peking (Pekin!) and the whole of Northern China another dependent puppet State. Mr. Roosevelt is trying to end this war before it is begun. But even in face of such an outrage as Japanese overlordship of Pekin—with the certainty that China will never allow the matter to rest—there are those in America who would like to prevent Mr. Roosevelt from intervening lest intervention lead to war between America and Japan. They would like to invoke the U. S. A. Neutrality Act. But to them this Senator replies : "Such action might destroy all the efforts now being made towards peace. . .

Every armed conflict does not necessarily constitute a state of war."

It is strange incidentally how isolationist America is the only Great Power today who ever intervenes in the cause of peace. She is isolated no doubt in geography but she certainly is not in spirit. Three thousand miles from Europe and nearly five thousand miles from Asia she is none the less deeply concerned about peace in both worlds. A most interesting lead has just been made for instance by the *New York Times*. It is an appeal to Mr. Roosevelt's Government to join with the democracies of Europe, to take an influential part, in trying to prevent war. When England, it seems, is putting all her faith in re-armament it is a shock to be reminded by this newspaper that,

The way to peace lies in making treaties before wars and *not after making guns.*

But the writer of the article puts his finger on the point when he insists that the democracies are strong enough *now* to enforce peace in Europe if only they would face up to their responsibilities. (Away with this spirit of selfish procrastination. Letting the Dictators go on with their havoc in Spain—or with their preparations for war in Eastern Europe—while we go on re-arming and muttering: Just you wait! won't lead to anything except war on a vast scale). The way to sanity is open to us now and here it is.

The democracies are powerful enough to dictate terms before that day (European outbreak) arrives, if only they stand together, and *if only they insist on terms that are just to their potential enemies as well as to themselves.*

It may be objected, and with reason, that rights and wrongs in Europe are so mixed-up and so age-long that it is impossible to disentangle them without creating fresh wrongs. The Peace Treaties concluded after the Great War, for instance, were supposed to liberate the oppressed minorities—and, under the influence of President Wilson's Fourteen Points, some effort was made to solve this problem along ethnological rather than political lines. Yet there has just been meeting in London the Thirteenth Annual Congress of Europe's National Minorities. At this Congress were delegates representing minorities in Denmark, Estonia, Italy, Jugo-Slavia, Latvia, Austria, Poland, Rumania, Spain and Czecho-Slovakia. And they spoke, it is said, for at least twenty-seven million people.

All the same a legal arbitrament is better than the arbitrament of war. Even if there can be no clear way now out of the jungle, the way we can make by an honest effort to obtain peace will be a better way than the way which must result from war. England has always believed in the jury system. (And we got the system, some say, from France.) Cannot we bring the jury idea into our approach to European problems? That this can be done is suggested by a speech made the other day at Cambridge by Sir Archibald Sinclair, M. P. Outlining a policy for peace he said:

"I would pursue the double policy—on the one hand of strengthening the League and making collective security a reality, and on the other hand of making friends with Germany, not at almost any price, not at some price which she doesn't want or at a price which somebody else has got to pay, but, provided always that she is willing to return to the League and to join in a measure of general disarmament, at any price which our League obligations permit, which justice and equity demand, and *which third party judgment may assess.*"

Third party judgment is the only way out. Because even if a wholly just judgment is beyond the limits of possibility it none the less has one priceless advantage: it does not sow the seeds of revenge. Peace Treaties, even good treaties, are no use if they are dictated by conquerers. The conquered will inevitably be filled with bitterness and revenge and just bide their time until they can upset the treaties in the next war. But when the judgment is handed down by a third party there is life in it—not death!

Since reference has been made to this speech of Sir Archibald Sinclair it should be noted also that he sounds a warning to those who would urge us to form an alliance of democracies *against* the Dictators. The point is, of course, not to arraign the democracies against anyone. It is for the democracies to apply the democratic *principle*—which means if it means anything, as George Lansbury has pointed out, listening to what the other side has to say.

While on the subject of democracy it is perhaps worth remembering that England has just made a real contribution. In an age when oppositions are put down all over the Continent we in England have decided to pay a salary to the Leader of the Opposition. Was this decision reported, one would like to know, in the newspapers in Germany, Russia, Poland, Italy, Austria and all the rest?

At the same time as Parliament voted a special salary to the Leader of the Opposition, it voted also for an increase in the salary of all M.P.s. And this same Parliament, to digress, has also voted for a modification in the Divorce Law of England. Referring to these two

measures a Labour M.P. remarked to me : Just think what would have happened if we, a Labour Government, had tried to do these things ! We would have been told that we were voting ourselves more money—and breaking up the sanctity of the home, etc., etc. I said to him : How is it that a Tory Government can do these things and he said it is because they are trusted by the vested interests. If you are trusted by the vested interests in this country, you can do anything.

The vested interests are such an everlasting problem—it is they who prevent the State buying out the drink trade, they who prevent the State administering its own Health Insurance schemes, they who prevent the pacification of Europe along economic lines by sticking out for tariffs—that it is a relief to find they have their uses. Is there any vested interest less justifiable than the vested interest in war? And is there any chance of that vested interest, the armament-makers, seeing the light? Perhaps not but it looks as if the other vested interests may do it for them. Anyway listen to the Federation of British Industries. It has been analysing the defence expenditure of the leading nations in 1931 and 1936 and it concludes :

"We shall be erring on the side of an under-estimate if we take the increase in the world's annual expenditure on armaments between 1931 and 1936 at not less than £2,000,000,000. Can the industrial system of the world stand re-armament at this pace ? There are reasons for doubting whether they can."

(That last sentence is in itself a miracle of understatement).

One of the most tiresome obstructions in the path of the would-be peacemaker is that substitute for thinking which he so often encounters. This substitute for thinking is always trotted out and always in the same terms *i.e.*, you can't get away from nature. People have always fought and always will. Look at the jungle, etc., etc. You can talk to them till you are blue in the face pointing out that animals of the same kind do not, like human beings, prey on one another. But they will not listen because they do not want to listen. They prefer their substitute for thinking—particularly as it is both short and sententious. Such being the case it is of great moment to learn that the doctors have decided that something must be done about the psychology of war. For six years, it seems, the Netherlands Medical Association has been dealing with the problem. They appealed to the British Medical Association to do so also because they felt that if Britain took up the matter other associations would follow Britain's example—and the result would be a strong international movement. The B. M. A. however was not quite ready for such a progressive idea. It is something none the less that they decided, by an overwhelming majority, to press for an international section under the Health Organization of the League of Nations to deal with this problem.

So, at last we have it, war psychology is morbid psychology—and must be dealt with by Health Organizations (Dictators please copy).

And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light . . . . That famous condemnation will be applicable to us if we allow the world to go on towards war in the way that it is now going. Because there are not lacking men of ideas and men of action who are pointing the way out if we would take heed to them. One of these is the King of the Belgians and another is President Roosevelt. In March of this year the King was in London and conferred with the Foreign Secretary. In April, the Belgian Prime Minister, M. van Zeeland, at the instance of Britain and France, visited Mr. Roosevelt to discuss with him, as a measure of world appeasement, the possibilities of removing international trade barriers. Now in the summer the King of the Belgians has issued, in the form of a letter to M. van Zeeland, an appeal to the thinkers of the world to co-operate in one last effort to bring about equilibrium.

The King's letter is so good that it should be written up on the walls of every Foreign Office—along with the League Covenant. Its main purpose is to advocate the setting-up of an independent world economic organization which should solve "the great problem which menacingly confront humanity." (Scoffers will say, with Cæsar, he is a dreamer, let him pass. But if Cæsar had listened to the dreamer he would not have met his death . . . .) This organization, the King insists, must be able "to rely on the co-operation of those persons all over the world who are best acquainted with all questions relating to industry, trade, agriculture, finance and labour." Universality, permanence and independence must emphasize its value. (Hark to the voice of Catholic Europe in that pronouncement . . . .)

So much for the King's objective—and now for his statement of the problem :

"It is incontestably very difficult to isolate the economic domain from political contingencies. But it is precisely this difficulty which is the crux of the problem . . . Neither the lowering of tariff barriers, nor any partial measure, can alone put an end to the confusion

which is threatening peace. If we really wish to avert war and bring mankind back to a more peaceful frame of mind, we must have the courage to tackle the economic question in its entirety: distribution of raw materials—distribution of the means of exchange—international distribution of labour—equilibrium between the agricultural and industrial nations."

What, in the jargon of the times, are the operative words here? Surely when the King says: "If we really wish to avert war . . . we must have the courage . . ."

Perhaps one more thing should be said. It may be objected that the King's plan merely duplicate the economic functions of the League. But the answer to that is plain. Nations out of suits with the League—Japan, Italy, Germany—who would not go to Geneva can co-operate with the new organization without loss of face.

Distribution of raw materials. Is that the crux of the present situation? It is certainly one good reason why Germany is intervening in the Spanish war. On 19th July, it will be recalled, Germany officially announced a new Trade Agreement with General Franco, the Spanish rebel Fascist Leader. By this Agreement Herr Hitler gets from the Basque mines iron ore—iron ore which he requires for re-armament. But Germany's fishing in Spanish waters is nothing to the fishing which she is *contemplating*.

Those who wish to understand the nature of the German problem are commended to an article by Mr. George Slocombe which appeared in the American *Saturday Evening Post* of July 24th. It has the title: "Europe's Next Battleground"—and it shows that this question of German expansion, of expansion to the East, was not invented by Herr Hitler. It has been a vital factor in German politics since the beginning of this century. Before the Great War it was seen in the German attempt to obtain control of the Berlin-Bagdad railroad, that line which extends for 2,500 miles, and to control which is to control "the great transversal axis which runs across Europe and Asia Minor from Hamburg on the North Sea to Basra on the Persian Gulf."

What a dream of expansion and conquest—and no wonder it flickers before German eyes. To follow the course of that railway, to realize what it means in material wealth and above all in striking power and prestige, is to understand the extent of the German menace, the futility of any Western Pacts to prevent a World War once Germany is again on the march to the East! During the Great War Germany did indeed control the whole 2,500 miles of the line. And, says Mr. Slocombe:

"If Germany had won the war, or even if the war had ended in stalemate, Germany would have succeeded Czarist Russia as the traditional enemy of England at the gates of India."

Who stands between Germany and her ambition? Hungary who is to all intents and purposes a German ally, Rumania who is negligible, and Czecho-Slovakia—who will fight.

History is full of ironies and it will be a tragic irony if Czecho-Slovakia is destroyed. The last war, it was said, was a war to make the world safe for democracy. Czecho-Slovakia, created by the Peace Treaties around the former heroic country of Bohemia, has alone lived up to the hopes of that desperate time. It is the one 100 per cent democracy in Central Europe.

But how can Czecho-Slovakia hope to survive? She is spending £20,000,000 on fortifications along the German frontier—but can she really keep the Germans out? To do so will be to go against history. Napoleon won the battle of Austerlitz and thereby became the master of Europe. Indeed, for a thousand years, as Mr. Slocombe comments, the strategy of kings and conquerors in Middle Europe has been based upon possession of this gateway territory. Czecho-Slovakia then has an overwhelming task. The prizes to the conqueror are so glittering that perhaps nothing can tempt away the would-be invader.

Nothing? Well a superior combination ranged against Germany might make her hesitate. It is not in the interests of Russia, or in the interests of Britain, to have a German overlordship in Europe. France, clear-sighted France, has opposed this menace from the beginning—by giving her support to the Little Entente and by making an alliance with Russia—although a selfish policy (the kind of policy dear to our Beaverbrook-Rothermere press here) might have suggested to her that a Germany expanding in the East could be no menace to France in the West.

A superior alliance against her may deter Germany. But is there no better way? If there is, perhaps it lies in this matter of a better distribution of raw materials. For it is the material resources that lie along the Berlin-Bagdad railroad—as well as the prestige of controlling that line—that is attracting Germany. To be in possession there is to be in a position

"to strike northwards and eastwards at the rich prairies of the Soviet Ukraine or southwards at the oil fields of Mosul and the Persian Gulf region . . . In the path of the German strategists southeastwards lie the immense oil fields of Rumania and Mosul, with raw petrolium for the taking."

People are talking as if war will break out in about eighteen months' time. So short a

time! And we all know why it is coming. . . Since no country really wants it, not even Germany if she could restore herself in her own eyes in any other way, will no country take the lead—and turn the world towards peace, a just peace arrived at by pursuing the just courses put forward in the now famous letter of the King of the Belgians. Belgium was the first to suffer in the last war. It would be fitting if she had the honour and glory of averting the next one.

4TH AUGUST, 1937.

THE POPULATION OF BENGAL

Present-Day Condition and the Future

BY BHUPENDRA NATH DATTA, A.M. (Brown), Dr. Phil. (Hamburg)

THE Wheatley Labour Commission has said that India is on the eve of the Second Industrial Revolution, and in a given favourable condition, there is no reason why India should not complete the second phase of Industrial Revolution and then enter the third phase of social integration. There is no peculiarity or particularity of India in these matters. Given the proper conditions India will completely wean herself away from mediævalism and transform herself as a modern industrial State. This will completely reshuffle her economic and social forces, which will put the social-polity on a new basis.

Today India is in the midst of industrial transformation, and the present-day economic maladjustment of her population is nothing but the inevitable price a society has to pay for entering into a new phase of civilization. It is natural that with the destruction of old order, society is put out of its gear; and until the new order is firmly established,[1] society pays a heavy toll for the transformation. Europe had to pay it very heavily when the industrial revolution destroyed the old order of her society.[2] In Bengal, economic transformation due to causes said beforehand, are putting the society out of old order. Moreover, a shifting of a layer of her population in future is not improbable. Those who know vividly the condition of the toiling masses of West-Bengal can discern that such a change is possible in future. The West-Bengal peasantry living in an ennervated climate, and devitalized by malaria and under-nourishment, are losing vital energy which gives the people the will to live. Hence, the urgent necessity of "population-politics" (Bevoelkerungs-politik) is to save the Bengal peasantry.

In order to be clear, the cause of the population-politics of the population of Bengal can be stated thus: There is a landed aristocracy, which on account of the economic situation of the present day is hard up. The small taluks in some cases are changing their proprietors. Then the middle-class is breaking down into a small prosperous class and a big poor middle-class. The economic stress on the latter class is so great that it is being proletarianized. Again the reservation of the Government posts for the Mohammedans is helping the economic degradation of the Hindu section of this class still further. The present-day Bengalee taxi, bus, and automobile drivers, tramway conductors are being recruited from this poor middle-class. A large section of the members of this class comes from the impoverished Brahman, Kayastha and other so-called upper castes. Most of them have got some amount of high school education. Even the members of this class are entering the factories as wage-earning labourers. Again men of Brahman caste are to be seen as working as menial wage-earners in the factories.

The case of the peasantry has been said beforehand. They are so devitalized that in many places most of their works are being done by the non-Bengalees. Besides, all work of hard labour formerly done by the people of Bengal have been replaced by men from other provinces. Only a new profession has been opened to a section of the toiling classes, *viz.*, the job of a sailor in inland and sea-going vessels. But this profession has become the monopoly of the Moslem population mostly hailing from East Bengal side.[3]

Thus in the struggle for existence the Hindu poor middle-class and the peasantry of Bengal

1. F. Muller-Lyer: *History of Social Development.*
2. *Ibid.*

3. The former Hindu boatmen plying in the Hooghly have been ousted by the up-country men.

are going to the wall. But the time is coming when the Mohammedan middle-class will undergo the same fate of break-down. A middle-class is growing in this Moslem society, but *pari-passu* unemployment problem is growing with the educated section of this community as well. The Moslem peasantry of East Bengal urged by land-hunger is settling in Assam and in West Bengal.[4] Many Mohammedans from the Chittagong side of East Bengal have settled in Lower Burma. All these show that there is a chronic maladjustment of the economic life in Bengal.

In this maladjustment, the Hindus suffer most, as circumscribed by hide-bound customs and religious prohibitions, and being not adventurous they are shiftless. Hence they rot on the soil and leave everything to fate.

Thus the socio-economic condition of the population of Bengal is delineated here in a nutshell. The present-day situation is a dismal one for the old population of Bengal. Hence we will have to find a remedy.

As the political solution of the question is extraneous to the subject-matter of this paper, we will have to look at the question from the sociological standpoint.

History of Bengal says that the ancestors of the present-day population of Bengal had been a sea-faring people. Tradition and anthropology bear witness to this fact. The intrepid ancestors of the present-day Bengal peasantry and the merchant classes used to ply their ships in the East Indies and established colonies,[5] in good many islands of the Indian Ocean. But new socio-political factors ushered in by the conservative polity during the Moslem domination, have made the descendants of the same people lose their vigour, and being oblivious of the past and degenerated in the present, destruction is only staring them on their face. Hence the new orientation of the world-view and the social-polity of the population of Bengal is imperative.

IV. The Future

This being the case, in order to live, the population of Bengal must have a new social polity in which they can survive and grow. Situated as it is in the present, it will not be a wonder if the present-day population of Bengal which calls itself "Bengalee" dies out after a century or so or reduces itself to a hopeless minority. The malarial climate is playing havoc in the greater part of the province. A high birth-rate is entailing a high death-rate amongst the population.[6] Tuberculosis is working havoc amongst the middle-class. It is time that the population of Bengal be studied from the standpoint of *race-biology*.

The writer of the paper thinks that the time has come when the question of the eugenics of the population of Bengal be investigated and be made popular. If the people of Bengal as such, be made to survive in the struggle for existence, they must be made to get over their old prejudices and venerated traditions. That means the remodelling of the old polity is imperative.

In order to make Bengal an efficient and indivisible part of India, she must be made an integral part of the whole socio-political complex to be known in future as the Indian nation. This will not necessitate a complete fusion of blood. Nationality based on racial homogeneity nowhere exists in the world. Social homogeneity is a product of cultural growth. This presupposes community of interests and mobility of the society.

In case, India breaks up into different provincial nationalities based on languages, the same things are required. Hindu and non-Hindu social-polities need reconstruction. The writer does not believe that the sectarian nationalities on the basis of religion is possible in India in modern age. And any attempt to divide linguistic groups through religion and to form different cultural nationalities based on religious differences, is doomed to failure in an industrial India. Hence for the building up of an Indian nationality a new social-polity is necessary.

The old saying that what is in the macrocosm is in the microcosm is true in the case of India and her relation with Bengal. The remedy which is necessary for the whole also applies to the part. Thus leaving the question of nationality we come back to the question of the province of Bengal.

V. Plea : A New Social Integration

If the population of Bengal be made to survive and to live as a healthy people, then

4. The East Bengal Moslem peasants are settling in the 24-Perganahs, and in some seasons, they are to be seen as wage-earners in some Hooghly district villages as well.

5. The Singhalese are the descendents from the Bengalee Colonists. Physical anthropology corroborates it. *Vide* Sarassins : *Ergebnisse Naturwissenschaftlichen Forschungen auf Ceylon* : Recent researches have found out the tradition of Kaibarta kingdom in East Indies.

6. Prof B. K. Sarkar in his speech at the First Indian Population Conference held at Lucknow, 1936 speaks of "the decline of birth-rate and death-rate as a fact of Indian demography" (pp. 17-18). Also he speaks of the decline of mortality and birth-rates in Bengal (pp. 20, 25). But the *Census Report* of 1931 in dealing with Bengal says that "consideration adduced in Ch. IV shows that actually both the birth-rate and the death-rate in Bengal are verry high" (Vol. VI. p. 164).

the question of tackling the problem from the stand-point of race-biology is the desideratum. History shows that the health of a country can be changed. The old Central-European primordial forests full of bogs and morasses have been changed into delightful countries like Hungary, Austria, Germany and Poland. These places have become the nurseries of sturdy peasantry; while Campania the home of Classical Roman soldiers has changed itself in the present age into a miasmic tract of land. It does not breed a sturdy peasant class any more.

For this reason, (a) the draining of the bogs and the malarial tracts in Bengal is the first necessity. Then the question comes of widening the doors of the society to strangers. All those who have settled in Bengal must be taken in the Bengalee society. Raghunandan's social-polity has got to be given up. Those who settled in Bengal after the second phase of Social Reconstruction must be taken in the society, and those who are temporarily staying in Bengal must be made to make this province their permanent abode. That means (b) those who are settling in Bengal since the second phase of Social Reconstruction must be taken in Bengal social-polity.

Then, (c) inter-marriage with these new settlers must be introduced. They shall not introduce new racial elements in Bengal. Researches in Anthropology have shown that by the term "Hindu" no race is implied, it is a religious grouping. Again, by the term "Indian" no particular race is implied, it is a political-cultural grouping. Hence from the standpoint of race-biology, no miscegenation will take place, rather it will introduce virility amongst the ennervated population.

The social purist and the provincial nationalist will stand aghast at this proposal. It will be a heresy to them. But we need to remind them that in our anthropological enquiry we have found out, that streams of migrations have come down to the Gangetic delta from different parts of India, and many of the castes are still priding themselves to be the descendants of those immigrants. Hence we need not be exclusive to the newcomers. The population of Bengal contains different biotypes in her midst. There is no racial homogeneity, hence we need not fear of losing the racial purity. As regards the sentiment of purity of language that is involved in it, the philologists tell us that the present-day Bengalee language has descended from the ancient Prakrit through various phases of evolution. The form of a language cannot be standardized for ever. It is of cultural growth. A race or a people may change its language. The time is gone by when nationality can be built up on race or language only. Tribal, racial, or linguistic nationalism will never foster the growth of Indian nationality.

Then comes the question of caste which is involved in the matter forming a new social-polity. It can be said that it is never immobile as the orthodox people would make us believe. Castes have shifted their positions in different ages, and their status have changed likewise.[7] The same castes do not have the same status everywhere. New castes are always forming. Further a person of one caste has been taken in another caste[8] in not remote part of Bengal's history. The only thing is that the Hindu society in Bengal as elsewhere in India, temporarily lost its dynamic force during the latter part of the Mohammedan period of the Indian history.

As the present castes are supposed by some to be the ossified forms of the ancient Varna system or class-system, the impact of new economic changes are giving rise to new class-divisions. Hence sticking to the old social division has got no further significance. As regards the question of heredity and blood-purity and which are bound up with the old notions about caste-system, the matter need tackling *de novo* from the standpoint of eugenics and not from that of the Smritis.

Finally (d) intermarriages between different groups should be allowed so that all sects may feel that they are members of one organic society.

7. In Mukundaram Kabikankan's poetical work called *Chandi*, the status of Kayastha was held to be superior to a Rajput. This was written when Man Singh was the Moghul Governor of Bengal! Again in Bilaspur District of C. P. the Kait, (Kayastha) is regarded as "Asat" Sudra (unclean) *i.e.*, from whose hand water cannot be drunk by a man of "Sat" (clean) Castes.

8. N. N. Vasu in his *Kayastha Ethnology* (*Kayasther Varna-Nirnaya*) says that in the *Karika* of Maladhar Ghatak it is written that in the year 892 of the Bengalee era, two Rajputs named Sura Singha and Rudra Singha became Kayastha in West Bengal. They were accepted as Kayasthas and they became the founders of "Rayna Dutt" family (pp. 176-177). On investigation it has been discovered by the present writer that in different parts of Bengal various Rajput families have entered the Kayastha caste. This fact is not unknown to the said community.

Mokshada Charan Samadhayi in *Bara-Bhuiya* says that one of the Bara-Bhuiyas, Raja Lakshman Manikya of Noakhali was of Kshatriya family, originally hailing from Mithila. This family intermarried with the Kayasthas and the descendants are now Kayasthas (pp. 10-11).

In the same ways the author says, the Rajas of Ujanir were Suryavansi-Kshatriyas from outside. They became Kayasthas. *Ibid* pp. 11-12.

The Sena Rajas who called themselves "Brahma-Kshatriyas" (*vide* N. G. Mazumder) later on, intermarried with Kayastha rajas of Chandradwipa. *Vide* Nikhilnath Rai's *Pratapaditya Charita*.

With the rejuvenation of the population of Bengal, and with the inclusion of all peoples in a new social-polity, the third phase of Social Integration will take place in Bengal and then she will enter in her third period of Social Reconstruction.

As it is beyond the scope of this paper to chalk out a programme for the rejuvenation of the people of Bengal, the abovementioned ideas are suggested for the consideration of the population problem of Bengal. The ideas given in this paper may sound utopian or chimeral and may not form a part of practical politics of today, but we know from World's history that given opportunity and proper environment, a remodelling of a society and regeneration of a group of people is possible.

ANIMAL SACRIFICE GIVEN UP

BY S. SATHANANTHAN

THE barbarous practice of sacrificing animals and fowls to gods and goddesses is in vogue among some of the backward classes of Hindus. It is unfortunate that a few members of the higher classes also associate themselves with such practices either with some selfish motives or with a desire to pander to the taste of the lower classes.

One of such inhuman practices is the practice of sacrificing a buffalo, a pregnant pig and a pregnant sheep once in twelve years to Ayirathamman in Palamcottah. This practice, though quite recent, usually attracts large crowds from the whole district.

To prevent that sacrifice has been the earnest endeavour of the enlightened public for some time past. Twelve years ago, they formed themselves into a society called *Thiru Neri Thondar Kuzham*. This society and the Saiva Sabha, Palamcottah, stirred up a strong agitation against it. But it proved futile.

This year, the sacrifice was prepared to be made in February, but the promoters of the obscene rite postponed it to July as they apprehended opposition from the intelligent public and wanted to lull it asleep.

But the public once again banded themselves into a league called *Anti-Animal Sacrifice League* and set up a very strong agitation against the proposed sacrifice. The Saiva Siddhanta Society, Tinnevelly, the S. P. C. A., Tinnevelly, the South Indian Humanitarian League, Madras, and the Saiva Sabha, Palamcottah, joined hands with the League and worked whole-heartedly for the success of the movement. Lecturers were got down from the North with a view to convert the minds of the people of both sexes of all classes to the idea of giving up the sacrifices and thus create a very strong public feeling in favour of the movement. Bhajana parties and processions were taken out. Magic lantern lectures were delivered. Wall-posters and leaflets were distributed and a large section of the public became sympathetic with the movement. The sacrificers attempted to frighten away the promoters by threats, ridicule and the use of physical force. But, undaunted, the League and its associates did their duty and at last the Tinnevelly Circle Temple Committee and the Trustee of the Ayirathamman Temple were approached. The Committee sympathized with the movement and passed a resolution that,

"Sacrifice in the name of the deity is highly reprehensible. unsastraic and uncivilized and derogatory to humanity."

A telegram was received from Mahatma Gandhi as follows:

"Sacrifice of animals in the name of religion is remnant of barbarism."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wrote as follows:

"I am grieved to learn that it is proposed to offer animal sacrifice in temples. I think that such sacrifices are barbarous and they degrade the name of religion. I trust that the authorities of the temple will pay heed to the sentiments of cultured people in this matter and refrain from such sacrifices."

Mr. C. N. Muthurenga Mudaliar, M.L.A., also sent a sympathetic message.

All these failed to satisfy a small clique that was in favour of the sacrifice. But as public feeling was running high against the performance of the sacrifice and it was apprehended that any attempt by the minority to perform the sacrifice may be attended by a serious breach of the peace, orders under Section 144 Cr. P. C. were passed by the Sub-Magistrate and served upon the chief leaders of the sacrificers and thus the sacrifice was stopped. The League conducted the festival on the last day bearing the subsequent expenses.

It is hoped that the legislature would take early steps to stop such inhuman and barbarous sacrifices.

Palamcottah.

INTERCASTE MARRIAGE

Sociological and Biological

By SASADHAR ROY, M.A., B.L.

INTERCASTE marriage has been known in this country from time immemorial. Manu, Yajnavalka, Vyas, Parasar mentioned 63 mixed castes (*Sankara*). Besides these there are several other mixed castes in Hindu Society now, which are not mentioned in the above *Smritis*. It is clear, therefore, that intercaste marriages have all along prevailed in this country amongst Hindus. A large bulk of the Hindu population of this country is the result of intercaste marriage. Even today intercaste and inter-sub-caste marriages are not rare.

The Shastric aspect of the subject has been dealt with almost thread-bare. The recent discussion in the Legislative Assembly on Dr. Bhagawan Das's Bill also appears to be full of Shastric arguments. I shall, therefore, restrain myself and deal mainly on the scientific aspect of this kind of marriage.

At the outset I must say that marriage is not only an individual matter affecting the bride and bridegroom but it must be viewed as a social institution of the highest importance. On marriage depend the existence, improvement and degeneration of society. True, the individual aspect should not be neglected, but the children form the next generation on whom depends the progress or degeneration of society. There is the great social question of the highest importance. If the next generation is unfit, society degenerates. But if it is more fit than the previous generation society progresses.

Fit and unfit mean nothing more or less than this :

Man has to compete and struggle with man, he has to struggle with his natural environments —both living and non-living. The individual who succeeds in the struggle lives and breeds. But the individual who fails in the struggle degenerates, dies and eventually becomes extinct. The result of this sort of struggle is life and progeny in the one case and death and extinction in the other. Evolution is but a history of ups and downs. This is natural selection; as if nature selects some who live and evolve, and rejects others who die and become extinct. The formers are fit to live and the latter are not.

This fitness or unfitness depends more on heredity and therefore on marriage and less on environmental conditions. Between nature and nurture, as the two are called, nature prevails.

Progress or degeneration then depends upon the fitness or unfitness of the next generation. But what fraction of the present generation forms the next generation? Statistics in this country is not available, as none cared to find it out. But in England it has been found that one-fourth of the married population forms half of the next generation. There, one-fourth of the married population means one-sixth to one-eighth of the adult population, capable of breeding. It follows, therefore that one-sixth to one-eighth of the adult population forms half of the next generation. It will appear now that this population, *viz.*, one-sixth to one-eighth of the adult population of England must be fit in body and mind to form the next generation so that it may not degenerate. In this country also there must be some such proportion of the adult population which breeds a considerable fraction of the next generation. These breeders must themselves be fit in body and mind in order that the next generation may not degenerate. Professor Karl Pearson F.R.S., in his *National Life* (1915) page 29 asks us to

> "bear in mind that one quarter only of the married people of this country—say a sixth to an eighth of the adult population—produce 50 per cent of the next generation. It will then be seen how essential it is for the maintenance of a physically and mentally fit race that this one-sixth to one-eighth of the population should be drawn from the best and not the worst stock."

If this is not done but the next generation is bred from the unfit, that is to say, from those who suffer from various hereditary diseases or from mental diseases—such as feeble mindedness, or unstable mindedness or insanity etc., then the next generation must be degenerate. Men and women of short-lived families or of families in which the productive power is becoming weaker and weaker or of families in which nervous weakness or feeble mindedness or insanity has considerably developed, men and women who belong to unsocial or criminal families must not be allowed to breed the next generation or any considerable portion of it.

If they are allowed to do so the next generation must be degenerate. Therefore, if society has to be kept progressive and not allowed to degenerate, marriage must be taken as a social concern and not merely an individual affair. In marrying you must look to progress or degeneration of the next generation. From two genealogical tables, one from the fit and another from the unfit progenitor, given by Prof. Karl Pearson in his *Scope and Importance of National Eugenics* this result appears clearly demonstrated. Doctor Wilson in his work *Education, Personality and Crime* (1908) page 202, has given most striking cases including those belonging to the notorious Joukes family. This family has been mentioned by other authors also. Dr. Wilson tells us that,

"A feeble minded maternal grandmother and a shiftless father and an epileptic mother are responsible for seven idiotic children. . . . The famous Joukes family in one hundred years produced from five degenerate sisters no fewer than 1,200 descendants in whom degeneracy and criminality preponderated."

I have already said that the fit beget fitness in the next generation and the unfit beget the unfit. This would be more correct if both parents were fit or unfit. But if one of them is fit and the other unfit we get in the next generation a composite variety which may to some extent be understood on Mendelian principles. But how to find out who is fit and who is unfit? This question demands immediate consideration.

At present man has been divided into three groups from the point of view of fitness. Those belonging to the first group always remain like a baby two years old—whatever their real age may be. They are called idiots. One might call them "grown-up babies." Those in the second group always remain like a child seven years old—whatever the real age. They are called imbecile. They are to a small extent educable in the wide sense of the word. Those in the third group always remain like a child 12 years old irrespective of their real age. They are called moron. They may be taught almost everything. They are nearly half the population. Everybody calls them normal. Nearly all of us belong to this group. They are "the average run of youths accepted by their fellows as normal." (*Ency. Brit.* Ed. 14. Vol. 9. P. 141). These people do almost everything in human society. It has been found that by

"13 or 14 the child has acquired an overwhelming part of the knowledge, impressions, cautions and general estimates of his fellow creatures and the world in which he lives, which he continues to harbour with slight modification during his lifetime." (*Ibid* p. 141).

After that age these children may be taught different arts or different trades and practices or different modes of doing work but the knowledge and impressions etc., which he has already acquired are not much increased. The arts, trades etc., which he learns in later life simply follow from his early acquisition.

The 3rd group called morons includes several feeble minded persons and these persons are to a large extent responsible for the degeneration of the next generation. It would, therefore appear that it is not safe at all to breed the next generation even from this group. The first two groups—idiots and imbeciles—are out of the question. Even the third group is not safe for breeding. "Feeble-mindedness is an absolute dead-weight on the race" as Havelock Ellis in his *Problem of Race Regeneration* (1911) P. 45, observes with great emphasis.

In breeding the next generation then, the principal aim is not so much the selection of the individual to whatever group he may belong, but the family, both paternal and maternal to which the individual belongs. His ancestry both in the male and female lines has to be looked into. The body, mind and work of these ancestors are the principal things to be considered in marriage. The good or bad qualities latent in the zygote formed by the mixing together of spermatozoon and ovum decide what would be the character etc. of the child into which the zygote grows. Every child that comes into the world is the growth of the zygote and the zygote is the result of the mixing up of the male and female reproductive germs. We cannot get more from the child than is contained in the zygote. Prof. Thomson, F.R.S. in his well-known work *Heredity* (1900) P. 507 observed,

"We have no experience of any means by which transmission may be made to deviate from its course nor from the moment of fertilisation can teaching or hygiene or exhortation pick out the particles of evil in that zygote or put in one particle of good."

In marriage therefore one whose ancestors were fit (in this sense) both in body and mind is the person who is to be selected above all others. Otherwise the next generation, that is to say, the society becomes degenerate.

The good or bad qualities of the ancestry. the good or bad qualities of the bride and bridegroom have all to be considered though the former is the principal factor for consideration If marriages have to be entered into with due regard to the consideration I have stated above. then it is manifest that the field for selection of bride and bridegroom must be extensive. It must not be so limited or narrow as we see

in Hindu Society in these days. For, narrower the field the more difficult it is to select the fit from the unfit. If the field is wide enough there need be no such difficulty in finding the fit bride or bridegroom.

In a narrow field for selection the fit must be very few. Hence the difficulty in finding out the fit. This leads to another difficulty. The guardian of the eligible person (bride or bridegroom) finds an opportunity for extorting money. Amongst some castes, bride-grooms outnumber the brides. Amongst other castes the latter outnumber the former. This brings the law of demand and supply into operation. Therefore we find as a matter of fact that in some castes (generally the higher castes) the bride-groom's guardians want to extort so much money from the bride's guardians that it becomes very difficult to get her married. In other castes (generally the lower castes) the bride-groom's guardian has to pay money to the bride's guardian. This is leading to comparatively late maidenhood on the one hand and late bachelorhood on the other with consequent results. Considering all this it is evident that not only should the marriage field be wide but it should be very wide, even including different castes. From this point of view, intercaste marriage must be useful. The wide extension of the field of marriage covering different castes is sure to contain a large number of persons fit for breeding the next generation. Intercaste marriage may also be expected to materially reduce the heavy money demand above referred to.

To prevent degeneration of the next generation by marrying the fit bride-groom to the fit bride it is therefore necessary to introduce intercaste marriages again in our society. I have already indicated who are the fit and who the unfit. Unless the marriage field is so far extended as to be nation-wide, not much good can be expected. If breeding is permitted by the feeble-minded or unstable-minded etc., the next generation must include many idiots, imbeciles, deaf and dumb children and mal-formed children also. Suicides, prostitutes, criminals, insane or demented people and people without self-control must also form a considerable part of the next generation. This will surely degrade the society which permits such marriages to be made.

"The feeble-minded have no forethought and no self-restraint. They are not ordinarily capable of resisting their own impulses or the solicitations of others, and they are unable to understand adequately the motive which guides the conduct of ordinary people."

Ellis has pointed this out rather in detail in his *Problem of Race Regeneration* (1911) p. 36. At page 47 he mentions a large family which consisted of 834 known persons all descended from a drunkard vagabond woman probably somewhat feeble-minded but physically vigorous; the great majority of whose descendants were prostitutes, tramps, paupers and criminals (some of them murderers). These results cannot be overlooked.

To prevent degeneration and ensure progress of society intercaste marriage may be viewed from another stand-point. Marriage in the same caste or sub-caste, if long continued, brings on uniformity in the ids of the germ plasm. The spermatozoon and the ovum acquire a uniformity of structure in course of time unless prevented by combination with those of different structure. The result is that endogamous marriage within the same caste or sub-caste leads to uniformity in body and mind of the succeeding generations. This in course of time stops the course of progressive evolution and reduces society to a dead level.

"Since all parts of the organism are determined from the germ onwards, permanent variations in these parts can only originate from variations in the germ. Each plyletic variation must therefore be due to a variation in the structure of the ids of the germ plasm."

As Weismann has pointed out in his classic work on *Germ plasm*, (1893) p. 77. This being so, progressive evolution which mainly depends on the natural section of appropriate variations must be expected to cease if similar germs (spermatozoon and ovum) are mixed up for a length of time through endogamy. Excepting difference in sexation, long continued mixture of similar germs leads to uniformity in the succeeding generations both in mind and body. From this point of view uniformity means dullness, or dead level. We must have variation in the structure of the germs as we must avoid uniformity or dullness in the mental and physical constitution of the succeeding generations. There must be variations in order that appropriate evolution may take place. Under the law of evolution working through centuries and ages, protoplasm has evolved through variations and selection to man. If progress is wanted necessary variation both in mind and body must be brought about in the direction which is meant by progress. Dullness must be avoided. When dullness comes in the individuals forming the succeeding generations, society must degenerate. Long continued endogamous marriage within the caste or sub-caste leads to this result. Therefore when this stage is reached, individual as well as society succumbs to environmental conditions. Neither the indivi-

dual nor the society can then rise above the environment. Both yield to it. This means defeat and ultimate extinction.

Endogamy mixes the same blood over and over again and the result is degeneracy and extinction. But let us see if exogamy which means the introduction of fresh blood from outside the caste leads to a different result. Here we enter upon the question of intercaste marriage. Individuals, I mean a group of individuals belonging to the same species or variety, if isolated or separated from each other by physiological or geographical isolation, do after a long time exhibit both in body and mind specific or varietal difference which may be or may not be hereditarily transmissible. If they are so transmissible, they in course of time pass on the specific or varietal variation. Instances of this kind are met with all over the world. Let us imagine a particular variety of animals inhabiting a country. Here they freely breed with one another and therefore in course of time the reproductive germs (spermatozoon and ovum) assume a similar structure. Most differences are smoothed down in time. The animals may be isolated by subsidence or elevation of the surface of the earth. Here one single variety is separated into two groups between whom breeding becomes impossible, because they can no longer approach each other. The two groups thus separated go on breeding each in its own way. After a long course of time, it will be found that the two separated groups exhibit bodily or mental difference so well-marked that they may have to be classed as different varieties or even species. But if the two separated groups are again allowed to breed freely with one another they will eventually return to uniformity and may be recognized as one single variety. The same result follows from sociological isolation.

Castes which have long ceased to intermarry must have developed structural variation in the germs or germ-plasm so great as to be of specific or at least of varietal value. In *Darwin and after Darwin* By Prof. Romania, F.R.S. (1897) Vol. 3, P. 13, that authority points out.

> "If isolation continues sufficiently long, differentiation of specific type is necessarily bound to ensue. But the time required for the change of type to supervene will be governed by the range of individual variability which the species in question presents."

Before showing this Romania had already explained at page 12 that

> "The constancy of any given specific type . . . is established by the promiscuous inter-crossing of all individuals . . . This constancy must cease as soon as . . . inter-crossing between all individual ceases. Or as soon as portion of a species is isolated from its parent stock."

It is clear therefore that intercaste marriage between different castes who must have already evolved into different types after regenerating the race for some length of time ultimately lead to constancy of type; in other words a uniformity in body and mind which eventually bars progressive evolution and therefore leads to degeneration and ultimate extinction, as in the case of endogamy or caste limited marriage.

The position is this :—Without variation in the structure of the reproductive germs (spermatozoon and ovum) uniformity of type cannot be avoided. This eventually leads to degeneration and extinction. We must therefore secure variation through successive generations both in mind and body. But we cannot secure this except by exogamy or marriage between varieties long isolated sexually. This is intercaste marriage. But free intercaste marriage, if long continued, also leads to the same result, that is to say, similarity of structure in the germs which leads to degeneration and extinction. Uniformity in whatever way it comes (be it through endogamy or through exogamy) leads eventually to the same dead level. Therefore Prof. Thomson, F.R.S. in his *Heredity* (1908), p. 537, insists upon both kinds of marriage in alternation. He clearly points out that when degeneration will manifest itself in society to a considerable extent by reason of continued practice of endogamy or marriage within the same caste or sub-caste society must begin to practise exogamy or intercaste marriage. In this way the introduction of new blood will regenerate or raise the degraded through several centuries. But when this also will manifest degeneration society must go back to endogamy again and so on. Both kinds of marriage must be practised in alternation, if the object is to keep or preserve a successful race from fatal degeneration or extinction. Thomson explains that

> "The establishment of a successful race or stock requires the alternation of periods of in-breeding (endogamy) in which characters are fixed and periods of out-breeding (exogamy) in which, by the introduction of fresh blood, new variations are produced."

It will be seen from this that in-breeding or marriage within the same caste produces " fixity " of character both physical and mental. This is the sure fore-runner of degeneration and ultimate decay from which nothing can save society except introduction of fresh blood by exogamy or intercaste marriage.

Now look to our Hindu society, divided into separate endogamous castes and sub-castes.

The structure of reproductive germs in the different castes has surely become greatly different. But in each caste the structure must have been uniform for several centuries past. Has not this brought in its train a "fixity" of physical and mental character in each caste almost incapable of initiation of further change? We have all become "fixed." Nothing new can come out of us. Our mind is moulded in the same groove. We have nearly lost initiative for any big variations of sociological value. Now it is high time to practise the other branch of the alternative, *viz.*, exogamy or intercaste marriage. Otherwise environmental conditions must overpower us, particularly our human environments. We shall be defeated in social struggle as well as biological struggle for existence. We shall not be able to establish a successful stock. If we must avoid this fatal result then we must practise intercaste marriage now. Perhaps it has already become too late. We must either agree to intercaste marriage now or we must agree to degeneration and extinction.

Structural variation in the re-productive germs is essential to prevent degeneration in the succeeding generations, as I have so often stressed. But the variation must not be too large as in the case of European and a Bengalee. Mixing up germs of much great structural variation leads to degeneration instead of preventing it. The Eurasians of this country and the Mulatoes of Africa and America clearly prove this. Therefore marriage between a European and a Bengalee must degenerate the next generation. But marriage between a Punjabi and a Bengalee, resulting in the mixture of germs not structurally as dissimilar as in the above case leads to progress, both physically and mentally, if eugenic defects are avoided. For in this last case, the zygote which grows into the child is formed of germs which are not so different in structure as in the case of a European, and a Bengalee. True, the reproductive germs of a Punjabi and a Bengalee also differ. But this variation is within the range of progress. There is a limit, though unknown, to variation which if exceeded, leads to degeneration but if not exceeded, leads to progress, both in body and mind. I must refer here to the case of the Bengalee Mahomedans. Most of them are the children of Hindu converts. This is truth. Anthropologists have proved it, and it cannot be denied. Look at them and it will at once appear how vigorous they are mentally and physically. Hindus of different castes which could not intermarry were converted to Mohammedanism and they began to marry freely among themselves. Here was a splendid illustration of intercaste marriage, and the physiological and psychological improvement is to a very large extent due to this kind of marriage—to achieving progressive variation in the hitherto uniform structure of the reproductive germs.

Economical consideration must not be allowed to interfere—at least to any appreciable extent. In times of distress prudential considerations, as they are called, prevent several marriages. It is argued therefore that if intercaste marriage are allowed, girls belonging to the same caste will necessarily remain unmarried in large numbers. This argument is based on misconception. Intercaste marriage, of course, has to be practised in order to prevent degeneration and extinction. But the practice cannot be very extensive. Man will always like to marry within his own caste. In countries where no caste system prevails like here the same principle applies. One naturally likes to select his or her partner from that stratum of society to which he or she belongs. It follows from this that intercaste marriages will not be too many. Yet this kind of marriage should alternate in society with caste marriage, as I have already shewn. It works as leaven which leavens the whole mass. The number of such marriages may not be too many but it must be so many as to couteract the process of decay due to long continued caste-marriage. Only one variety of marriage, be it endogamous or exogamous, that is to say caste marriage or intercaste marriage, must eventually lead to fatal degeneration. Both kinds of marriages must therefore be practised in alternation. This is the verdict of science. There is no escape from it if we want to live.



REFLECTIONS ON THE INDIAN SITUATION BY AN AMERICAN ON AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

BY H. WIERUM BOULTER

[Dear Editor,

Having been for many years interested in India, and having read your articles, especially the recent one in the all India number of *Asia*, I finally got enough courage to put into some sort of form the reflections that for some time past had been floating through my mind.

Today I sat here in my New York apartment listening to the sounds of celebration of our own day of independence, and it seemed all wrong that there should be such a situation in India while we in America rejoice in liberty.

If anything I have to say should in your opinion be of interest to your readers, I should be perfectly willing for you to make any necessary changes to suit space and so on.

I can pretend to no special knowledge, other than that of a person of ordinary intelligence, but I have great sympathy and love for India, and what I have to say is said in all sincerity.

Yours very truly,
Hilda Wierum Boulter.]

THERE are very many Indias presented to the Western world. There is the India of fairy tales, the magnificent, glowing jewel of the East, full of romance, beauty and passion, with just a touch of the sinister to set off its high lights. There is the India of British officialdom—a world of hard-working white men, standard-bearers of the Empire, shouldering their burden in mute heroism (which always manages to express itself fairly publicly) amidst an admiring and wondering multitude of simple natives. There is the India of the missionaries—horror after horror, only to be helped by the Gospel of a Christ whose followers at home seem to be fairly unconcerned by His teachings. There is the picturesque but dirty India of the returned tourist. There is the Mother India presented to us once in a " famous " book—which is more or less a conglomeration of all the Indias—except perhaps the glamorous India which the present writer mentioned first.

Forget all these Indias. Stop thinking in terms of " natives " and foreigners—of East and West, forget the strangeness of the outer scene. Forget the glamour and the misery. Try instead to see an India which belongs to the whole world. A great and wonderful country full of *human beings*. Remember only the *humanity*, the common humanity of all of us here on earth. Then and then only can you see the real India —and learn from her, as well as teach her—and help her in her struggle for existence—because only then can you understand that struggle.

Try to see yourself as a citizen of the World, and hence, in a certain measure, a citizen of India as well as of whatever land may be yours by birth. Think of Indians as your fellow-citizens of the World, not as denizens of a strange, weird country which you may never have seen. Go even further in your mind. Try to imagine yourself as born in India. Never mind if you only know India through the media of books and lectures. Absorb all you can, and then think yourself there—*as an Indian*.

Suppose for a while that instead of having first seen the light of day in Topeka, Brooklyn, Mt. Kisco, Birmingham, Lyons or Munich—you had opened your eyes in a city in India. Let us say in Amritsar or Lahore. You will be able to visualize either one of these better than any other Indian city because if you are at all interested in India you will undoubtedly have read *Kim*, and either one of these cities will have a certain meaning for you. But don't imagine yourself a second Kim. Forget your English, French, German or American background. For the moment you are a native-born Indian. You are going to grow up amidst an atmosphere of age-old customs such as the caste system and the seclusion of women. You will be bound by many rules of conduct which you must see in this mental image of yourself as perfectly right and proper. It must seem natural to you to eat with your fingers, to sit cross-legged on the floor, to eschew with horror the flesh of the cow (or of the pig, if you imagine yourself a Mohammedan). Material acquisitions (unless you choose to be a Buniya in this voluntary re-incarnation) must be of little value to you. Haste and the mad scramble of the American business world must be unknown to you. You must see that it is quite proper for a person to give up all worldly possessions and to spend his life in meditation on the Inner Meaning of All Things. You must visualize a life without most of the conveniences to which you are so accustomed.

And you must see yourself a citizen of a country where your ancestors have lived for thousands of years and where you yourself now are entirely subject to an essentially foreign

power. You must imagine a ruling class over you of a race and culture diametrically opposed to all your most cherished heritage of blood and thought. And you must see yourself as looked down upon by that ruling class because of those differences.

Suppose for a moment that you happened to be a school-boy in Amritsar at the time of the infamous massacre in that city. You, an innocent little boy, attracted quite naturally by a crowd, suddenly find yourself, without understanding how or why, in a struggling mass of people who have become the targets for bullets. By a miracle you escape with your life—being boosted over a wall by some kindly soul who is in as great danger as yourself, and loosing your turban and a slipper in the process. Then, returned to the school buildings you find out, more or less, what has been happening. You know that to even breathe a word of your experience would put you on the witness stand—and in danger of retribution for having seen, survived and told.

You go home for your vacation. Your village is under martial law. As you drive along the road you have to descend from your vehicle to salute every passing British uniform—or be liable to punishment. You find that your father is in prison. Because he did anything wrong? Not at all. Because he was a man as well as an Indian, and would not be duly subservient to those his masters. Just for upholding his dignity as a human being.

Now imagine yourself a poor woman living near the sea in Sourthern India. Salt is a daily necessity. Your means are so inadequate that many times you go hungry to bed in order that those in your family whose work is harder than yours may have—not enough—but a little more of the tiny supply of food. . . .

Imagine yourself a student, with an ambition to become a college professor. You may not hold "subversive ideas," you may not teach your students any doctrines that are not approved by an authority which imposes itself upon you. Can you imagine having any very soul-satisfying joy in your profession under these circumstances?

Suppose yourself one of those born fighters who naturally turn to the army as their career. No matter what your ability, you may never attain the highest rank—and all your ability will be at the disposal of a government which is using you to maintain this superiority over you and yours.

These things are true. No amount of road and bridge-building can cover them up. . .

These things must be faced. Not only by India—but by the World. It must be known that Self-Government must come to India. The world at large must not blind itself.

All of us living in the world must look upon Indians as our fellow human beings now suffering great wrongs, which it is as much our duty as theirs, to right. Let no one of us shrug his shoulders and say, "It is a Domestic Problem of the British Empire. The British are a just and wise people and are probably doing the best they can for India." The whole point is that they ought not to be doing anything at all. The Indians should be doing their best—and the British should leave them to work out their own salvation. Each soul must do that, and each nation.

There is today no one of the great nations of which it may be said that everything is running smoothly. In France, in Germany, in England, in Italy, in America—and God knows in Spain—there are serious difficulties of all kinds. Financial difficulties, labour troubles, shocking discoveries of political dishonesty in high places, strikes, unemployment, waves of horrible crime—in some form or another we of the Western World find ourselves in dire distress. But would any one of us exchange our present freedom to experiment and to try at least to solve our problems, no matter how impossible of solution these problems may seem to be at times, for the position of *being ruled* no matter how efficiently, wisely or kindly by any foreign power? Furthermore, is any one of the nations making such a success of internal affairs that she can claim with any honesty sufficient superiority to warrant interference elsewhere? And in the case of Great Britain's interference in India there is no more evidence of superior wisdom. It is Time alone, and military force which enables her to maintain the fiction.

The Englishman who after years of life in India returns with any real knowledge of the people amongst whom he has lived and whom he has been ruling, is a startling and glaring exception. Is not this fact in itself a melancholy comment on the boasted efficiency of the British Raj?

As we look around the World today we see many systems of government being tried—Communism, Socialism, Nazism, Fascism and shades between these various *isms*. We may not approve of the choice made by Italy, Russia or Germany, but we *do* grant them the right to make their own choice—however mistaken we may feel that choice to be. They are all working out their salvation in their own way. And in

common justice we should all admit that India should have that same right. Strength comes only with use, and wisdom with experience. The sooner India can shake off the burden of British rule, the sooner she will acquire the strength and wisdom that come only from use and experience. She has her own long and glorious past to learn from. A past too little known, and too easily forgotten. The past before the British. Lessons learned from Ashoka and Akbar might be more to the point for all of us than any to be obtained from the careers of present day leaders in any land.

Whatever happens to India after she is free will be better than her present state. And until such time as all the world admits that fact, and public opinion everywhere becomes a vital help to India in her struggle for her rights, there can be no real brotherhood. You cannot have real world brotherhood and leave out India and her millions—and only Free Souls in Free Nations can be Brothers and possess in common their common share of this world which belongs in justice to us All.

As I write these lines there are celebrations taking place all around me. It is July the fourth, the day of American Independence. I hope I am a good American. But when I think of the present plight of my brothers and sisters in India, I cannot whole-heartedly rejoice in my own freedom.

SIVANERI : THE BIRTH-PLACE OF SIVAJI

By Adris Banerji, M.A.

Situated on an elevated plateau and surrounded by double ranges of hills, lies the massive wreck of an old township—Junnar. The term 'Junnar' means an old city. In by-gone days it must have been a flourishing town. Some go so far as to think that, in remote antiquity, it was probably the capital of Dakhan (Deccan). Strategically the place is quite suitable for being made the capital; but beyond this, there is nothing to support this conjecture. Level plains are as rare in the Maharashtra country, as hills of any eminence in the greater portion of Bengal. But, even in this mountainous region, it would be difficult to find a place with such natural fortifications. So far as the eyes can perceive, hill-tops of considerable heights, like watchful sentinels, guard the entrance and exit to the city. Very near it, an immense mass of rock rises from the plateau, unconnected with surrounding hills. Perched on its top are sepia-coloured stone ruins of a fort, known as Sivaneri or Sivanagari. Nearly three hundred years ago, on this inaccessible top of the Sivaneri hill, at some unknown spot of the ruined castle, a baby was born, who later on came to be known as Chhatrapati Sivaji. Junnar and the neighbouring fortress are now neglected, deserted and ruined. Till the plague ravaged the greater portion of the Bombay Presidency, Junnar had some sort of population; and its hilly neighbourhood was the favourite holiday resort of the rich Bombay citizens. When plague made this particular city its favourite rendezvous, the place lost its popularity swiftly; and is now absolutely deserted. Still, it is one of the holiest of holy places of Dakhan, because, it was from this bleak mountain top of Sivaneri, over which the wind now pursues its mad course, howling through the fragmentary ruins, that Maharaja Sivaji, the regenerator of Hindu India, greeted the first rising Sun of his new life.

There are two ways by which one can reach Junnar. The first is by cart from Poona. The second is to get down at Talegaon station on the Bombay-Poona section of the G. I. P. Railway and take the regular bus service, which passes through Junnar. The road passes over undulating plains and two *ghats* (mountain passes) and two other important historical places of Maharashtra. The first is the famous Chakan fort; the second is Deogaon—the birth place of the Vaishnava poet Tukaram.

The history of Maharashtra differs in various details from that of other parts of Hindusthan. When the crescent of Islam dominated over Delhi, Ajmere, Ranthambhore and Kanauj and that for a long time, Maharashtra still remained independent. Early Muslim Sultans of Delhi, including Alauddin Khalji, were never able to subjugate this mountainous tract effectively. The Bahmani kings had no doubt been able to extend their

suzerainty over the highlands of Deccan, but in every fort located over innumerable mountain peaks, the Hindu barons enjoyed complete autonomy in their affairs. Even in the days of Nizamshahis of Ahmadnagar and Adil Shahis of Bijapur, who enjoyed a stronger hold over the Deccan plateau than their predecessors, the Hindu influence over the administration remained unimpaired. Only for a space of fifty years the Mughal emperors established their suzerainty over this proud and freedom-loving people.

When Junnar was under Muslim domination, the town must have been given as a *Jaigir* to a Habshi slave by an unknown Muhammadan monarch. His palace and tomb are now the only visible buildings in the ruined town of Junnar. The Habshi had taken every care that his palace should be lovely. The building is now situated at a distance of 2 miles from the present city of Junnar. *Nahrs,* fountains, stone seats, huge rooms and the well-laid extensive gardens, now full of wild shrubs and jungle trees, testify to the taste and elegance of the Habshi feoffee. On the top floor of the stone built palace, a Maratha husbandman has now built his reed hut, where he lives with his family. In one corner of the garden there is a big artificial lake, containing several fountains. The local people told us that around this lake was the harem of the Habshi. No vestige of this building can now be seen; on the other hand, we found dozens of buffaloes wallowing in the mud and deep black water of the pond. The Habshi lord's last resting-place is situated near the palace. It consists of a large stone room, surmounted by a dome, with little or no decoration. The building is remarkable for its austere dignity.

More than one thousand years ago the hills around Junnar were excavated by some people, and turned into caves, *chaitya*-halls and monasteries, for the monks to live in and pray for the salvation of mankind. One cave is a temple of Ganesa or Ganapati the most popular deity of Deccan. According to tradition the image of Ganesa in the cave is very old. In order to make the holy shrine accessible to all, Maharani Ahalya Bai built steps on the steep mountain side. The caves on a nearby hill called Manmodi, are the biggest of all and of different types. People of all ranks, hailing from different parts of India, had contributed to their making. From the inscriptions still extant on the walls of the caves, we learn that one was built by a merchant from Bharu-kachchha (Broach), another by a minister of a Scythian satrap of Kathiawad. Besides these, another hill, known as Tulja, contains ten or twelve caves.

The hill of Sivaneri rises at a straight line from the surrounding ground level and is thousands of feet high. Access to the top is provided on one side only by a narrow path. It is so steep and narrow that it is impossible for more than three persons to go abreast. Inspite of its natural fortifications, the top is encircled by a series of stone ramparts, with gun holes and small openings to pour hot oil and molten lead.

Dilapidated remains of eight or nine gateways (*toranas*), built in different ages, can still be seen over the narrow pathway. The first *torana* is reached, after climbing a few hundred feet. From this point on one side we find the body of the rock rising stiffly towards the blue firmament; and the other side is protected by stone walls. After going half the way up the hill, the uneven road suddenly ends at the foot of a series of broad steps. In the dim and distant past, these stone steps that slowly wind their way upwards, panting for breath, had been carved out of the hard mountain side to make the communication between the upper fort and defenders on the ramparts below easier. If these mute stones could only speak, they would have revolutionized our knowledge of Indian history. Sakas, Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas, Mughals and Marathas—whoever ruled the Deccan plateau, had to conquer this impregnable fortress due to its important strategic position. Their spirits (if there are any supernatural beings implied by that term), probably still haunt its ruined battlements and jungle-covered pathway. At least no local man was agreeable in spending the night on the hill-top with us though they come daily to graze their flock in the shrubberies and wild grass that in patches cover the black mountain-side and its deserted stronghold.

After passing through the series of *toranas*, one reaches the main entrance of the fortress. The lane to the right of the gateway, almost covered by wild plants, leads to the temple of Bhawani, the tutelary deity of Sivaji. There is a wooden doorway leading to the sanctum of the temple. The building itself was built of stone, ordinary Deccan trap, but the interior contains elaborate decorations in wood.

The fortress was built in two terraces. In the lower terrace, just in front of the main gate, there is a flight of steps giving access to the higher fort, situated 300 ft. higher than the lower one. The lower fort is now almost level; no traces of buildings are now traceable on it, except the vacant stalls of the huge stable for

horses, built in Muhammadan times. The upper fort, or the citadel, is surrounded by brick wall; inside which were the residence of the *killahdar,* two or three wells, which still contain sweet drinkable water and one huge stone reservoir. Big stone arches over this reservoir support a structure, which was evidently used as a mosque. Beside this building is a huge arch, with two pylons on either side. On account of its elevated position, the arch on top of Sivaneri hill can be seen from a great distance, like a huge giant throwing up its two big brawny arms across the sky.

The *killahdar's* residence is a small-sized, double-storeyed stone building. On the ground-floor, only one room is now visible; while the first floor still bears remains of two rooms. In some unknown corner of this insignificant looking house Jiji Bai had given birth to a son. The dawn of a new epoch, was then gradually appearing over the political horizon of India. The glories of the Bahmani Sultans had already come to an abrupt end. Its vacant place was taken by three Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan. Nuruddin Jehangir was then the undisputed master of Hindusthan. No one dreamt that this newborn babe, would, in future, revolutionise the history of India and give a new lease of life to the decadent Hindu race. No one thought that the son of this Maratha *killahdar,* acknowledging the sovereignty of Adil Shahis of Bijapur, would one day strike the death-blow at the imperial edifice of the Mughals. He would create traditions that would bring forth the finest flower of Hindu chivalry, loyalty and chastity, in a generation when internecine conflicts and groups engulfed the whole of India. The bardic legends that would grow around the name of Sivaji, his followers and successors, would be an inspiring legacy to a succeeding age, when forces of nationalism would be surging over dams that surrounded it. Trained according to the military system introduced by this great Maratha genius, the mobile Maratha cavalry would one day, pursue its victorious way throughout the length and breadth of India, from the Sutlej to the Comorin, from the Arabian sea to the Bay of Bengal. And when, in pride of power and conquest, the decendants of Sivaji's Brahmin ministers would permit luxury, incompetency, treachery and intrigue to displace the simple but severe canons of military discipline formulated by Sivaji, then, and only then, the last Hindu empire would become a by-word and a thing of yesterday.

Every stone of this lofty Sivaneri hill is tinged with historical memory. Guns had belched their fire at its impregnable mountain walls. Warriors had stormed every breach. Sometimes it had defied all the resources and bravery of the besiegers, sometimes it had been taken. After Sivaji had made the beginning of his career of establishing his kingdom in the mountainous tracts of Maharashtra, through freaks of fortune the fortress remained in his hands for some time, soon to be snatched away by the overpowering might of Alamgir. But never for a moment did he forget Sivaneri, where he spent his childhood. With the last breadth of his life he thought of the lonely Sivaneri. With his death the importance of Sivaneri was gone. His son Maharaja Sahu was too busy with other affairs to pay any attention to his father's birth-place. When the Peshawas usurped the position of Sivaji's decendants, they dared not touch Sivaneri, lest it would rouse the population in favour of the dispossessed dynasty. Thus neglected, Sivaneri gradually passed into oblivion. Nobody cared for its delapidated buildings.

Human memory is short. Though Sivaji Maharaj is fondly remembered, the stately fortress in which he first saw the light of day, was allowed to fall into pieces. It was overgrown with jungle. The modern Marathas have established a huge statue of Sivaji in the capital of the Peshawas; but his birth-place remains neglected and unhonoured. Only a tablet fixed by the Government, reminds the rare visitor that this impregnable Sivaneri was the birth-place of the founder of the Hindu empire that made the greatness of the Marathas felt throughout India.



ATHENS

A Place of Pilgrimage of the Western World

ATHENS (in Greek, *Athinae*), the capital of Greece, is situated near the Saronic Gulf, in Attica, a triangular peninsula projecting in a south-easterly direction towards the Aegean Sea. The city is built around the Acropolis (511 ft.) and Lycabettus (908 ft.), in a plain bounded by Mounts Parnes (4635 ft.) and Pentelicon (3634 ft.) to the North of North-East, by the Hymettus range (3369 ft.) in the East, by Mount Aegaleos (1535 ft.) in the West, and by the indented coast of the Saronic Gulf in the South-West. Through the plain flow two small rivers, the Chephissus Atticus and the Ilissus. The city is at an altitude of 328 ft., above sea-level, and is geographically located at 38 degrees 58′ of latitude North, and 23 degrees 43′ of longitude East of Greenwich.

HISTORICAL SKETCH

Twenty-five centuries ago, the city of Athens, originally built on the plateau of the sacred rock of the Acropolis, was already a habitable place. It was named Cecropia, after Cecrops, its first founder. The royal city was bounded by walls dating from Mycenean times (14th to 12th centuries, B.C.). Legend attributes to Thescus the union of all the small states of Attica into a single state with capital at Cecropia, whose name was changed into Athens, that is " the city of Athena," in honour of Athena the presiding goddess of the city.

Slowly during the following centuries Athens developed into a larger city, and a lower town was formed at the foot of the upper town. By the 7th century before the Christian era it was already a small naval power. Under the influence of Solon the legislator, and Peisistratus the tyrant, (6th century B.C.), and after the famous victories over the Persians in Marathon (490), Salamis (480) and Plataeae (479), Athens reached the zenith of its glory about the 5th century B.C. During this golden era Athens gave to the world its great poets, dramatists, philosophers, architects and sculptors, much of whose work evokes universal admiration and is still considered to be models of perfection.

The Peloponnesian war, which lasted from 431 to 404 B.C., resulted in a slackening of the artistic activity of Athens, but the century which followed marks again a period equally brilliant and refined, though perhaps not as great. This period was followed by the epic era of Alexander the Great who carried Hellenism afar into Asia. Athens suffered the consequences of this expansion, for with the division of the great empire it passed through alternating stages of independence and servitude. During the 2nd century B.C. it fell with the rest of Greece under Roman domination. A period of decadence succeeded the old days of glory and prosperity. During the 2nd century A.D., it went through a kind of renaissance under the philhellene Emperor Hadrian, who embellished the city with sumptuous edifices.

Later it formed part of the Byzantine Empire, which came under the influence of the Athenian spirit and culture. During this long period, although the pagan spirit had receded before the advance of Christianity, Athens did not stop from being regarded the intellectual centre of the Hellenic world and the metropolis of Hellenism. Three emperors married Athenian wives, who thus became empresses of Byzantium. Athens followed the fate of the Byzantine Empire. It came under the transitory domination of the Franks (1204-1270 A.D.), and two centuries later under that of the Ottoman Empire (1456).

Four centuries passed by. The war of Greek Independence in the nineteenth century (1821-1827), resulted in the formation of a Greek kingdom, which effected a gradual reorganization of the Greek world. After emerging successfully from the Balkan Wars (1912) and going through the great European conflict, this new State succeeded in attaining its present extent, with this famous historical city of Athens as its capital.

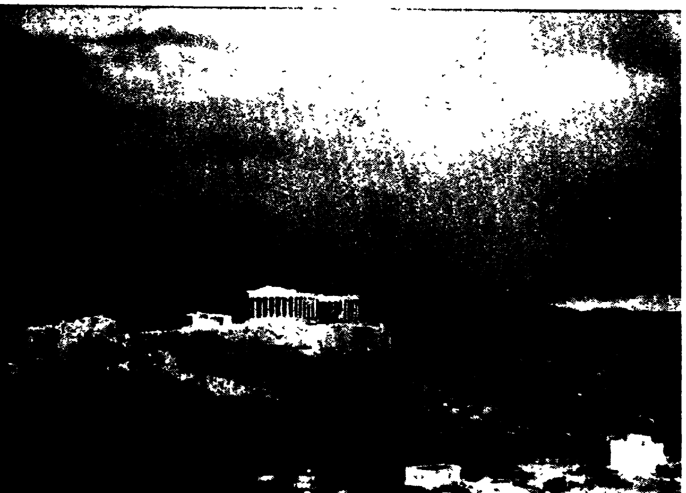
CLIMATE

The climate of Greece, and consequently of Athens, has been praised since remotest antiquity. Its sky is of an unusual blue, and its atmosphere has a unique limpidity and transparency. Its bright and clear light, with its everchanging nuances, makes the outlines of the mountains and of the monuments stand out sharply against the sky, while at other times it bathes everything in rosy and violet hues. The sunset in Athens is simply marvellous. This exceptional nature




TOP : *Left*—The Ruins of Olympia (Greece). *Right*—Greek Soldiers
BOTTOM : *Left*—Acro-Corinth and a view of the ancient city. *Right*—Temple de Poseidon







Top : A picturesque scene in Athens. *Bottom* : An elevated view of Athens

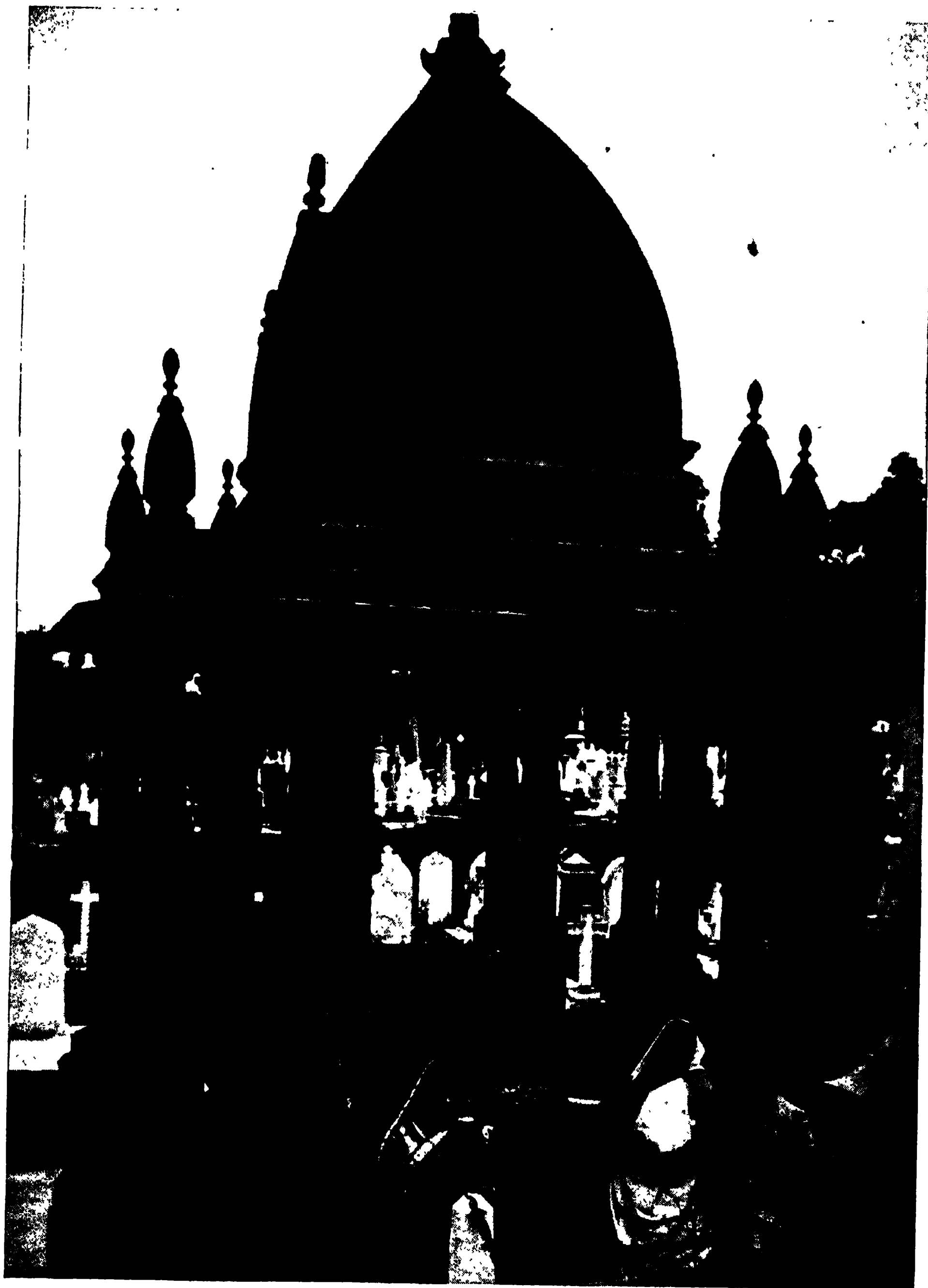
Right : The late Marshal Pilsudski, the creator of modern Poland, in conversation with Prof. Dr. Ignacy Mosciki, the President of the Polish Republic. Dr. Mosciki is a great scientist and has made valuable discoveries in electrophysics and electrochemistry



A general view of Porombka Barrage in Poland, one of the numerous similiar barrages which have promoted the agricultural production of post-war Poland



The summer-residence of Marshal Pilsudski at Warsaw.



Tomb of Rammohun Roy at Arno's Vale Cemetery

of the climate, and its perfect salubrity, are attributable to the dryness of the air and to the imperceptible variations in the humidity of the atmosphere.

ORIENTATIONS IN THE CITY

For purposes of orientation, the visitor should mark two points of reference : Omonia Square, situated at a distance of almost a mile from the northern end of the Acropolis, and Constitution Square, somewhat over half a mile to the south-east of the former square. These two squares are connected by Stadium Street. Under Omonia Square is the station of the Electric Railway between Athens and Piraeus, while at the upper part of Constitution Square are the old Palace, the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, and the Hotel Grande Bretagne. Running parallel to Stadium Street is University Boulevard with its group of three beautiful buildings : the Academy, the University of Athens and the National Library. The street behind these buildings is Academy Street. Stadium, Hermes and Aeolus Streets, which form a traingle, constitute an important business and shopping centre. Patissia Street is an extension of Aeolus Street to the North. On this street are the Polytechnic School and the Archaeological Museum.

The following streets start off from the Constitution Square : From the upper end, Amelia Boulevard, which is a continuation of University Boulevard; it passes near the National Garden and the Zappeion Park, and brings to the Temple of Olympian Zeus and to Hadrian's Arch : thence the Leophoros Dionyssiou Areopagitou leads to the entrance of the Acropolis. Starting from the lower part of the square, Philhellenes Street leads southward, passing before the Russian and Anglican churches and meeting Leophoros Amalias. Metropolis Street, parallel to Hermes Street, starting also from the lower part of the square, passes before the Athens Cathedral and the little Metropolis, and ends at Monastiraki Station as Deka Street.

Opposite the Hotel Grande Bretagne is the starting point of Queen Sophia Boulevard, a beautiful avenue passing by the Old Palace, the Benaki Museum and the Byzantine Museum, and leading to the outskirts of Athens. Twenty minutes' walk will bring one from Constitution Square to the entrance of the Acropolis.

THE PLACE OF POLAND IN COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

BY A. G. CHAGLA

THE achievements of post-war Poland hold out a message of hope and inspiration to modern India. The two countries have much in common. Both countries are predominantly agricultural, with a comparatively low standard of living and a high birth rate. Both the countries also have vast industrial possibilities dependent primarily on raw material found within national boundaries. India is still a subject nation, though now on the threshold of autonomy. Poland has attained freedom just two decades ago. Within this short period she has attained a position of considerable importance in European and world trade and industry. This cannot fail to be of practical interest to modern India.

Poland was a subject nation for a hundred and fifty years. During the last century, when other states of North-Western Europe achieved the greatest political and economic expansion in history, Poland lay impotent and divided between three Powers, each having a totally different economic structure and policy. It was to the interest of these Powers to prevent the economic development of Poland, in order to paralyse her power of resistance. Then came the world-war of 1914-18. It is not generally known what Poland had to go through at this period. The great Polish patriot Joseph Pilsudski, who had organised the first armed resistance against the Russian oppressors in 1905, was quick to see the opportunity and placed himself at the head of the Polish Legions. On August 6, 1914 the war of liberation commenced. After the collapse of Imperial Russia, the principal enemy of Polish freedom, Pilsudski turned against the Central Powers. He was captured and from July 1917 to November 1918 he remained a prisoner. When the Central Powers collapsed, Pilsudski, after his release, took over the supreme power in the new Republic of Poland. Poland was not yet free; there were other enemies to face : the Bolsheviks. For two more years the brave Polish people had to suffer untold hardships before all the external enemies could be finally ousted out.

It is not possible to appreciate the achievements of modern Poland except against the background of the immediate past. Perhaps no other country suffered more in the great war, including Belgium. Belgium was recompensed to a certain extent; Poland had to rely mainly on the efforts of her own patriots.

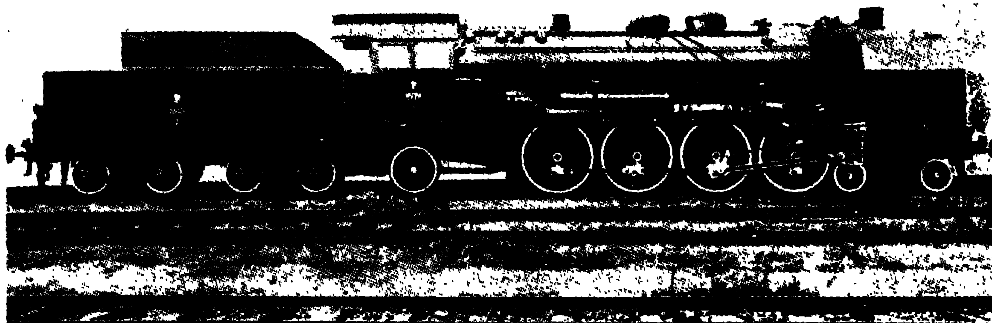
The statistics of war in Poland are a sad commentary on the utter ruthlessness of modern warfare and its aftermath. Over 1,800,000 buildings, in towns and villages, were totally ruined by fire. Before Poland was evacuated by occupying Powers, 11 million acres of agricultural land were put out of use. Two million heads of cattle, one million horses and one and a half million sheep and goats were destroyed. The war operations occupied an area of fifteen million acres of forests out of which six million acres were totally devastated and the alien armies removed 4,661 million feet of timber from the country. Dr. Roman Gorecki, President of the National Economic Bank in Warsaw, from whose interesting book this information is derived, further states that: "In industry particularly the destruction was caused not only by direct military operations, but by a deliberate devastation put into practice by the occupying Powers." He cites that the following were removed from Poland: 4259 electrical motors and engines, 3844 tooling machines and 98,000 tons of various factory equipment. In addition the rolling stock of railways in Russian Poland was removed by the retreating Czarist armies and half the bridges, station buildings and railway workshops were totally destroyed. If to this harrowing picture of destruction is added a completely disorganized monetary system and the economic disaster of monetary inflation, which lasted for full three years, a more depressing state of affairs it is difficult to imagine. And yet it is out of the ashes of this immediate past that Polish patriots and statesmen have *literally* created modern Poland and brought her to the present important position in post-war Europe.

In extent of territory modern Poland ranks fifth among European states, following Russia, France, Spain, Germany and Sweden. The area of the Polish Republic is about 150,000 square miles, being *ten* times larger than Switzerland and Denmark and four times as large as Czecho-slovakia. In population Poland ranks sixth among European states following Russia, Germany, England, France and Italy. The density of population is as high as 222 per square mile, the total population being about 33.5 millions. Though the maritime frontier of Poland is only 80 miles, the part played by Gdynia and Danzig under the present conditions are among the *most* important in the Baltic ports. In Gdynia alone 4778 vessels, having an aggregate tonnage of 4,559,140 and representing the flags of 26 countries entered the port during 1935. This figure exceeds that of Calcutta by about 500,000 tons. The great advantage of Poland in international trade and commerce lies in her geographical position. The country is situated in the very heart of Europe and has also direct access to the ocean. Poland has always represented one of the *most important* transit territories between the East and West and North and South of Europe.

In natural wealth Poland holds a place of considerable importance. Here again the way the natural resources are being utilized for the people and their benefit is an object lesson to India. Fully 68 per cent of the total area is taken up by agricultural land, including 49 per cent arable land, 17 per cent meadows and pastures and 1.5 per cent for other purposes. In arable lands Poland stands *third* in European countries, after Denmark and Hungary. As much as 22 per cent of the surface, amounting to 19.8 million acres, are forests, yielding an annual growth of timber of 760 million cubic feet. Poland is thus one of the greatest timber exporting countries in the world.

Then there are the rich mineral deposits in the South and the South-West of the country. These are the basis of heavy industry. Poland produces more coal than France and Czecho-slovakia put together. Only Great Britain and Germany have greater coal deposits. The deposits of oil come to 160 million tons, the Polish petrolium industry being one of the oldest in the world. Deposits of rock salt and loams amount to 6,000 million tons, and are among the greatest in Europe. Poland is also one of the few regions in the world containing within her borders deposits of potash salts, estimated at *450 million tons*. This makes Poland self-sufficient in agriculture for many years to come.

Metallurgical industry is extremely important in national economy. As has been seen, Poland is blessed with all the necessary requisites on which the industry depends: coal, oil and ore. Deposits of iron are estimated at 165 million tons; zinc and lead ores are estimated at 33 million tons. There are also sufficient and suitable raw materials for a thriving cement industry. Brick and glass industries are also well developed. Poland is also blessed with another extremely important advantage for the development of industries,



A high-powered locomotive built in Polish factories for overseas market. Poland has two locomotive factories and six factories for railway material

namely, water power. The hydraulic power of rivers in the South and the South-West of Poland is estimated at *3.7 million* h. p., though very little of this has been harnessed yet.

This brief review of the natural resources of Poland presents a graphic picture of the enormous possibilities of development in agriculture and industry. If we look at the natural resources of India, we shall find that in many respects the natural resources of India are similar to those of Poland. It would be therefore of practical interest to India to keep a close eye on the manner in which natural resources are being utilized in this new Fai Western Republic mainly for the benefit of the people themselves. The economic place that Poland holds in modern Europe is also of great interest to India.

It would give an idea of the national wealth of Poland (which it must not be forgotten is predominantly an agricultural counrty), when it is stated that it is greater than that of Czecho-slovakia, Rumania, Switzerland, Yugoslavia and Hungary. Only the major European powers, who are also among the major world Powers—Germany, Russia, and Italy and also Great Britain and France, the two colonial Powers—have greater national wealth.

The high level of agricultural production achieved by Poland under a national government cannot but be an eye-opener to India. In Poznania and Pomerania, two provinces of Poland, the crops of wheat amount to 8 cwts., per acre, of rye 6 cwts., of barley 7.3 cwts., and oats 6.8 cwts. Poland today produces 14% of the *world crop* of rye and 15% of potatoes. Of flax she is the *second* largest producer in the world, the first being Russia. She is the fifth largest producer of oats, the seventh of barley and the thirteenth of wheat.

The development of agricultural industries is also of interest to India. Poland produced 344,000 tons of sugar in 1933-34, out of which no less than 100,000 tons were exported. It is not generally known that Poland is the sixth largest world producer of beet sugar. Distilling, flour milling, potato and meat products industries have also made rapid strides.

The immense wealth of timber has led to the development of many industries using timber as the main raw material, such as furniture (including bentwood and bentwood furniture), veneers, plywood and other products. Among the exporters of timber from Europe, Poland holds the fourth place, coming after Russia, Finland and Sweden, though in 1927 the exports from Poland were the largest from any European country.

The reaction of the Great War on Industry in Poland was different to what it was on the industries of other manufacturing countries. Owing to the huge profits possible on the supply of war material, industry in all other manufacturing countries advanced to an unimaginable extent during the course of the War. In Poland exactly opposite was the case. It has been mentioned earlier that the main centres of industry were either put out of action or totally destroyed. Even in the post-war era amalgamation into larger groups and modernization to meet the changed needs was a difficult task. In other countries it was easy enough because of uniform conditions prevail-

ing. In Poland the development of industry in each of the three occupied parts had been on entirely *different* lines and under different political and economic structures of government. One can therefore have nothing but unqualified and unstinted praise for those at the helm of industrial re-organization for having brought about so very rapid and yet steady development in almost every branch of industry. This is all the more remarkable when the totally disorganized and depressed industrial and trade conditions in post-war Europe are kept before one's eyes.

Coming to the commerce of modern Poland we find that within the short period of about twenty years Poland has already attained the enviable position of being one of the greatest producers and exporters of oil and oil products in Europe, the other two being Russia and Rumania. In 1934, the extraction of crude oil reached 484,000 tons. The importance of this under the present world conditions is self-evident. As a coal *exporting* country Poland occupies third place, only Great Britain and Germany being ahead of her. In coal production Poland comes fifth, after Great Britain, Germany, Russia and France. In the export of zinc, Poland, with an export figure of 67,000 tons, has only United States ahead of her. In the production of zinc Poland holds the third place, the first two being United States and Belgium.

In the production of steel Poland holds the eighth place in Europe and in pig-iron the ninth place. Metal manufacturing industries, which are well developed, include arms and ammunition factories, engine factories, tools factories and also motor car and aeroplane factories. For railway material Poland has now six factories (against two in the pre-war era) and two locomotive factories which export their products to many parts of the world. In addition a very important electro-technical industry has been developed out of what was a small installation and repairing industry.

Textile industry has also made vast strides. In woollen goods Polish products come up to the best in the world. In cotton, though specializing in low grade goods for the home and overseas markets, more fastidious demands are also being satisfactorily met with. Cotton textile industry employs as many as 1,817,000 spindles and 47,000 looms; woollen industry 773,000 spindles and 15,000 looms; linen industry 22,000 spindles; jute industry 30,000 spindles and silk industry 3,000 spindles.

Some branches of chemical production have a basic importance in national economy. Poland has not remained behind in this. In fertilizers, superphosphate factories have been well-organized. Nitrate fertilizers produced in Poland are not only sufficient for the heavy home demand, but are being exported. Artificial silk industry, rubber industry and the important dyeing industry are also making vast strides. In addition cement, glass, paper, clothing and leather industries are finding favourable conditions for rapid development.

In short, Poland, which was politically non-existent as a free state even twenty years ago, is today an important state and a *self-sufficient* country meeting with almost all home demands in every branch of industry and agriculture. The achievement of Poland is all the more praiseworthy when it is remembered that the developments in this country have been along as normal lines as was possible under the abnormal post-war conditions. In any case there have been no fantastic ideological experiments thrust on an unwilling or frightened people. Not visionaries but men of vision and sound economic experience have been in charge of the reconstruction of Poland. That indeed is the secret of Poland's rapid rise. The credit goes entirely to the one-pointed efforts and honesty of purpose of the *practical-minded* patriots who hold the reins of office. India has a vital lesson to learn from Poland in this respect.

As an outstanding example of the *practical* patriotism and high economic and scientific training of Polish leaders one cannot do better than cite the example of the present President of the Republic, Professor Dr. Ignacy Moscicki. He is a great scientist and has made valuable discoveries in electro-chemistry and electro-physics. His fifteen years work in the University of Fribourg (Switzerland) won him world fame. In 1912 he took up the appointment of professor in physical chemistry and electro-chemistry at the University of Lwow (Poland) and devoted all his energy to the task of building up chemical industry, which is of vital importance in national economy. The State Nitrate Factory at Chorzow owes its development and expansion to him. He was placed in charge of the factory immediately after the war. In 1926 this practical-minded and scientifically trained patriot was elected President of the Polish Republic. In 1933 he was re-elected President. Even today, inspite of his onerous duties, his spare time is taken up by the problems of chemical industry in Poland and scientific research. With such a man of action—and yet a man of vision—at the helm of the Polish ship of state, it is not difficult to appreciate the vast



Tsong-Khapa
By Nicholas Roerich



Mahakala
By Nicholas Roerich



Padma Sambhava
By Nicholas Roerich

developments in the economic life of Poland outlined in this paper. It is not possible to doubt the glorious future that awaits Poland in world affairs.

Indian patriots and politicians hold the opinion that India can no more remain isolated. That indeed is a fact of great importance. It should therefore be of practical interest to our men of affairs to cultivate both cultural and commercial contacts with countries such as Poland, which have much in common with India, and can give as much in ideas and materials as they can take. That seems to be the only way to develop a sane and healthy internationalism in the world today.

In conclusion, it is worthwhile noting from India's point of view, that she has a *very favourable* balance in her trade with Poland. While she imports only 34 lakhs worth of goods from Poland, her exports to that country are worth nearly *two crores*. The principal items include: Cotton 51 lakhs, jute 38 lakhs, rice 48 lakhs, rubber 7 lakhs, hides and skins 9 lakhs, tea 7 lakhs, manganese and chrome ores 5 lakhs. Other important exports include rice in husk, Castor oil seeds, Copra, Groundnuts, Pepper, Shellac, Bamboos, Raw Wool, Cocoanut fibre etc. There is, therefore, every reason why India should cultivate closer contacts with such an excellent customer.

ROERICH'S ART IN INDIA

By VINCENT WHITE

On October 10th, the 40th Anniversary of academicianship and 50th Anniversary of the artistic, scientific and literary activities of Nicholas Roerich takes place. Roerich is now residing in his permanent home in the Himalayas and the link which he has thus established with India will for ever be remembered here.

The Modern Review was the first channel in India through which the Art of Roerich became known to the wider public on this continent. An inspiring article from the pen of Mr. Joseph Finger appeared in 1921 unfolding before the eyes of the readers the colourful life and magnificent art of this great Russian Master.

Since then Roerich's art had become well-known all over India. In 1923, Nicholas Roerich, Mme. Roerich and their two sons Georges and Svetoslav arrived in Bombay and were heartily welcomed here by many prominent cultural leaders of India. The eminent artist Bireswar Sen summarized the voice of India when he wrote in the *Hindu Weekly*:

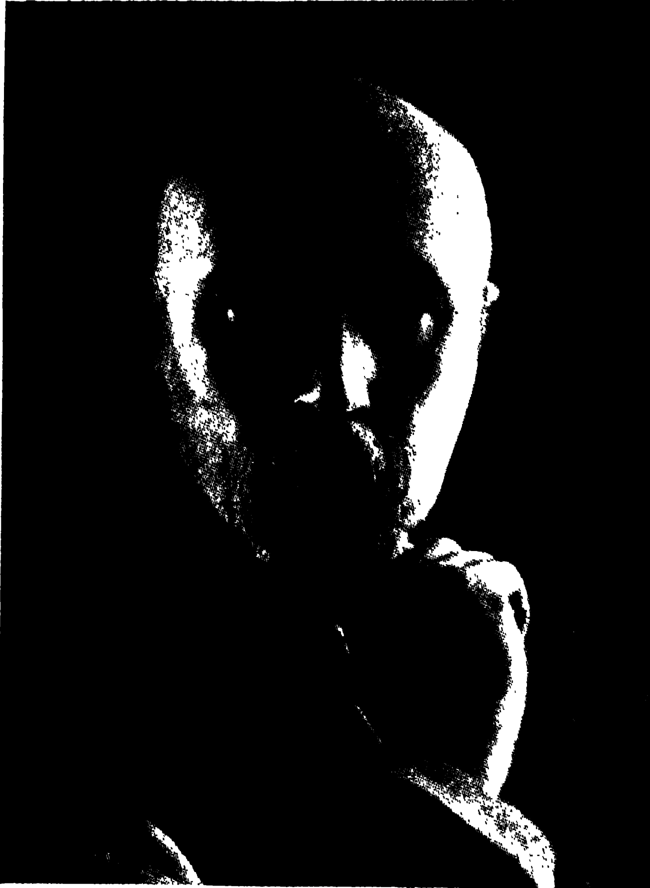
> "To most of us, Roerich is a legendary figure of romance. Against the lurid glare of the flaming West. his mighty figure looms large like the motionless and benevolent Buddha in the midst of a vast cosmic cataclysm. Far above the tumultuous din of frenzied nations rings his voice—the unequivocal commandments of the Eternal—the Voice of Truth, Beauty and Culture. Great is Roerich—and greater still are his works, the beautiful harbingers of Peace and Good Will among men. Indefatigable in action, indomitable in spirit and innocent at heart, he is the new Sir Galahad, seeking after the Holy Grail."

This reference to the Holy grail is very significant, because almost at the same time in another part of the world the famous Lithuanian poet Baltrushaitis voiced a similar comparison.

In the Bharat Kala Bhawan in Benares and in the Municipal Museum of Allahabad special halls have been dedicated to the Master. Besides this Roerich's paintings are in the Bose Institute in Calcutta, in the Adyar Museum in Madras, in the collection of Rabindranath Tagore in Santiniketan, in the Sri Chitralayam State Gallery of Travancore, in the Urusvati Himalayan Research Institute in Naggar and also in several private collections.

The Benares group contains amongst others, the following paintings so typical of the creativeness of Roerich: "Star of the Hero," "Buddha—The Giver," "Kalki Avatar," "Bhagawan Sri Ramakrishana," "Charaka—the Ayurvedic Healer." The Allahabad group includes: "The Arhat," "Guga Chohan," "Maitreya," "She Who Leads," "Holy Shepherd," "The Message of Shambhala," "Light Conquers Darkness," and paintings of the Himalayas, some of which had been exhibited at the last Governmental Exhibition of the United Pro-

vinces in Lucknow. About these paintings O. C. Gangoly wrote in the *Pioneer,* naming Roerich—" the Wizzard of Eastern landscapes, who sublimates realistic scenes to the dizzy heights of divine dreamlands." The Bose Institute is adorned by the painting " Santana—the Source of Life "; in Madras is " The Messenger," in the Tagore Collection, " The Ruler," in the Urusvati Himalayan Research Institute are " Fiat Rex," " Heavenly Mountains," etc., and in Travancore, " Fiery Thoughts."



Nicholas Roerich

Rabindranath Tagore wrote of the Art of Roerich that " it is jealous of its independence, because it is great." Alexander Benois in his article pointed out that Roerich appears as a representative of an entirely new school of art. The American critic Dr. Brinton, Serge Ernst and many others wrote similarly in different countries. Leonid Andrew in his last article beautifully expressed the same thought speaking of a whole unique " realm of Roerich." Maxim Gorky called Roerich the " greatest intuitivist." In the last books of the ultra modernist Burliuk, in the book of Jean Duvernois and in articles of the Belgian critic E. van Loo, again the same idea is affirmed that Roerich is the founder of a new school of Art. More than once this school was named " cosmic synthesis," " synthesis of wisdom," and Serge Ernst states that :

> " Such searching more than anything else corresponds to the spiritual path of the Master, so beautiful in its purity and power."

R. C. Tandan concludes his monograph on Roerich with the words :

> " The seeds now sown by Roerich will in the fullness of time blossom forth into a harvest of flowers and redound to the glory of the sower."

Every student of the manifold creativeness of Roerich will indeed note, both in colour and form, the highly unusual expression of the mighty individuality of the Master. Dr. Hagbert Wright, Director of the London Library, justly pointed out the repeated comparisons between Roerich and Gaugin and Vrubel. In French literature one can find the name of Roerich in line with that of Moreau; and William Ritter in Germany calls Roerich's Art the best expression of Wagner. The Italian articles, when mentioning Roerich, place him with Benozoo Gozzoli and Duccio. And at the same time all countries definitely uderline that originality and independence of the Art of Roerich, which was so clearly defined by Rabindranath Tagore.

What do all these unexpected and seemingly differing comparisons mean? They but affirm that in the Art of Roerich we have some extraordinary, unrepeated style of his own. Of course Roerich is a modernist. But why then does he remind some people of Benozoo Gozzoli or Moreau ? The heroes of Wagner and Maeterlinck are beautifully expressed by Roerich—and this

again is something entirely different to modernism. Precisely not by suppositions, but through the numerous series of comparisons and opinions of different critics has the Art of Roerich been defined as a special school. About such independence and unrepeated originality Claude Bragdon writes in the following words:

"In the history of the fine arts, certain individuals have appeared from time to time, whose work has a unique and profound quality, which differentiates them from their contemporaries, making it impossible to classify them in any known category and to ally them with any school, because they resemble themselves only—and one another, like some spaceless and timeless order of initiates. Such were Leonardo, Rembrandt, Duerer, Blake and in other fields Beethoven, Balzac, Rodin . . . . Roerich, in his life, in his character and in his art reveals himself as a member of this fraternity."

Those who named Roerich's Art a cosmic synthesis, are not far from truth. Roerich's creativeness cannot limit itself to the boundaries of existing schools. He finds his allies in creation under most unexpected circumstances. No doubt, those who mentioned Roerich with Gaugin, had reason, remembering the same intensity of colour symphonies. Those who compared Roerich with the phantastic searcher Vrubel or with William Blake, also had reason, admiring the wide vision of Roerich's conceptions. Even those to whom Roerich resounded like Peter Breughel the Elder and other Netherland Masters, who so romantically depicted the castles and towers of Northern counties, even they were right, because they remembered the wonderful series of Roerich dedicated to "Princess Maleine," "Sister Beatrice" or his last "Great Mother of Peace." Like Wagner Roerich loves powerful symphonic series, which like mosaic form sonorous pearls. One has but to remember "Heroica" or "Sancta" and his latest series of the "Sacred Himalayas."

The French critic Denis Roche in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* says that the character of Roerich's Art is formed with unusual logic. The critic thus underlines the persuasive directness of the Art of Roerich, which is the main attractive magnet of the Master's paintings.

This quality of convincingness is a very rare one. One cannot learn it. Either it already exists having been accumulated in the depth of the chalice of the heart, or it is altogether absent, and then no amount of teaching nor handicraft can replace this expression of the Spirit.

In various countries many publications have been dedicated to Roerich, from large monographs to biographical essays, in which all writers, however different their points of view, unanimously acknowledge the grandeur of his style, the unforgetableness of his creations and the convincingness of his great colour symphony. How often one hears: "Roerich's Clouds," "Roerich's country," "The Realm of Roerich," "Eagles of Roerich," "a Roerich blue," "Summits of Roerich" . . . .

Like Balzac, like Wagner, like Leonardo, Roerich loves to work and by his untiring creativeness inspires and urges towards works all those who are near him. This also is a definite sign of an entire school. Indeed in this constant achieving Roerich manifests such a genuine originality that it cannot be called otherwise than his own style.

Whether Roerich outlines the profile of a snowy mountain, or eternalizes the image of rishis and saints, or whether he defines warriors and heroes, in everything we find his same convincingness and originality of containment and synthesis. Roerich's spirit has long ago mastered this synthesis. Not casual are his searchings and wanderings; but a certain, firm path, known only to him, unifies all his multiform creations.

In Hindu literature Roerich's name is often preceded by the epithet Rishi, Sri or Guru. These three significant definitions explain much what is perceived by the refined spirit of the sons of the Vedas and Mahabharata. A deep striving towards everything heroical, to the Great Service, is expressed in all attainments of the Master and has been underlined by many authors as a special quality. They state that the very names of his paintings already read like a heroic poem. And the combinations of colours of Roerich's paintings resound like a magnificent symphony.

J. K. Nag in the *Illustrated India* of Calcutta says in his article "Roerich—a Saint and an Artist":

"There lives now on the roof of the world, a unique figure of charming composition—a saint that had so ardently worshipped Beauty—a genius that has so passionately loved art and culture. He is the world famous painter, the great Nicholas Constantinovich Roerich—a towering personality of this century. Besides his genius in art, Roerich is one of the ardent enthusiasts for world peace. He dreams of an international peace through art and beauty. He says: Art is to create beauty, through beauty we gain victory, through beauty we unite and through beauty we pray."

THE TRAGEDY OF BENGAL'S FISHERIES

By DINESH CHANDRA MAJUMDAR, B.L.

The problem of the fisheries of Bengal is one which directly concerns the welfare of not only 25 lakhs of fishermen but also of Bengal's population as a whole. One would have thought that this hardly required elaboration, but it needs must be stressed; for, the public has displayed great indifference to the cause of the fishermen all along, and has taken but little interest in the question of its fisheries, completely oblivious of the fact that such cruel neglect of a vitally important national asset is the root cause of the present high price and increasing scarcity of good fish, over which it is lamenting daily. It is not that its attention was not called to the critical state of the fishermen and the fish Industry many years ago. Nor is it that those warnings were not repeated time and again till they became weaker and weaker owing to the growing indifference and apathy of the Government and the public alike. Once again, it seems, the comfortable sleep of ages has descended upon us, and once again it is necessary to disturb it lest we proceed to our own destruction irretrievably.

Just thirty years ago the late Sir K. G. Gupta under orders of the Government submitted a report on Bengal's fisheries. The report, as well as his enquiry, was necessitated by the growing scarcity of fish in those days even. His enquiry was an exhaustive one, and he made various recommendations urging the great importance of giving early effect to them. While something was done to give effect to his suggestions in the Bay of Bengal, the main problem of the inland fisheries, which form the most important field for the indigenous industry, continued to remain as insoluble as ever. The result has been further and more rapid deterioration of the world's third largest fresh water fishery, with its inevitably baneful effect in the province's resources as well as health. The condition of the fishermen also has not escaped the general decline.

It is indeed high time that we paid heed to the advice of the many competent observers in this line, and made an earnest effort to run the fisheries of the province on a fruitful and profitable basis. All previous reports of enquiries into these fisheries deplore the havoc going on in the inland waters of Bengal by the ruthless and wholesale slaughter of fish fry and fingerlings, by the terribly destructive methods of fishing, and by the complete anarchy that prevails where fishermen are concerned. Suitable legislation has been urged by them again and again to check the alarming rate at which such fisheries are deteriorating, and to preserve and conserve the fish therein. At the same time, however, they all concur in admitting that they have no satisfactory means to suggest for the proper enforcement of the various remedies proposed by them. This they attribute to two main factors which are militating against all attempts to improve the condition of Bengal's inland waters. They are the prevailing confusion in all districts regarding fishery rights in the main fishing areas, and the ignorance, superstition, and poverty of the actual fishermen which make them easily suspicious of all outside attempts for their uplift. While little has been done to arrest the growing deterioration in Bengal's inland fisheries, and their condition has become all the more acutely critical during these years of apathy, those factors that have stood out against any improvement remain as firm as ever. And it is hardly necessary to emphasise the point that no development can be looked for in the fisheries of the province or in the condition of this vast but dying industry without the neutralising of these disruptive elements through public as well as Government effort.

The confusion that prevails regarding fishery rights was investigated both by Sir K. G. Gupta and by Mr. T. Southwell, who was for several years directing the Bengal Fisheries' Department. While the loss of revenue due to this total lack of administrative control of the inland waters of the province is considerable, of even greater concern is the fact that such an absence of system has wrought great harm in more vital matters as well. Government as the custodian in the public interest of the main tidal and navigable channels has allowed private persons to usurp the fisheries and not only has a large potential revenue been lost to the country, which could well have been expended on improving the industry, but also the fishermen has thereby lost his right to fish. In these cases the fishermen has to pay rent to the private proprietor of what

was once the public domain, and should have remained so rather than be allowed to be usurped by a private individual. He is also further compelled in the great majority of cases to sell his catch to such proprietor or his nominee at rarely more than one-fourth its market value. The position is no better in purely Government fisheries. Here again Government has introduced a foreign element and one having no interest in the fishery apart from that of self, in the person of the lessee who is almost invariably a non-fisherman. The exactions of these lessees, or Ijaradars are known to exceed in normal cases even 30 times the value of rent paid to the landlord or the Government. Besides the complete indifference of Government to all considerations other than that of a good revenue return has fostered a continuous series of litigations between Government on the one hand and private landlords on the other, in which both sides ultimately depend for their success upon the goodwill and support of the Ijaradar who as the person in direct control of the fishery exerts the greatest influence on the fishermen and can be trusted to procure the necessary evidence to support the side he finds more paying. And in the absence of a single regulation even, prescribing the rates to be levied from the fishermen it can hardly be wondered at that the latter are completely at the mercy of the lessee, who makes them pay, in addition to his own profits, for all the litigation he engages in to increase the extent of his own fisheries. This he does by numerous exactions as bewildering in their variety and range as they are ingenious and effective. As the fishermen are ignorant and illiterate, no proper receipts are given, and where demanded they are summarily expelled from the fishery. If the fishermen do not forthwith comply with these exorbitant demands made none too infrequently their catch is forcibly removed, or their nets damaged at night. His poverty and ignorance have reduced the fisherman to a state of absolute helplessness, and with conditions so heavily weighted against him he has almost ceased to struggle against the current which daily engulfs him more and more.

That we are not painting too lurid a picture will be readily apparent from the description given of the Bengal Fisherman by Mr. Southwell as early as 1917. He remarked:

"At the present time, the fishermen as a class are not only poor and illiterate, but are extraordinarily superstitious. Work of any kind among them is received with suspicion. This attitude can be understood by any one who is familiar with the conditions under which the fishermen live and work. As a result of their illiteracy, and further, owing to a general absence of business aptitude amongst them, they have for ages been a prey to unscrupulous agents, fishvendors, ijaradars and others. So accustomed are they to being exploited unfairly that the means devised for helping and assisting them are merely regarded as old tricks in a modern setting. The Bengal fishermen are of course not the only fishermen who are subject to exploitation, but nowhere else have I seen the process carried to such an extent. It is a fine art in this province."

The alarming and pitiable plight of a class of people who still form the main, if not the only source of supply of fish to Bengal's teeming millions could hardly have been described in more forceful language. The wonder is not that the fishermen are so oppressed but that the public still has not awaken to the fact of such oppression. Could the condition of the fishermen have been otherwise than what Mr. Southwell disclosed it as being even twenty years ago? Where would the agriculturist have been had not the Tenancy Act been introduced to stabilise his existence, and save him from the increasing rigours of the Permanent Settlement? Even now, is not the demand being made for further concessions in his behalf, and is not the demand being looked upon with sympathy and enlightened interest? Where again, one may ask, would he have been had the landlord and the money-lender exercised undisputed sway over his destiny with no limitations on rates of rent or interest or methods of collection?

Such questions were legitimately asked, and satisfactorily answered in his case. But what about the tenant on water, the fisherman? Is it not strange that we cannot point to a single law on the statute book in his favour?

Things have degenerated far more since the time Mr. Southwell sounded his note of warning. The remedies he suggested were not even given a decent trial, and the lack of suitable administration which was deplored by him twenty years ago has unfortunately excelled itself by leaving us with no administration at all, suitable or unsuitable, at the present time. No wonder then that the evils thus existing have multiplied a hundredfold in the mean time. They have not only succeeded in further impoverishing the fishermen but have also contributed to the rapid deterioration of the fisheries themselves, as it is obvious that the growing demand for fish with its increasing scarcity in our inland waters, the absence of fresh ventures in virgin fisheries, the system of short-term leases to non-fishermen, the complete anarchy in the fishery laws of the province, and in fishery-right in the main waters, tend to indiscriminate capture of every variety of fish in all its stages of growth and wholesale decimation of the fish population.

Like blind men groping in the dark we

continue to clamour that fish is scarce, and fish is dear, but we fail to realise that the evil is of our own making, and the remedy rests with us alone. No doubt the evil has assumed serious proportions. Mr. Southwell in 1915 cited the fisheries of the Sone and the Mahanadi as appearing to have been permanently damaged already, and added that a corresponding improvement of the fisheries of Bengal will probably occupy a much longer period of time than has been taken in their deterioration. But the warning went unheeded and we have gone on merrily without a care or a thought while fish continues to be dearer and dearer, the fishermen to get poorer and poorer, and the industry strangled from day to day. The need for a common and a combined effort to rehabilitate the fisheries of Bengal is all the more urgent now, and the regulation of fishing rights and the enactment of suitable laws in our main fishing grounds based on the principle that they are fundamentally the concern of the state as the custodian of the public interest therein, is an immediate and crying necessity. The public no less than the Government owe this to themselves and to the country. Nor is this all. For the public as well as the Government have a common duty to perform, and a common obligation to discharge, with regard to the twenty-five lakhs of people who under the most exacting and trying and dangerous circumstances perform an indispensable service to a population whose basic diet consists of fish. If nothing else, we can at least hope that enlightened self-interest will make them realise the importance of this self-evident proposition. For by protecting the fishermen we shall be doing nothing more than ensuring our own interests. The condition of the indigenous fishing industry is inextricably woven with the condition of these fishermen, and on their continued and robust existence depends the life of the industry itself. There is all the greater need for this close understanding between the fishermen and the public and the Government now, as the situation now facing us is alarming to a degree. A considerable amount of loose thinking is manifest in the light way in which the fish supply of the main cities of the province is sought to be increased by the advocacy of steam-trawling in the Bay. While the Bay should no doubt be exploited, let us not forget that our main and most urgent business is to conserve what there is and strengthen the same instead of revolutionising our methods straightaway. Because in the present hopelessly chaotic state of our inland fisheries and fishing industry the inevitable effect of concentrating on the sea will be to disorganise completely the inland fishermen and throw them back on to already hardpressed land, and to deal a death-blow to an ancient industry of the province, an industry which still is one of its most extensive, which means much to its internal economy and the health of its inhabitants, and which if developed can well become its most fruitful source of wealth, and be trusted to provide employment in its various branches to increasing numbers of people. On the other hand if we attempt to forget the canker that has been eating into the vitals of this industry by casting our eyes elsewhere, it will be only a question of days before we find that the same calamity will engulf the country as befell the once flourishing weaving classes of Bengal.

Sir F. A. Nicholson remarked:

"We have in this Presidency an ancient industry employing a large population, but primitive in its methods from catch to sale; knowledge and capital, energy and organization, are necessary to improve the old and develop new methods in such wise as to ensure that the present catches shall all be turned into wholesome food; that these catches shall be gradually augmented, as the fisher-folk show capacity to deal with them, so as to assist in feeding a growing population, that fish which for any good reason cannot be turned into direct food shall, after the expression of their oil, be turned into high class fertilizer for the benefit of Indian soil; that fish waste shall be utilized to the utmost possible extent; and that these developments shall be carried out as far as possible through and for the benefit of the existing fisher-folk, and by means, on the Government side, of a carefully devised general and technical education. If besides we increase the present catches by improved methods and the development of our present fisheries and the exploiting of new ones we shall provide for an appreciable addition to the food of the meat-eating population as also the quantity of manure by converting the offal. The whole of this mass of food and fertilizer would be pure gain to the country, and especially to the working classes, while various by-industries would accompany the development; such industries are those which relate to boat-building, machinery, manufacture of yarn, net-making, the pressing and refining of edible vegetable oils (for fish-curing and canning), the production of vinegar, pottery, refrigeration, pearl-button making, tin-plate working, etc., to say nothing of increased traffic and business dealings. Briefly the goal aimed at is the development of a vast fishing industry with its concomitant by-industries in such a way as to stimulate and develop, enrich and wholesomely feed, the greatest possible number of people in the desirable process of adding the harvest of the sea to the harvest of the soil."

Our readers will find it difficult, we doubt not, to think that these trenchant remarks were meant by Sir F. A. Nicholson to apply to any other province than our own. They present a full picture of the fish industry of Bengal today, and describe in simple and vigorous language its great potentialities, and the way to its development. Actually however the author was referring to the fisheries of the Madras

Presidency, and those remarks were made by him in the year 1909. About that time Bengal also had the benefit of Sir K. G. Gupta's report, but whereas Madras went ahead, we have merely succeeded in setting back the clock of progress, though we have the greatest freshwater surface in the world barring Canada and U. S. A. Our neglect has been all the more criminal in that with us the human and the administrative sides of the question deserved and demanded as serious and urgent a consideration as the industrial part of it.

We cannot do better than revert to what Sir F. A. Nicholson had to say about the Madras fisheries industry at the time he made the above remarks. He stated :

"It is obvious that in developing the fishing industry for the benefit of the consumer, an essential consideration is the producer; not merely does the development ultimately vest with him but his welfare is as important as that of the consumer. For it is no new industry to be introduced from outside, but the development of an ancient and indigenous one, employing a vast number of people who have immemorial customs and interests, who form no negligible portion of the population, and who ought to develop side by side with the industry, in status, in intelligence, in independence, in wealth. The matter is one of extreme complexity, for the fishermen are more ignorant and poor than the cultivator of the soil. And if it be difficult to introduce new methods in the villages, it is yet more difficult to develop the fisher-folk by means which shall make and keep them independent yet co-operative, and to prevent their degeneration into mere labourers still more at the disposal of richer folk than they are now."

What was said of the Madras fishermen twenty-eight years ago remains as true today of the Bengali fishermen. The disease is the same, and the remedy will have to be the same too. The time is particularly opportune for applying it, as we find a growing sense of solidarity dawning in the fishermen as a result of the recent sympathetic interest in their wretched lot evinced by many eminent persons, including His Excellency Sir John Anderson, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore*, Sir B. L. Mitter, Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarkar, etc. They are beginning to realise that in unity is strength, and that such unity makes for their progress as much as it stands for the progress of the nation through one of its prime industries. And lest there be any misconception of the wholly beneficial nature of such a sense of unity, let us once again remind our readers that the fishermen are as a race given to unprotesting exploitation by all and sundry. For years they have patiently suffered the insult and the humiliation and the oppression practised upon them. They have never dreamt of unconstitutional agitation even in the face of illegal, or even inhuman oppression. There is every likelihood of their readily responding to kindly and sympathetic treatment, and the way to earn their confidence and support lies in such an approach. The fishermen are only too eager to grasp the hand of friendship if only it is extended to them fairly and honestly. Nor is there any reason under the sun as to why it should not.

It is only after such close co-operation between the Government and the fishermen is assured, based on the increasing trust of the fishermen in Government and the continued good will of Government towards them, that the industry can hope to make an early or rapid recovery. Signs are not wanting that Government is increasingly alive to the pressing nature of the problem. What is needed is that the public should also appreciate the situation in its true perspective.

In this connection it is gratifying to note that the leading papers of the province have spoken with one voice on the crying need of focussing our earnest attention on Bengal's fish industry. It is impossible to contemplate any development of the industry in such a way as to prove beneficial to the province without the conservation and strengthening of its essential kernel contributed by the 25 lakhs of human beings already engaged in it. The extinction of a race so highly skilled in the indigenous art and technique of so precarious and hardy an occupation as fishing cannot but be a national catastrophe of the first magnitude. The duty of the public is as clear as that of the Government, if not more so. It is to conserve this most indispensable and valuable element of the population by giving it the protection and the sympathy that it so sadly and urgently needs.

* Interviewed by the United Press with regard to the trouble in some of the fishing areas in East Bengal, Poet Tagore said that he had received a large number of representations from the victims and strongly felt that it was time some protection was given by the State to the helpless toilers of our rivers.

"In this land of sorrows," he added, "it seems the fishermen have been specially selected out by a malevolent destiny for a particularly ruthless fate. They are daily being exploited and subjected to all sorts of harassment by the petty officers of the Zemindars and the Izaradars and law gives them little or no protection. The fisheries in our rivers are going to be developed but nothing can really be done till the thousands of people employed in the industry are given proper protection by law. The Government, I am sure, are aware of the seriousness of the situation that has recently arisen in the Kartickpur area and they must move without delay in the matter. I also appeal to the leaders of other political groups in the Bengal Legislature to take some interest in the plight of our poor fishermen and bring pressure upon the Government to redress their grievances."—*(United Press)*.

If not for the sake of humanity, at least from the purely sordid view point of self-interest there can be no other course.

Any attempt therefore to consolidate and organise the fishermen in the interests of their most valuable trade cannot but deserve the favour and support of all who have the economic welfare of the province and the health of its ill-fed millions at heart. It is a difficult and arduous task in the face of the poverty and ignorance of these fishermen, made all the more formidable by the powerful nature of the vested interests that will be constantly at work to spoil the effort. In what devious and mysterious ways these latter work we have had opportunities of observing during the short period in which the attempt has been made to revive the fishing industry. The struggle will be a keen and a difficult one, but the cause is just and the fight concerns the public more than anyone else. We sincerely hope that this fundamental fact will be realised and that the public will rally to the support of those on whom the brunt of the combat will continue to fall for some years to come. With such support success is certain, and with success the rehabilitation of a great national industry to its full stature and glory.

While we have laboured so far to give our readers a general, but comprehensive idea regarding the condition of the fish industry in Bengal today, and of those actively and primarily connected with it, and the factors which will have to be reckoned with in the attempt, long overdue, to raise it from the morass into which we have allowed it to sink, it is desirable to indicate a suitable and practicable method of approach such as we hope will meet with the full approval and active and whole-hearted support of all right-thinking and patriotic people. This method is no other than what has been embodied by the fishermen themselves in the resolutions which 15,000 of them from various districts, assembled under the presidentship of Hon'ble Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar passed with one voice, and without a single dissentient, on the 10th July, 1937, at Meheran. The value of this unanimity can no more be under-estimated than its import. Nor were the resolutions just meaningless sentences tabled for the occasion. They were framed with a full and clear grasp of the realities of the situation and represent in themselves an intensely practical means of tackling a problem which is as vast and varied as it is chaotic and baffling. And in fact if our readers correlate them to what has been already written above, they will realise that these resolutions are themselves born of the situation as it has developed till now, and represent concrete suggestions for the remedy of those ailments which have been clearly and definitely described already. They are further based upon the practical experience we have acquired from our attempts to organise the fishermen by and through the fishermen themselves, from the difficulties we have encountered in this process from self-interested persons high and low, official and non-official, from the sympathy and active help we have received through high Government officers, leading public men, and most important of all the fishermen themselves, and from the actual management of some fisheries in Chandpur Subdivision during the last year. We hope that the resolutions will commend themselves to the public and Government alike, in the same happy way in which they elicited the unanimous approval of the fifteen thousand fishermen of Bengal who were present at the Conference. We also hope that they will be looked upon as eminently sound and practicable, and deserving of speedy translation into action.

The resolutions themselves are few in number and are recapitulated below. They crystallise certain ideas and suggestions which were also fully explained and set out in a Scheme which we were privileged to submit to the Government of Bengal on the 22nd May last and which is based upon the knowledge we have gained by our experience in this line so far. The Conference at Meheran has been useful in that it has set the seal of approval of the general body of fishermen from various parts of the province upon these suggestions. Reading between the lines of recent speeches made by Hon'ble Ministers of the Government one feels that Government also is giving the matter its close and earnest and sympathetic consideration. The public, we hope, will prove equally interested, and equally sympathetic, for without such enlightened and sympathetic public opinion behind us no progress can be registered.

The Resolutions are:

1. "That the Fisheries Department of the Government of Bengal be revived immediately, and be placed on an independent footing as a distinct unit in the administration of the Province."

It is needless to point out that the Department will be crippled if a broad view is not taken, and if emphasis be placed only on the Industrial or the Revenue or the Co-operative side of the problem to the inevitable neglect and detriment of the others.

2. "That in the revived Fisheries Department Government may be pleased to recruit only such men as are known to be fully alive to the needs of the

fishermen, are sympathetic towards them, and have their confidence."

While this resolution betrays the natural anxiety of the fishermen to have such persons in control of the Department as can be trusted to look to their interests, it is an anxiety which should also be shared by all who sincerely desire the recovery of the industry. For it is well-known that the creation of a Department is regarded as so much new opportunity for jobbery and nepotism. But we cannot afford to trifle with the fisheries problem in this way and it is absolutely essential that those in charge should be strong and capable, and have the full confidence and support of the fishermen primarily. Such men may be few, but they must be found. And if they prove wanting they must again be rejected unceremoniously.

3. "That a concerted and determined effort be made, through legislation and otherwise—as described in the Scheme submitted to Government by Babu D. C. Majumdar, B.L.—for the effective control of all the main inland fisheries of Bengal by the Fisheries Department."

The need and justification for such a resolution are self-evident to anyone who has learnt to appreciate that these fisheries form a vital national asset. Other countries have introduced legislation to protect and conserve them. We need to do the same. And we cannot make such legislation effective or fruitful unless we have control of the fisheries ourselves. The way to secure such control is by co-operation with the private proprietor, if he agrees. If he does not, he will have to be compelled by legislation to agree to such control in the interests of the State as a whole. The scheme referred to envisages both methods, and with the requisite legislation in the background it should be easier to secure voluntary co-operation. The legislation will be aimed at the resumption of all private fisheries in the main inland waters by Government in all such cases where it appears that the fishery is deteriorating or will deteriorate as a result of private ownership.

4. "That suitable legislation may be passed, and steps taken with the revival of the Department for the effective protection of fishermen in Fisheries, both Government and private. In particular, that the system of issuing licenses, as introduced at Chandpur with the help of the Sub-divisional Officer, be extended immediately to all Government Estate Fisheries, and the possibility of its early extension to all other Fisheries be closely and sympathetically examined."

This resolution seeks to secure for fishermen protection from the undue and illegal exactions by way of rent and otherwise which they are subjected to in all fisheries. By way of experiment we tried the system of licences at Chandpur in the Government fishery made over to us. It proved an unqualified success. It secures the revenue, does away with the lessee, fixes the rent of the fishermen, ensures his getting a proper receipt and pass, and extinguishes opportunities for litigation as well as extortion. The very term "license" has acquired a rather bad odour nowadays, and the first reaction of the public is to look upon it as an additional engine of taxation. But worked properly, and being based as it is solely upon the principle that the fishermen and the fisheries are those to be fundamentally protected and cherished, it has met with the wholehearted support of the fishermen as well as of some high Government Officers. It will be a very useful means of securing that effective control of fisheries which is indispensable to the recovery of the industry.

5. "That the State may be pleased to render financial aid to the Bengal Fishery Institute at Meheran."

This Institute will be the centre for educating fishermen in better and improved methods regarding the varied branches of their occupation, and for giving them practical training as well. It is hardly necessary to emphasise its utility, or the need for Government supporting the same fully, and in every way.

The above gives in a nut-shell the main administrative and legislative groundwork necessary for the Fishery Industry in Bengal to raise itself upon.



"ABOVE ALL NATIONS IS HUMANITY"

By KALIDAS NAG

I

My predecessor on this platform, Dr. Edwin R. Embree, President of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, told you last year of his noble aspiration and his realistic dream; the birth of the "New Civilization" through the "mingling of the East and the West." Some dreams are just fantastic and illusory; others are based on our deepest longings and hopes peopling the world of our subconscious being and hence their potency and positive character. The Orient suffered from serious historical mutilations and psychological distortions, but it is a reality in human history. So the Occident is very much of a reality today, almost dictating the pace of the modern world. Politically and economically the East and the West have often been found to be in conflict born of maladjustments and misunderstandings. Culturally the two hemispheres of Humanity are just indispensable partners in a vast Cosmo-drama. These are not mere figures of speech but basic realities. And speaking as I do on this solemn occasion, before my departure from this noble University to participate in the World Conference on Education, Tokyo, which takes as its major topic of discussion: "A twentieth century program of education," I beg leave to affirm that our future education should and must be based on an adequate synthesis of eastern and western cultures. With all its aggressive sense of superiority the western ideals of education and culture appears today to be terribly inadequate judged from the standpoint of moral progress and peace for mankind. So, with all its traditions of spirituality and renunciation the eastern life and society are darkened today by an atmosphere of poverty, despair, and ignorance dangerously subversive of the world order. The western methods of dividing and dominating the East are doomed to failure and no less so the eastern reactions against the West, either to treat it as a dangerous "enemy" or a successful "barbarian."

It is indeed a tragic irony of history that the two sister-civilizations, so complementary to one another, have not yet found their "Laboratory of Synthesis" in most of our universities of the East and the West. Western science and technology are invading the eastern schools and colleges divorced pathetically from the correctives of the creative life of the West manifested through her Arts and Literature. So, a sprinking of "Orientalism" is found in the western institutes of higher education in their syllabus of Sociology, Anthropology, Comparative Philology and such other humanistic studies. But such academic approaches of the Occident to the Orient are often vitiated by an unconscious condecension, a veiled imperialism, or colonialism, actual or potential. Thus even the modern Humanities are tainted by the original sin of "the Un-human," and our so-called observations and studies are just materials for the exploitation of one another's weakness.

When and how should we organize a new World Education Board, based on mutual respect and co-operation, which alone can drag us out of this quagmire of suspicion and hatred threatening the peace of the world? This is a challenging question which has to be faced and answered, not only by our universities and cultural organizations but also by our political and economic Trusts which are facing today the serious charge of betrayal of trusts! We accuse no one, and we invite one and all in reorganizing the World Trust without which world security and peace are mere illusions. With malice for none and charity for everyone, we shall join hands, men and women of today and tomorrow to rebuild the neglected and often desecrated Temple of Humanity, singing in chorus with our whole soul the sublime song of the Pacific expressed in the musical Hawaiian:

> "Maluna a'e o na lahui apau ke ola ke kanaka"
> "Above All Nations is Humanity"

Facing, as I do the representatives of some of the outstanding nations of East and West, here under the harmonious sky of Hawaii, I cannot help expressing some of the doubts and aspirations of our generation. Doubts, if any, have got to be boldly faced; and aspirations severely tested in the light of reality. I know that many of us have got sceptical about the possibility of our nationhood, naturally evolving into Humanity. Some are asserting that to reach Humanity one must outgrow nationhood.

That again appearing to be a problematic, nay dangerous, experiment, some swing to the opposite extreme, saying that to safeguard our nationhood we must throw overboard the cult of Humanity!

A few of us suspect, however, that, whether we like it or not, we float, move, and have our being on the infinite ocean of Humanity which ultimately supports and regulates the variegated flotilla of diverse nations. Each nation-boat may imagine itself to be self-contained and independent of the others; but all of them stagnate or push forward according to the special rhythmic adjustments with the deep undercurrents of the ocean of Humanity. It is sheer foolhardiness to ignore the ocean while we are lost in our special dances on our particular boats. It may be wise and graceful to adjust our steps with the elemental rhythms of the dancing waves. Our sophisticated civilization has a fair chance of surviving if it learns the moral lesson of the superb technique of Hawaiian surf-riding. Every nation from East or West must learn this basic rhythm of Humanity or be engulfed for good. Several apparently invincible nations have thus been submerged in history, emerging only as archeological fossils of a dead past crowding the galleries of our museums. The lesson of history is clear and it is for us of this modern age to make a choice: suicide or survival, war and extermination or peace and fulfilment of life? The twentieth century confronts us with this life-and-death question. Our entire thought and action should tackle these vital issues if we are objective enough to visualize the future and realistic enough to accept the lessons of science and history.

We know that despair and doubts are darkening our horizon today. From the awful experience of the last World War we have learned what a penalty we shall have to pay if we follow again blindly the dictates of egotism and greed, leading inevitably to violence and war. Europe tried that path and may try it again and again. Asia, older in age and experience, ever speaks through her great seers that it is wiser to renounce than to grab and that peace is more effective than war in the social economy and hygiene of Humanity. Twenty-five centuries ago India promulgated through her great sons Mahāvira and Buddha the great principles of Non-violence (ahimsā) and Fraternity (maitri). The self-same messages go out to the world from the makers of modern India like Gandhi and Tagore. Let me confide to you on this occasion that both of these leaders of Asiatic Renaissance are deeply interested in the noble experiment that America is making here in the heart of the Pacific. Before sailing from India to join the University of Hawaii, I requested Mahatma Gandhi to send a message to the students of this University, and these are his words, which I read to you:

> "I have no inspiring message to give to anybody if non-violence is not its own message. But I can state from my own experience of merely fifty years of practice that there is no force known to mankind which is equal to non-violence. It cannot however be learned through books. It has got to be lived."

Here Gandhi is speaking not simply for his own people but for Humanity as a whole. Those who accept Gandhi only as a national leader do not know his pre-occupations for the welfare of mankind, irrespective of creed or colour. When America was celebrating the fourth centenary of her discovery in 1893, Gandhi was opening his heroic campaign of non-violent resistance to the inhuman treatment of man by man in South Africa. His activities aroused the attention of no less a personality than Leo Tolstoy. The venerable author of "War and Peace" exchanged several letters with Gandhi which you may now read in the volume "Tolstoy and the Orient," published by Paul Birukoff, the disciple of the Russian sage in the last few years of his life.

A little earlier, another great thinker and artist of Europe, Romain Rolland who would be the noblest interpreter of Gandhi and his non-violence in the West, also corresponded with Tolstoy. Privileged to collaborate with Mon. Rolland in his study on "Mahatma Gandhi," I saw the original letter of Tolstoy in reply to the poignant questionings of that adolescent French artist who immortalized himself by writing the epic novel "Jean Christophe" and his Lives of Illustrious Men: Beethoven, Michael Angelo, and Tolstoy. Spending his last days studying Oriental religions Tolstoy left this world in 1910 and within four years the so-called civilized world plunged itself into an orgy of destruction and carnage rarely paralleled in history. The old world motto "Love Thy Neighbour" was coolly replaced by "Kill Thy Brother": In the face of that awful sacrilege against all religions, Rolland, the symbol of the awakened conscience of the West, wrote that magnificent vindication of Humanity "Above the Battlefield" and his "Appeal" to the *elite* of all nations to save modern civilization from utter wreckage. Since then, for the last twenty

years, Romain Rolland, the master interpreter of music and musicians, has been trying to hold aloft the torch of Humanity in this age of nationalistic obscurantism. It is a rare privilege for me to make his solemn voice also join in this superb symphony of the souls of many nations which naturally drew the sympathy of the great European harmonist. Receiving from me an account of the quiet and constructive work of my friends of this American territory radiating inter-racial amity and specially hearing about the noble outlook of internationalism in our University of Hawaii, Romain Rolland sent me by air mail the following lines :

> "I am happy to feel the growth of this new family. We are brothers born of the same spirit of human unity and universal communion. Those who are realizing that in harmony are happy indeed in that Eden of Hawaii. Here, where I am, in Europe, we must accomplish the same through the tumult of strifes. We are the archers of the *Gitâ*. We do not fight for ourselves; we fight for the welfare and liberty of all those to come and to build the grand Union of all Nations, the sovereign harmony rich and complex; the symphony which weaves into one garland the beautiful and embracing accords of the whole earth. . . .
>
> "To fraternal friends
> Of all nations
> at the University of Hawaii
> With my affectionate greetings.
> Romain Rolland"

These words of the most musical prophet of modern internationalism will, I am sure, gladden your hearts, my friends and students of this University. Hawaiians, Americans, Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, and Portuguese—all enjoying a common culture in a common democracy. I urge you, young graduates going out to the world, to be proud of your Alma Mater and to serve the cause so nobly championed by her. I strengthen my appeal by reminding you of the prophetic words of a great American who addressed you last year ;

> "A population descended from the various stocks of Europe and Asia, from Polynesia and the other islands of the Pacific, is here making a new race and a new culture . . . . Appropriately enough the birthplace of this new culture, compounded of the best of the East and the West, is in the group of islands situated midway between the western world and the Orient."

India of three hundred and fifty million souls, that vast sub-continent of many races, religions, and cultures, would always be with you in your pursuit of cultural fellowship, which is the keynote of Indian history and which, I hope will be the guiding light of all national histories. My Alma Mater, the University of Calcutta, to which I am grateful for this opportunity to serve you for a while, is so glad to learn about your bold experiment that our Vice-Chancellor presented your library with all our research publications—an example which, I hope, will be followed by many other universities and learned societies of India. Through ages India maintained the proud tradition of free cultural exchange ever since the days of our ancient universities of Taxila and Nalanda. And modern India, nay the entire New Orient, would ever be proud of the fact that its greatest living poet-philosopher, Tagore, came to vindicate Humanity, insulted and crucified by the "carnivorous and cannibalistic" nationalism during the last world war. As early as 1899 Dr. Tagore wrote that soul-stirring poem, "The Sunset of the Century." So in 1917, with the unerring judgment of a prophet, Tagore exposed in his "Nationalism" the festering sores of our modern history. Returning from the devastated areas of Europe, Tagore, with little else but his grand dream to support him, transformed in 1921 his rural school of Santiniketan into the first international university of India, the *Visva-Bharati*. Here Asiatics, Africans, Europeans , and Americans, Hindus and Muslims, Christians and non-Christians, have found their haven of meditation for the welfare of Humanity in that "Abode of Peace." As a member of its governing body, I had the honor of introducing Professor Sinclair, Director of the Oriental Institute, to our venerable Founder-President, and the poet-laureate of Asia, on behalf of India and the Orient gave his benedictions on the Oriental Institute of the University:

> "I congratulate the authorities of the Hawaii University for the wise step they have taken in starting an Oriental Institute under its auspices. For this distracted world of ours nothing is perhaps so much needed today as a proper understanding between and appreciation of the cultures of the East and the West. That also is the mission of my University, Visva-Bharati. Hawaii situated as it is in the midst of the seas that separate the East from the West, is pre-eminently fitted to be the centre of such an institute and I offer it my best wishes for a glorious and useful career.
>
> —Rabindranath Tagore."

II

It is distinctly a pathological symptom ominous for our human family that while the

countless millions of men and women are hungering for peace, a few are stampeding the nations into rearmament, making war almost inevitable. Collective security is a pious fraud if it is only regional and not universal. It is regrettable that while the experts of the International Labour Office and of the League of Nations Secretariat are bringing out indisputable evidences showing that co-operation is the only solution of our tragic problems, the tariff walls and muffled wars are threatening us on all fronts, western and eastern! But, towering high above these vagaries of nationalistic politics and economics, are the clear verdicts of the " Representative Men " of the East and the West. Numerically negligible yet spiritually invincible, these poets, philosophers and philanthropists—our Tagores, Rollands, and Gandhis—declare with one voice that the basic religion of mankind is just to be human and that Humanity is above all Nations.

So, before taking leave of you, I beg to entrust to you of the new-born Pacific race, my dream of a " Laboratory of Human Relations." This University of Hawaii is to me more than a chance experiment of America in the field of international education. It plays the symbolical role of reconciling the glorious traditions of American democracy with the noble Hawaiian traditions of good-will and welcome for all. Its departments of culture show a rare potentiality of expansion and growth with a rich variety in its ethnic basis and with the immense horizon of its geographical situation.

Before developing the story of my Dream-Laboratory, I sketch here the outline of the cultural chart of America's collaboration with her neighbours. Hawaii is culturally connected with New Zealand and the South Pacific culture through Tahiti. Situated on the cross-roads of transpacific liners and clippers, Hawaii is the most valuable and convenient base for American relations with entire Polynesia and Indonesia, through Japan and China, right up to the farthest western base of America in the Orient, the Philippines. There America, true to her democratic traditions, is going to make the first sincere experiment in autonomy for her Filipino citizens. In the new regime of national self-government, the University of the Philippines and allied institutions, would render a great service if properly developed, by keeping America in intimate relations with French Indo-China, the Dutch East Indies, India, and the Middle East.

Privileged to inaugurate the lectures on the history, thought and culture of the Middle and the Near East at the Oriental Institute, I was deeply impressed by the genuine interest in the subject evinced by the students and the public attending the lectures. Compared with Great Britain, France and Germany, the United States of America was late in entering the field of Oriental studies. She has compensated, however, for her loss of time by her generous investments in explorations and cultural activities in the Near and the Far East, through her great museums, the American Association of Learned Societies, the American Oriental Society, and such other organizations. Several American universities and museums are excavating in the sites of dead civilizations in Egypt and Iraq, in Turkey and Iran. The University of Chicago has developed its grand Oriental Institute. Columbia University has its series of Indo-Iranian classics and Harvard its Oriental Series mainly devoted to India, and its Yenching Foundation attending to Chinese culture. The pre-historic civilization of the Indus Valley is being explored by the American Association of Learned Societies and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. So, Yale University sent several expeditions to the sub-Himalayan regions in search of the fossil man. Yale also shows keen interest in Polynesian studies, as we find from her intimate collaboration with the Bishop Museum which, with its wonderful collections and research records, is a real pride of Hawaii. The scientific activities of the Bishop Museum are supplemented by the young yet most promising Academy of Arts of Honolulu which very appropriately tries to cultivate in the public of Hawaii, not forgetting its most important element, the children, a taste in Oriental Art. So the Pan-Pacific Union, the Institute of Pacific Relations, the Anthropological and Sociological Societies are doing admirable work for the last few years, co-operating with and supplementing the work of the University of Hawaii. It has already provided for the study of Hawaiian language and literature and this year, the University has taken a momentous step by inviting an expert musician to open systematic courses on Music. May it help to save from corruption and oblivion the noblest art of Polynesia, its chants and rhythms, its music and dances, finding its sanctuary at the National Conservatory of the University.

The diversity of human interests, the rich complexity of racial types and traditions in and around the University of Hawaii naturally signalize it as the most promising " Laboratory of Human Relations " that America can develop here in the heart of the Pacific for the better understanding of mankind. I know that

'human relation' and 'better understanding' are phrases at the tip of the pen of almost every diplomat and journalist today. Over-familiarity seems to have bred a silent contempt for such concepts in this age of refined cynicism. Yet I cannot help reiterating with all the conviction I command that the only way of revitalizing our studies and humanizing our sciences is the way of human relations. So, modifying a little the sonorous words of Danton in the age of the French Revolution, I wish to give to you of the future generation the following :

> *L'humanite', encore l'humanite', tousjours l'humanite.*
>
> "Humanity, more Humanity, always Humanity!"

Human exploitation and race hatred must stop or this civilization will just go. Every University of the world boasts of its department of Humanities, and yet owing to the lack of concrete touch of human relations the studies degenerated into dead analysis. That is why in the fire baptism of mankind in the last World War, so many universities could easily betray human trusts. "Can Nations Be Neighbours?" is the challenging title of a book of the learned President of the University of Hawaii and we can answer that question adequately if we can humanize our academic atmosphere.

III

America rang the Liberty Bell for the whole human race a few years before the French Revolution and the grand Statue of Liberty was very appropriately installed at the entrance of the biggest American harbour on the Atlantic. America is a continent of many races, the dominant ones coming from across the Atlantic. Naturally we find, down to this day, that its academic, political, and cultural outlooks are severely circumscribed by the principles and prepositions of the Atlantic civilization. This is an unbalanced and unhistorical attitude, as I could not help pointing out while attending, as a delegate from India, the World Writers Congress (P.E.N.) at Buenos Aires. In the crowded auditorium of the leading university of the Argentine Republic I asked and got no reply to my question : Whether or not the entire body of the two Americas extending from Canada to Chile is irrigated, nourished, and built through countless ages, by the waves of the immense Pacific. What provision has been made so far for the study of this much neglected Pacific civlization? It has legitimate claims on full one-half of the body of the New World, and yet how few of the American universities and learned societies are Pacific-minded? The earliest colonizers of America, the pre-historic ancestors of the American Indians came from the Orient, sometimes walking over the ice-bridges or crossing in skin boats which brought the daring folks across the islands to Alaska, as recently stated by Dr. Alecs Hrdlicka, the distinguished anthropologist of the Smithsonian Institution. From that dim past down to our days the Pacific races and cultures have been negotiating with America. Yet, where is the clearing house of information, not to speak of research centers of Pacific civilization?

Spending these few months in the human atmospsere of the University of Hawaii, fraternizing with the teachers and the students of so many different countries and nationalities, I have felt that this University is the most possible and propitious center for the study of Pacific civilization. Here I met among several scholars of the Pacific basin, professors from Alaska in the north, to New Zealand in the south. So, teachers and students from China, Japan and India are working harmoniously, amidst a thousand handicaps, to develop a synthesis of the East and the West, as original as it is comprehensive. Our aim is not the necrology of scientific analysis, abstract and unhuman, but living reactions and interactions of the past, present and future. In this "Laboratory of Human Relations" of the University of Hawaii a new faculty of research on Pacific culture and a new chapter in world history may someday be developed through the co-operation and good-will of all nations as neighbours in this world-village.

It is significant that two of the leading universities of America, Harvard and Yale, are already Pacific-minded and I hope others will follow their example when the case for centralizing Pacific research in the University of Hawaii is convincingly demonstrated. Then the Carnegie Corporation would find it necessary to establish a Pacific Division of its Institute of Race Relations; the Rockefeller Foundation would build here laboratories for the study of Pacific hygiene; the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace would endow chairs for the study of peace problems of the Pacific zone. So also the Latin American universities, the universities of China and Japan, of the Philippines and of India, the scientific institutions of Indonesia and of the Near East would gradually come to collaborate with the University of Hawaii, which is the advance-guard of American culture in the Pacific and the

Orient. It is the meeting ground of diverse nations of the East and the West. It deserves fully and will surely draw in the near future the material and moral support permitting it to fulfil its grand destiny. Hawaii has often been called the "Geneva of the Pacific," and I plead for the progressive development of the University of Hawaii from a territorial institution into one of the grandest monuments of American internationalism—a veritable Pacific Foundation. So many millions have gone to the building up of the departments of Atlantic Civilization. Is it not overdue, this project of a special Foundation for the Study of Pacific Civilization? Arts and sciences, races and literature would find their special libraries, museums and laboratories. Experts and researchers from all corners of the globe would come here to teach and learn under this marvellous atmosphere of fellowship. The scholars all the world over would seek the publications of the Foundation for enlightenment, and original texts and translations from the Oriental Institute and the Hawaii University Press would someday go to enrich the libraries and minds of the various nations. Here is peace, propitious climate, and rare comradeship; only material resources and tools are lacking. Should the Temple of Humanity be postponed simply on that account?

The answer to this question must come primarily from America, although it should come simultaneously from all the nations immediately interested. If we believe in neighbourliness as the soul of all religions and peace as the real criterion of culture, we should try to make our dream a reality. America has installed the Statue of Liberty on her Atlantic basin. May America with the Pacific Foundation of the University of Hawaii dedicate in the near future, the first statue of Humanity on the Pacific, announcing peace to all her neighbours! Some future Rodin may design that grand statue of Humanity bearing on the pedestal the noble motto of the University of Hawaii, "Above All Nations is Humanity."

Our ancestors of the Vedic dawn left us the priceless legacy of world-vision through the following profound message: "To see the Self in the Universe, and the Universe in the Self, is righ seeing." A great philosopher of modern India in the Universal Races Congress (1911) declared, in keeping with our ancestral wisdom, that "Nationalism is but the halting stage in our onward march to Humanity." So the greatest poet of India of today in his *Gitānjali,* which won the first Nobel Prize from the Orient, sang:

"Thou hast made me known to friends I knew not,
Thou hast given me seats in homes not my own,
Thou hast brought the distant near,
And made a brother of the stranger."

This initiation of individual Man into Humanity is the spiritual dowry of India, and I bring the same to you, my young friends of the University: Strife and thrive in rearing the Temple of Humanity. It is a task worthy of the future heroes and heroines of the World. I wish you all success and conclude with Vedic prayer which came to impregnate the soul of the Pacific as manifested in some of the fragments of the Polynesian Vedas:

"May right endeavour bring you Unity.
May right aspirations bring you Unity.
May right achievement bring you Unity."

Convocation address delivered (22nd June, 1937) at the University of Hawaii, with the Governor of Hawaii as Guest of Honour.



HOW OUR ANCESTORS TACKLED FAMINE

By ATINDRA NATH BOSE, M.A.

DIODORUS, on the authority of Megasthenes describes India as a land of perennial plenty of which the secret lay in its admirable irrigation and river system, a double rainfall, natural fertility of the soil and wholesome war practices.

"It is accordingly affirmed that famine has never visited India and that there has never been a general scarcity of the supply of nourishing food" (II. 36).

Much learned controversy had raged over this unqualified assertion. But instead of taking the statement itself too literally, the historian may turn with profit to the causes for plenty adduced by the foreign ambassador. Examined in the light of these and checked by the cumulative evidence of indigenous literature it boils down to the fact that in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C., there was no famine in Magadha worth the name, and that famine had not yet grown into a major agrarian problem and its rigours did not approximate to contemporary conditions of Greece far less to existing conditions of India.

The earliest famine cry echoed in the Rig-Veda reflects a patriarchal society with primitive methods of irrigation afflicted by periodical droughts but with an abundant reserve of flora and fauna to fall back upon. Instances furnished by the oldest Buddhist records are apparently parochial and of short duration.[1] A potential stage in the spread of famine was the destruction of the primeval forests the great natural reservoirs of rain which "kept the fruit of the summer's rain till winter, while the light winter rains were treasured there in turn till the June monsoon came again."[2] The Epics offer glimpse of extensive schemes at work of colonisation and deforestation[3] which in course of their progress ultimately expanded the rigour, frequency and area of scarcity to make it a calamity of first magnitude.

The *ākhyāna* portions of the Epics—which represent later strata on the original conceptions show acquaintance with prolonged drought continued for many years at a stretch (*vahuvārsikī*). The Mahābhārata phrase *ànavristir dvadasavarsiki* is capable of the suggested interpretation—'the drought that comes once in every twelve years'; but more probably it conveys the sense implied by the current and analogous compound *vahuvārsikī*. The Rāmayana alludes to a hermitess who created fruits and roots and caused the *Jāhnavī* to flow when the earth was parched by a ten year drought (*dasavarsān—yanāvristya dagdhe loke nirantaram*. II. 117.9-10). These figures, legendary as they are, conjure up protracted droughts and famines afflicting backward areas.

The *Jātakas*, the mass of which grew more or less contemporaneously with the Epics[4] give further small details and show how famine stories had found place in popular imagination and folklore. "For the space of three years he (Sakka) stopped rain from falling in the kingdom of Kāsī, and the country became as it were, scorched up, and no crops came to perfection" (V. 193 *ff*). Elsewhere the people of Kalinga are said to have taken to robbery under the stress of famine (VI. 487). Another Kāsī famine was so severe that even crows, faring on dirts and refuse, had to quit the land (II. 149). The intensity and proportions assumed may also be guaged from the reference that pestilence may follow in its wake (II 367).

The *Arthasāstra* of Kautilya coming next in chronological order[5] catalogues fire, flood, pestilence, famine and *maraka*. as providential calamities (*daivapīdanam* VIII. iv). It is also significant that Kautilya's teacher who

1. *Vinaya*, I. 211, 213 *ff*; *Vinaya* Texts, III. 220 *n*. 1.
2. Washburn Hopkins: *India—Old and New* p. 231.
3. *Ramayana*, II. 80; *Mahabharata*, I. Khandavadaha-parva.

4. For the dates of the Epics and the *Jatakas* see Winternitz—*History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I and II.

5. The date of the *Arthasastra* remains and may for ever remain unsettled. The theory of 4th century A.D., has obvious weaknesses demonstrated by Shamasastri (Preface to his edition of the *Arthasastra*). The majority accepts the view of the 4th century B.C. There are however weighty reasons pointing to the 1st century A.D. The *Arthasastra* refers to (*a*) Chinapatta—fabrics of China make while China is mentioned in no pre-Christian Indian literature (II. xi); to (*b*) banking functions of industrial guilds of which we have no earlier evidence than Ushavadatas Nasik Inscription assigned to the 2nd century A.D. (V. ii) to (*c*) Ceylon as 'paresamudra' which corresponds to the Palisimundu of the Periplus, as the Ramayana's Tamraparni corresponds to the Tabropane of Megasthenes. Thus Kautilya knows a name that was current in the 1st century A.D. and probably not in 4th century B.C. and which the Ramayana does not. (*d*) The fact that Sanskrit and not Pali is state language in the *Arthasastra* is also significant. The writer intends to deal the matter more fully elsewhere later on.

spoke from experience of an earlier regime thought pestilence as a graver catastrophe than famine, and he is controverted by his illustrious follower to the effect that the evils of pestilence are localised and remediable, of famine country-wide (sarvadesapīdanam) and costly to life (prānīnāmajīvanayetiibid). The legal injunction as well on the inviolability of *strīdhana* is relaxed in case of famine when the husband may consume it without obligation to refund.

Thus with the clearance of forests, increase of population and rise of socio-economic partitions, famine became a major social problem before the dawn of the Christian era : and princes and peoples turned after bitter travail from fast and prayer to mechanical devices against drought and flood. Though irrigation is familiar to the Rig-Veda (X.68.1; 99.4; 25; 93.13) its hymns dilate less on plucky and gallant struggle with nature than on prayers and magic directed to Indra the rain-giver (III.8; VIII.118; 55; X.42). Coming down to the Atharvan poet we find him also praying that the sun, lightning and excessive rain may not ruin his crop and devise charms for the same purpose (VII.11; IV.15; VI.128). Passing on to the earliest Buddhist literature, a gradual change in outlook is marked—when states and peoples awaken to action. By careful diagnosis of the causes of famine and injury to crops, they begin to explore specifics and apply preventive and remedial measures instead of trusting overmuch on the humour of Gods.

The typical herald of famine in those days was drought,—and its only redress is planned irrigation. In Buddha's time the Gangetic provinces were intersected by a network of canals and ditches—rectangular and curvilinear which marked the boundaries of arable plots and which resembled a patchwork robe such as is prescribed by Buddha as a pattern for the Order being the least covetable thing.[6] These channels were apparently dug by co-operative effort and for co-operative irrigation.[7] In the Epics is manifest the sense of royal responsibility in the matter. "Are large tanks and lakes constructed all over thy kingdom at proper intervals, without agriculture being in thy realm entirely dependent on the showers of heaven?" So says Nārada to Yudhisthira in his discourse on administrative principles (II. 5). Rāma eulogises the land of Kosala as *adevamātrikah* *i.e.*, relying on irrigation and not on rainfall (II. 100.45) and the same term is used in the *Arthasāstra* to describe the qualities of a good country (VI. i). The advance made in irrigation may be imagined from the tale of the Mahābhārata that when a teacher sent his pupil to stop a breach in the water-course of a certain field, the latter had to lie down to stop the flood and prevent vital injury to the harvest (I.3).

But the *Jātakas* and the Epics do not shed off the belief in the dispensation of Sakka or Indra who held the key to their garner from heaven. The Arthasāstra marks the evolution of a completely economic outlook. Except for a formal chanting of Vedic mantras, the author concentrates on various precautionery measures among which largest attention is given to irrigation. Great caution and experience are required of the cultivator in order to use properly his irrigation projects (II. ix). The offender who breaks the dam of a tank full of water (*udakadhāranam setum bhindatah*) shall be drowned in that very tank (IV. xi). His irrigation methods by means of mechanical contrivances and air-power is corroborated by Bāna who witnesses the use of waterpump (*tulā jantra*), in a Pallava plate[8] and in *Sukranītisāra* (II. 320-24). Epigraphic records supply copious illustrations of such state enterprises. Rudradāman's Junagadh rock inscriptions states how the Sudarsana lake excavated by the governor of Chandragupta Maurya, restored and adorned with conduits by Asoka's governor, had subsequently an enormous breach and was dried up; and "when the people in their despair of having the dam rebuilt were loudly lamenting" (*hāhā punahsetubandha nairāsyāt hāhābhutasu prajāsu*) the Saka prince undertook the reconstruction in the teeth of ministerial opposition with a large outlay of capital and furnished the lake with a "natural dam, well planned conduits, drains and means to guard against foul matter."[9] A copper plate grant from Achyutapuram records the donation by a Ganga king of Kalinga of a field adjoining a king's tank the water of which the donee was permitted to use by opening its sluice gate (*tatakodakabandha mokse*).[10] A Tamil rock inscription of the 9th century A.D. commemorates how a Pallava king,

> "having freed the villagers of hunger caused to be built also a sluice composed of stones for the watertank at Tandalam"[11]

Assignation of land for the upkeep of irrigation tanks out of its proceeds is a common feature in inscriptions from the 10th century

6. *Mahavagga*, VIII. 12.
7. *Dhammapada* VV. 80, 145; *Theragatha* 19; *Jataka* I. 336; V. 412.
8. See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 8.
9. *Ibid*, VIII. 6.
10. *Ibid*, III. 20; *Cf*. Vol. 23, K. 14 *a*.
11. *Ibid*. VII. 5.

downwards.[12] The costly and perfected waterworks of the Arthasāstra necessitated the levy of a graduated water-rate (*udakabhāga*) and the testimony of the Sukranniti is concurrent (IV. ii 227-29). But if such works are dug by people themselves, nothing should be charged until they realise profit twice the expenditure (IV. ii. 242-44). This provision laid down with slight variation by two distinguished economists separated by a gap of at least 900 years is a most eloquent testimony to tradition and its influence on sociological development in ancient India.

The irrigation works were designed as provision not only against drought but also against flood and excessive rainfall. Though flood figures in Vedic prayers and among the *daivapīdanams* of Kautilya, as fore-runner of famine it is overshadowed by drought in all sorts of literature. In those days when the river system had probably its natural flow and was not silted up as now, flood did not pay annual visit with monsoon. In the *Jātakas* we have a solitary case of grains being washed away in the rainy season but obviously the *khettas* were not flooded for "the corns had just sprouted" and the villagers expected a fair harvest if they could hold on for two months (II. 135).[13]

In the introduction to the *Mahāsupina Jātaka* is narrated how at the sign of desired rain "men shall go forth to bank up the dykes with spade and basket in hand" (I. 336). The Rāmāyana allegorically refers to dykes releasing rain water (II. 62.10). It seems that in the Magadha and Kosala countries at least, the channels cut across the embankments raised around the plots, to be fed from tanks, wells and rivers in case of drought, to let out surplus water in case of excessive rainfall, and in times of rain after prolonged drought, their mouths were sealed up to hold the water for the sunburnt plots exactly as peasants do today.

Kalhānas' chronicles of Kashmir portray a replica of modern Bengal suffering from chronic famine under devastating floods caused by seasonal spate of the Vitastā and the Mahāpadma lake. King Lalitāditya (740-776 A.D.) effected improvements through his able financier Cakuna distributing the water of the river to various villages by constructing a series of water-wheels. The relapse under fainéant rule raised the price of 1 khari of rice to 1050 dinnāras in famine times and to 200 in plenty. Then Suyya the able public works minister of Avantivarman (855-883) performed an engineering feat by 'the raising of the earth from the water' and thereby reducing the price of 1 khari to 36 dinnāras. He widely extended the cultivable areas by a systematic regulation of the course of the Vitastā, and by construction of embankments and new beds at its confluence with the Sindhu traces of which are visible to the present day (V. 144-46).[14]

In sacred books, Brahmanical and Buddhist, unrighteous rule is denounced as a primary cause of famine. This priestly theory intended to hold kings under a threat to good government, points by the said unrighteousness particularly to unjust taxation. In the *Jātaka* quoted above where famine is prophesied by Buddha as nemesis of unrighteous rule, it is said that kings will be "crushing their subjects like sugarcanes in a mill"—a choice and oft-quoted simile (I. 339; II. 240). Instances there are of rulers who impoverished their subjects with oppressive taxes. To guard against this danger, economists and lawyers of all schools and denominations standardised the land revenue at 1/6 of the produce to be maintained with some elasticity considering the taxable capacity of the tenants and the needs of the state. Kautilya in his unscrupulous search for means to fill the royal exchequer does not forget to warn emphatically against collecting a revenue which is not ripe, *i.e.*, which shall spoil the very source, and to prescribe remissions (*parihāram*) of cultivators' taxes in emergency (II. i). The fact that they paid only a tax on produce and no rent on land eliminated a fruitful source of oppression and enabled them to tide over a crisis unencumbered by an additional burden from above.

The peculiarly Indian belligerent custom which removed another prolific source of famine, in deference to which hostile parties spared husbandmen and cultivated land as sacred and inviolable and "neither ravage an enemy's land with fire, nor cut down its trees," struck the Greek visitor,—for in the Hellenic world and in every land and in every age, famine has followed in the trail of a civil war or an international war of attrition. The testimony should not be dismissed solely on the score of Kautilya's machievellian doctrines.[15] There are no historical instances of native forces who "devastate the land and ruin the crops of their enemies." Such methods of conquest are branded in political science as *Asuravijaya*, befitting the custom of demons.

12. *Ibid*, I. 36; IV. 32, 36; VII. 6.

13. Corns were sometimes destroyed by hailstorm. *Ramayana*. III. 34-39; *Rajatarangini*, see below.

14. *Cf*. A king who "supplied Caveri with banks": *Epigraphia Indica*, VII. 21.

15. See Washburn Hopkins: *India—Old and New*, p. 247.

In the Rāmāyana is related how the *vánara* host marching to Lankā along the Eastern Ghats kept the cities and countryside (janapada) at arms length out of fear for Rāma's terrible discipline (VI. 4. 38). A Pāndya inscription of the 9th century A.D. preserves an agreement entered into by local chieftains with the headman of a village or of a group of villages, by which the former solemnly undertook when they and their retainers were fighting, to avoid inflicting any injury upon villages or their property and promised to pay compensation of 100 panams for any injury to a cultivator and 500 panams for the destruction of every village.[16]

Other factors occasionally aggravated scarcity or destroyed crops over a limited area. Depredations of live pests called for serious attention. The *Atharvaveda* prepares spells for the extermination of vermins and insects (IV. 50, 52). The *Chhāndogya Upanisad* tells that locusts (mataci) blighted the face of the Kuru land by ruining its harvest so that a sage had to move to a neighbouring country along with his wife and live on Kulmāsa (I. 10.1-3). Locusts (*salabhah*) swarming upon a cornfield appear in a Rāmāyana simile (VII. 7.3). Birds, beasts and thieves caused much annoyance and necessitated the employment of field watchers of which the Jātakas contain many examples. In one case a plot entrusted to a watchman is ravaged by parrots before his nose (IV. 277). The fowlers and hunters rendered a social service by the destruction of these pests and if Megasthenes' evidence is credited, they received in Maurya India a subsidy of grain from the king for their job.[17] Over-population may have sometimes caused shortage of food for which Kautilya prescribes reclamation and colonisation of waste land (svadesā-bhisyandavamanena II. i); but this factor bore no analogy to the present population problem which is accentuating unemployment, starvation and want all the year round.

Proceeding from the prayers and spells of the Vedas and the fasts and moral vows of the Jātakas we discern in later literature the evolution of a medley of precautions and cures from a strenuous grapple with the food problem,—ranging from pettiest nostrums to the most effective relief schemes. The passage quoted above from Nārada's admonitions continues thus :

"The agriculturists in thy kingdom want not either seed or food? Grantest thou with kindness loans (of seed-grains) unto the tillers, taking only a fourth in excess of every measure by the hundred?"

In the *Arithasastra* agricultural loan advanced by the king is called *Apamityaka* and its accounts are supervised by the *Kosthagārādhyaksa* (II. xv). The king shall also distribute seeds and provision gratuitously in famine[18] (*vijabhaktopagraham*) or he may inaugurate relief works in forts and set up irrigation schemes. Doles may be given from either his own reserve fund, or from the amassed store of the rich who must be mercilessly taxed (*Karsanam*) and despoiled (*Vamanam*, IV. iii). This idea of progressive taxation of higher income and expropriation of hoarded wealth in a national crisis so categorically asserted in the *Arthasāstra* does not stand in isolation in Indian economic thought. The administrative theory embodied in the oft-quoted statement that the king is the devourer of the rich[19] when applied by a judicious ruler could take no other form. This communistic doctrine although dangerous in a rapacious and irresponsible hand, nevertheless conduced to partial equalisation of wealth and modification of hardship by its distribution among the whole society.

Loans of provision and gratuitous relief were distributed also by private and corporate endeavour. In the *Gahapati Jātaka* the villagers obtained an ox for loan from the headman on condition of paying in kind from the next harvest (II. 135). In the *Kalpadruma Avadāna*, the rich men of Srāvasti collectively undertook to feed the famine-stricken. The charity foundations of the pious rich frequently narrated in the Jātakas and inscriptions undoubtedly had a pressing job for amelioration. A healthy policy of embargo on food grains as an emergent measure is indicated by Medhātithi who cites the instance of crops during famine to illustrate Manu's rule against the exportation of articles forbidden by the state to be taken out of the country (VIII. 399). As a last resort Kautilya suggested the migration of the population *en masse* to a land of rich harvest or where water is available (IV. iii, VII. iv) which is actually seen in the *Jātakas*.

The surest guarantee against famine inculcated by every shade of thought upon rulers as the first lesson of statecraft, was an enlightened agricultural policy. The protection that was the king's duty in return for the *sadbhāga* was not only protection of life and property, but ensuring the harvest and insurance against

16. Report of the Asst. Archl. Supdt. on the Progress of Epigraphy in Southern India 1914-15; quoted in Havell's *Aryan Rule in India*, p. 221.

17. *Strabo*, XV. 1. 41.

18. *Cf. Jataka* IV. 132, *Epigraphia Indica* VII. 5 quoted above.

19. *E.g. Mahabharata*, III. 2. 39; *Jataka*, III. 302.

famine. In the Rāmāyana it is among the basic principles of sound administration to subsidise cultivators for their prosperity (*tesām guptipanhāraih kaccit te bharanam kritam* (II. 100.48). The forts that are found in the Epics stocked with wealth and paddy served a double purpose of defence of the realm against mortals and against gods. A passage in the *Nītivākyāmritam* of the Jaina Somadeva enjoins by implication that the king should accumulate grain as a safeguard against famine (VIII. 6) and Kautilya explicitly directs the king to ear-mark half the store collected by him for an insurance fund against public calamities (*ardham āpadartham janapadānām sthapayet* II. xv).

That the Indians gathered two harvests annually is not told by foreigners alone.[20] The *Arthasāstra* recommends as a last resource for taxation what may be called the compulsory raising of a second crop by the cultivators. After a meteorological dissertation it charts the crops in order of the quantity of rains required for each and instructs cultivation of scheduled crops with a forecast of the rains (*prabhutodakam alpodakam vā sasyam vāpayet*. II. xxiv).

An interesting sidelight on the prevailing mode of ventillating popular sufferings and the idea of royal responsibility and attitude during famine is thrown by certain typical passages of the *Jātaka* stories. When the crops fail from drought, the victims flock to the capital, gather in the palace courtyard and make a row or wait in deputation. The king appears on the balcony and is accosted for drought. He gives sympathetic hearing to the spokesmen, dismisses the 'hunger marchers' with assurances and observes fast and moral vows which however often do not succeed. Although the stories end in inevitable anticlimax—the practising of Kuru piety, the breaking of an ascetic's virtue or a white elephant ultimately causing rainfall (II. 367 *ff*, V. 193 f., VI. 487) they testify to an exalted conception of trusteeship such as is scarcely visible now-a-days. A king agrees to lend his daughter for the breaking of an ascetic's virtue and bringing rains.

> "Thus for the protection of his realm did he talk with his daughter even of such things as should not be spoken of in words and she readily lent an ear to his proposals."

An ancient Tamil piece detailing the obligations of sovereignty proclaims that the king "is to blame if the rains fail."[21] Asoka and the Kashmir rulers Lalitāditya and Avantivarman stood up to this ideal. So did the king Tunjimá and his pious queen who succoured the indigent when the ripening autumn crops were ruined by a heavy shower of snow. In the obverse there are kings who fiddled while their country was burning and ground their famished people. In 917-18 when the crops were destroyed by floods, the Vitastā was jammed with corpses, the whole country became a burial ground :

> "The ministers and the Tantrains amassed riches by selling stores of rice at high prices and the king (the minor Partha with the regent Pangu) would take that person as minister who raised the sums due on the Tantrins' bills by selling the subjects in such a conditions.[22]

Again in 1099 when his country ran riot with famine, the profligate Harsa "tormented his people through the Kāyasthas" or tax-collectors.[23] Such deviations apart, the association of sovereign responsibility with public calamities had a firm hold on popular mind so that it was high tribute to a king's administrative ability and a token of divine favour on him, to affirm that in his reign there was no famine.

This panoramic survey of two thousand years and of regions as distant and diversified as Kashmir, Bengal and Travancore, made with the scanty data collected above, might be misleading were it not for the facts that social and economic evolution was less rapid and subject to less radical expositions in those days than now; that famine problems were broadly the same throughout the ages due to the uniform land revenue system, to the absence of communication, and of large-scale industrialisation and over-population; and that amidst the diversity of time and locality, a remarkable identity is noticeable on the fundamentals of government and social science. The evidences are illustrative not exhaustive and the presumption is not excluded that there was other side of the medal. Such exceptions do not belie the main propositions. The frequency and rigour of famine, despite the harrowing details with which they are at times related—these must be read with discount for popular and poetical love for magnifying memorable incidents—differed materially from modern conditions. The severe outbreaks of scarcity in ancient times were incorporated in tradition and folklore because they were exemplary visitations from Heaven coming at long intervals to punish the accumulated vice of princes and peoples while even fifty years from now, it was ascertained by

20. *Diodorus*, II. 36. *Strabo*, XV. 1. 18.
21. *See*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyengar—*Ancient India*, p. 69.
22. *Rajataragini*. Vol. V. 271-77.
23. *Ibid*, VII. 1226.

examination extending over 110 years that an extreme famine—be it noted, of such mortality as was totally unknown in ancient India,—in any one Indian province or locality may be expected once in 50 years and that drought followed by acute distress comes by routine once in 11 or 12 years.[24] As for the alertness of state for redress the pet phrase of 'oriental stoicism' is more appropriate to modern times than to the remote antiquity. The ideas of remission of taxes and advance of loans which did not dawn until 1880 to the Indian Government[25] throve with Indo-Aryan economists earlier than the Christian era; and so did the scheme of a famine insurance fund which was taken up by our rulers as late as about the close of the last century.[26] As to how these principles are working, the less said the better.

It is widely believed that famines of India in present time are due to over-assessment of holdings, costly administration and insufficient irrigation work.[27] But these, combined with the effects of over-population, of an industrial revolution and of the vagaries of river system which stand in need of control by means of canals and embankments do not account for the dislocation of the old agrarian system and the ruin of the cultivator. Thanks to modern tenancy legislation the ryot has lost three protective girdles which he enjoyed in the past—the laws and customs that prevented alienation of holdings; assessment at a share of the harvest whether in crops or cash which implies *ipso facto* no crop no tax; and limitations to usury imposed by tradition and sacred law. Obliged to pay the rent and fixed tax in money whatever be the state of harvest, he is easily drawn into the coils of the money-lender and sells or mortgages his land whenever the crops fail. This process has led to progressive pauperisation of the ryot, sucked his staying power and is rapidly reducing him to a serf bound down for wage or share of produce in his own patrimony alienated to his landlord or money-lender and leaves him under the grip of perennial famine.

24. *Madras Administration Report*, 1885, Vol. II., pp. 470-71.
25. *Report of Indian Famine Commission*, 1880.
26. *Report of Indian Famine Commission*, 1900.
27. *See* R. C. Dutt; *Famines and Land Assessments in India*, preface and the views quoted by the author.

THE DISCIPLES OF BABAYYA

A Fraternity of quasi-Muslim Fakirs

By K. A. SOLOMON

In these days of oft-recurring riots between Hindus and Muslims on account of religious processions, and 'music before mosques' which not infrequently result in broken heads, shootings and loss of life and property, it is indeed refreshing to turn one's attention to a pacifist but obscure community, whose avowed creed is, "Peace and good-will to all men." This is a sect of fortune-tellers known as "Honnuru Fakirs," or more popularly—"Disciples of Babayya", named after their Muslim Guru and founder—Pir Bava Fakruddin of Penukonda, a town in Anantapur District. Much controversy is rife as to the exact date of the advent of the saint at Penukonda, and of the origin of this sect. But for the purpose of this monograph, it is needless to discuss the various historical and chronological theories held by several writers. It is highly probable that Bava Fakruddin came to Penukonda in 1155 A.D., during the reign of one of the later (Hindu) Kakatiya rulers of Telingana, and two centuries before the earliest Muhammadan invasion of South India. The story of this holy man,—who was once a king himself and who, in a moment of sportive diversion, allowed his thoughts to wander from dispensing public justice to the appreciation of horse-flesh,—of his self-inflicted punishment by abdicating his kingdom and turning a mendicant and of his subsequent pilgrimage and wanderings all over India till he established himself at Penukonda, sounds at once pathetic, thrilling and romantic.

The present-day Honnuru Fakirs claim that their fore-fathers were originally Jangamas, (a class of Sudra Saivite priests), who had emigrated from a village called Honnuru, in the present Nizam's dominions, and settled at Penukonda at the invitation and under the

patronage of the then viceroy. They aver that when Babayya, by virtue of his miraculous power prevailed on the viceroy to hand over the former Hindu temple and *math* for his use, the Jangamas who were attached to these sacred places voluntarily transferred their discipleship to Babayya. The Hindu shrine and the *math* were subsequently transformed into a mosque and Sarai (residence for fakirs) and they exist even today with more extensive and beautiful buildings including a Darga (tomb) of the Saint. It is said that generations of Hindu and Muslim kings made gifts of land and money for the improvement and upkeep of Babayya's Darga, and that Hyder Ali and his illustrious son, Tippu Sultan, were among the royal patrons.

The members of the sect though of fairer complexion greatly resemble the ordinary Telugu Sudras in physical features. As a rule, they are of short stature and wiry constitution, and these physical defects might be attributed to their austerity and knocking about. The men wear saffron-coloured dhoti and turban with an upper cloth thrown over. Some of them manage to wear an old shirt or coat, probably cast-off things. A silver or brass figure of the crescent surmounted by a small wavy tuft of peacock feathers is tucked on the front peak of the turban. Three parallel streaks of white paste drawn across the forehead with a round mark of red ochre exactly in the centre, serve as a distinct caste mark of Saivite persuasion. All able-bodied and active males carry with them, while on professional rounds, a brass replica of Bava Fakruddin's right palm either in a box or hand. Like all Muslim fakirs, the Honnuru-wallahs let the unshaved and uncut hair on their head and chin grow and some of them exhibit long and bushy beards too. The women also generally clothe themselves with *kaavi,* which consists of an yellow coloured sari and short jacket. Those that cannot afford to buy a complete set of saffron dress, make up the deficiency by covering their body upto the waist with an upper cloth of that colour. Both men and women put on three or four chaplets of sacred brown beads and a couple of amulets round their necks. In the matter of marking their foreheads, the women use red ochre (instead of white) with which they draw two straight lines and put a round mark in the centre. Unlike the Sudra women of other castes and sects, Babayya's female disciples are not enamoured of fine clothes and jewellery, their only ornaments being a golden *thali* (the sacred symbol of marriage), a pair of silver bangles and a few earthen ones on their hands. As a rule, they have long black hair, which they gather into a big knot on the back of their heads. Many of these women are good at music, and sing melodiously to the accompaniment of timbrels and banjos, which they play expertly. In spite of their bare and ascetic dress, some of these wandering beauties possess a natural charm and prettiness rarely found among other Hindu women folk.

The customs relating to birth, marriage and death of the sect do not vary much from those of the Telugu Sudra communities. The Honnuru Fakirs do not marry with the Muslims,—a social exclusiveness that is not consistent with their avowed creed. They marry within their own community and are endogamous. The bridegroom pays a price of Rs. 12 for his bride besides meeting the bill of wedding expenses which are rather heavy and often run into three figures. The marriage feast is a jolly but boisterous affair, when, about a couple of hundred of these wandering and ill-fed mendicants of both sexes throw off all restraints—of sobriety and " plain living,"—and indulge in bacchanalian revelries and gluttony. Plentiful supplies of toddy and country *arrack*, together with large quantities of half-cooked rice and mutton are served to the guests, most of whom are uninvited relatives and stragglers that turn up for a free meal and drink. Like the Dukekulas, a hybrid community of the Ceded Districts, the Honnuru Fakirs do not touch or eat *haram* (carrion and pork). It is said that it often requires the life's earnings of a married man to pay off the debt thus incurred. It is rather curious that the Honnuru Fakirs are less lavish in wedding clothes and jewellery. All girls, as a rule, are married after reaching maturity. A man can have more than one wife, provided, he can afford the means of maintaining them. Widows are prohibited from remarrying, and divorces are prohibited from remarrying, and divorces are practically unknown. Run-away marriages, and seduction of virgins and married women are punishable with heavy fines and excommunication. Adultery within or without the sect is severely dealt with. The dead are buried and the third *ekadasi tithi* and the annual sradh ceremony are observed as among all Hindus. It is seldom that the service of a Brahmin or a Kazi is required by the sect, their own headmen being more handy and less exacting in the matter of fees.

The members of the sect earn their livelihood as fortune-tellers and distributors

of herbal medicine. Several of the men are amateurish jugglers and snake charmers, while it is known that there are a few who still successfully practise the secret and malignant art of black magic and devil-driving. The male members seldom openly beg for alms like other less gifted mendicants, but the females do so under the guise of minstrels and story-tellers. The chief subjects chosen for musical entertainment being of popular Puranic and historical significance, these songstresses are much in request among the villagers for amusement. The stories of the love-intrigue of Siva and the goddess Ganga (the rival of Paryati), the pathetic seduction of Balanagamma (a Telugu princess of the Chalukyan dynasty) by a muslim fakir; the historical narratives of the capture of the Bobbili fort by the chief of Vizayanagaram (Vizagapatam) and the French chief, Bussy, and the heroic resistence of Rajah Dayasingu, the Hindu captain of the Gingee fort to the hosts of the Nawab of Carnatic, are some of the thrilling songs which move the village audiences to depths of pity and admiration. The Honnuru Fakirs, as a class, can hardly be labelled as mendicants in view of their manifold accomplishments, the versatility of their occupations and the large measure of their usefulness to the village folk. A great many of them are literate, and can recite verses from the minor Hindu sacred books with surpassing ease and gusto. Indeed one is struck by their apparent intellectuality and display of bulky volumes consisting of palm leaves, which they carry with them as their stock-in-trade. Between the professional Brahmin mendicant and the Honnuru Fakir, it is hard to decide who excels the other in pedantry and solicitation for reward!

Be it, however, said to the credit of the sect, that the members are absolutely honest and free from criminal habits. The writer of this article has not heard of a single instance where a disciple of Babayya has been suspected or convicted by the police for cheating, robbery or other offences. Many families of the sect own houses and dry *patta* land in several villages of the Telugu and Canarese country where they have settled for generations. Unlike the professional beggars of South India whose despicable lot is perpetual wandering and precarious living, the Honnuru Fakirs are more domesticated and have a more assured income. They go out on money-making errands only during the intervals of agricultural operations.

It is rather remarkable that this group of the Depressed classes has not yet fallen under the spell of modern English education, or, been deluded by the exploitation of the South Indian political leaders who agitate in season and out of season for communal claims and representation of the "masses." Nevertheless, the Honnuru Fakirs are above political snobbery and job-hunting, thanks to their self-sufficiency and modest occupations.

It is estimated that the numerical strength of this sect is about two lakhs, majority of whom are found in the Ceded and Chittoor Districts of the Madras Presidency and the rest is scattered in the Telugu-speaking areas of Mysore and Hyderabad States. Their accredited *gurus* are of Hindu and Muslim faiths, the former living at Srisailam in Karnool District and the latter at Penukonda. The present successor of Saint Bava Fakruddin is styled as 'Governor' and is a highly cultured young man. The initiation ceremony of Honnuru Fakirs is unusually elaborate and duplicated. They have to undergo both the Hindu and Muslim rites at Srisailam and Penukonda, paying double fees of Rs. 2 at each place. In the matter of religion, the Honnuru-wallahs are pronouncedly Hindu, but they do not take things as seriously as their other co-religionists. They attend Hindu temples and mosques, especially way-side shrines and dargas. All final appeals of caste disputes have to be referred to the Hindu Guru at Srisailam, who is the last word in such matters. It is binding on all the members of the sect to attend the annual religious fairs at both the places mentioned above. If one has the time and money to visit Penukonda in the early summer during the Babayya Urus (religious fair in commemoration of the saint's death), one will no doubt be amply repaid by the wonderful sight that one sees there. Thousands of the Disciples of Babayya in their yellow robes are found there entertaining the vast crowd of Hindu and Muslim pilgrims by fortune-telling, palmistry, jugglery and singing, and they drive a rearing trade.

On the whole, a more industrious, law-abiding and tolerant community than the Honnuru Fakirs, hardly exists anywhere else in South India. Surely, they are a living proof of Hindu-Muslim unity, and a study in "reconciling the irreconcilables."

COLONEL YOUNG TO BENTHAM ON RAMMOHUN ROY

"Calcutta, September 30, 1828

"My dear and venerated Friend,

I failed not to send off to Rammohun Roy, my excellent friend the Brahmin, *his* portion of the package's contents and your letter to him; and he tells me, in a note, that he will endeavour, to the utmost of his ability to write to you on the subject of your letter, and thank you for your notice of him. He is a very sincerely modest man—far too different indeed for the remarkable and *unique* station he fills among his benighted countrymen. His whole time almost has been occupied for the last two years in defending himself and his son against a bitter and virulent persecution which has been got up against the latter nominally—but against himself and his abhorred free opinions in reality—by a conspiracy of his own bigoted countrymen; protected and encouraged, not to say instigated, by some of ours—influential and official men who cannot endure that a presumptuous 'Black Man' should tread so closely upon the heels of the dominant white class, or rather should *pass* them in the march of mind. Rammohun Roy, after an arduous and prolonged battle through a gradation of tribunals, has at length, by dint of talent, perseverance, and right, got the better in the last resort; but the strife, and the magnitude of the stake, and the long despair of justice, have shattered his nerves and impaired his digestion and bodily health, and his energies of mind. It is now over, and I hope most fervently that he will recover himself again. Not only has he no *equal* here among his countrymen, but he has none that at all *approach* to equality, even among the little 'sacred Squadron' of disciples whom he is slowly and gradually gathering around him in despite of obstacles from his own and our people, which no one can rightly appreciate who has not seen and felt the difficulties which the condition of society here opposes to a reformer, and, above all, to a native reformer. But he perseveres, and does make a *distinct* and visible progress, slow as it is—very slow! It must increase in a geometric ratio, if he is only spared long enough to organize the elements he is gathering together of resistance to superstition and fanaticism, religious and political. His main efforts are directed, and judiciously so, to the primary step in the process of amelioration—of throwing off the yoke of priesthood and of *caste*. The diabolical genius who devised the separation of Hindoos into orders, who are cut off from all social and intimate connexion of what may be called a *domestic nature* with each other, set at work an instrument complete and effectual in its operation for the political as well as the religious prostration of mankind. Where men may not dwell with each other in domestic association—where they cannot eat or drink, inter-marry, and intercommune together, because of difference of tribe and privilege—where this evil has been fixed and imprinted by many centuries of habitual acquiescence, and under horrible penalties of excommunication—where such is the frame of society, how can men combine for any useful purpose of improvement or resistance. No wonder that the Hindoos have always been enslaved and oppressed when they are thus effectually divided! Till these barriers can be weakened or broken down, *nothing* can be done *by* them, or perhaps for them. It is against this anti-social element of Hindoo society that Rammohun Roy directs his quiet—his secret—but his persevering endeavours; and by avoiding any public alarming of the Brahminical and higher orders of his countrymen—and, I may add, of our own jealous aristocracy of colour and of place, he is obtaining the slow but distinct progress to which I have adverted—he is gathering round him a secret society of Hindoos of various castes, whom he persuades by degrees to associate and even eat together at his house: These who go beyond this *awful* line of demarcation can never recede; that is, the *higher* orders (and he is himself of the very highest caste) of Brahmins, and others, who are *committed* by the act of degradation implied in domestic intercourse with inferior tribes.

"I fear I may have failed in impressing you with the same notions which I entertain, of the infinite importance of this line of conduct. As I have said before, one must have personal experience of the abominations of this *sort* of politico-religious aristocratical frame of society, to appreciate it. Without that it is natural that philanthropists, at a distance, should think Rammohun Roy wastes his time, and expends his valuable life and labours in work of an inferior sort,—and you may fancy that he moves too slowly, and does not come forward with sufficient boldness, to strike at greater evils, and attack

men and measures of a higher order. But to what end should he labour at such works if the ground be not prepared to receive the seed? As yet there are none or next to none fit to comprehend the more lofty imaginings which his master-mind can grasp, and on which he loves to expatiate in the confidential society of some three or four heterodox Europeans. But he is ploughing, and harrowing, and planting, and our 'after-comers', if *he* lives long enough, will see the fruits. It is strange, you will think, that such a man should be looked upon coldly, not to say disliked, by the mass of Europeans,—for he is greatly attached to us and our *regime*. Not that he loves our churches, or priests, or lawyers, or politicians; but because he considers the contact of our superior race with *his* degraded and inferior countrymen, as the only means and chance they have of improving themselves in knowledge and energy. But it is one of the thousand curses inflicted by the Company's *regime* in India, that nineteen in twenty, or rather ninety-nine in hundred, of the only Europeans, who are allowed to come to this country, are employees, civil or military, who resort hither to scrape up and carry away all they can, and as soon as they can, without heed, or care, or concern in the prosperity of India. A dominating race thus *encamped* in a conquered country, and an infinitesimally small minority in numbers, naturally looks with the extreme of jealousy on all improvements, physical and mental, of the Indigenes, or even of their own mixed descendants; nor will it ever be otherwise till resort is free to all who can bring with or obtain the means of supporting themselves, settling, colonizing, and amalgamating, and identifying themselves and their posterity with the natives. * * * *

"To the evil of general jobbing and general distrust, there is a remedy fully and universally applicable,—Public opinion. If independent Europeans were not kept out, and being here, if they could speak freely through the press, and were not liable to deportation at will, then there would be such a check on the proceeding of secretaries, and boards, and councils, as would deter them from jobbery and injustice. Then the supreme authority might safely and satisfactorily leave nine-tenths of its trumpery avocations to inferior functionaries. Then there would be *time* to legislate and improve, and, before all things, to codify, while our statute-book is yet manageably small, and our corps of the law have not yet maintained a strong and separate interest, powerful enough to put down all improvement! Publicity,—a free press would thus prevent our minds from stagnating, and our local government would gradually assume its proper functions, and would take much of its tone from the opinions of those it ruled. There would be time to do good.

"Lord William Bentinck seems very frank and plain, very inquisitive, and endowed with considerable sagacity; his temper is excellent, I hear. I think he will encourage the press, because he is honest and diligent; clean hands and clear head, 'tis not such who fear publicity. I think he will promote education, and do away the murder of women and children. I think he will admit natives to higher offices of trust, and do away the exclusion of black and coloured men from the administration of justice. He is the only man I have yet seen in power, who seemed to think as if he thought Patronage was not private property but a trust. Already he has delivered himself very considerably from the trammels of clique, and the bureau here, who usually possess themselves of a new-comer, and never leave him till they bring him down to their own level, as opposers of all that is liberal.

"These are not slight *eloges*, but they are rather prognostics than predications.

"All happiness attend you, my venerable and dear master.—Yours affectionately and sincerely."

(*Works of Jeremy Bentham*: Bowring, Vol. XI, pp. 7-9).

Rammohun Roy brought to England the following Letter of Introduction to Bentham from a highly valued correspondent:—

"Calcutta, 14 November, 1830

"My Dear and Venerable Friend,

—This letter will be presented to you, or transmitted, waiting your leisure, by no less a person than the distinguished Rammohun Roy.

"You have heard of him often from me, and from others, and know that he is one of the most extraordinary productions of the 'march of intellect'. A Brahmin of the highest order, and therefore an aristocrat by birth; one of the privileged class, and a man of easy fortune by inheritance; deeply learned in Sanskrit, Arabic, and everything oriental; he has, nevertheless, unassisted, and of himself, been able to shake off prejudice of almost every kind, and to give his natural understanding fair play.

"If I were beside you, and could explain matters fully, you would comprehend the greatness of this undertaking. His going on board ship to a foreign and distant land—a thing

hitherto not to be named among Hindoos, and least of all among Brahmins. His grand object, besides the natural one of satisfying his own laudable spirit of inquiry, has been to set as great example to his benighted countrymen; and every one of the slow and gradual *moves* that he had made, preparatory to his actually quitting India, has been marked by the same discretion of judgment. He waited patiently, until he had, by perseverance and exertion, acquired a little but respectable party of disciples. He *talked* of going to England from year to year since 1823, to familiarize the minds of the orthodox by degrees to this step, and that his friends might, in the meantime, increase in numbers and in confidence; as it was of the utmost importance to the preservation of his rank and influence with the Hindoo community, who care less about *dogmatics* than *observances,* that he should continue one of 'the Pure', and should not be suspected of quitting Hindooism for any consideration of a personal nature. He has externally maintained so much and no more of conformity to Hindoo custom, as his profound knowledge of their sacred books enabled him to justify—relaxing, however, by little and little, yet, however, never enough to justify his being put '*out of the pale*'. I need not say that in private it is otherwise, and that prejudices of all sorts are duly contemned by our philosopher. But so important does he judge it to the efficacy of his example, and the ultimate success of his honourable mission of experiment, that he should maintain the essentials of his Brahminical sanctity—that even in the flagrant and outrageous act of making this voyage and sojourn, he is contriving to preserve appearances to a certain point, which he considers sufficient to save *his Caste,* so that on returning, he may resume his influential position against the abuse and calumnious reports which the whole tribe of bigots will not fail to raise against him while in England, and when he comes back. He now judges that the time is come, and that the public mind is pretty well ripe for his exploit; and he embarks in two or three days in the *Albion*, for Liverpool; where he has friends and correspondents in Cropper Benson, and others of liberal feeling.

"The good which this excellent and extraordinary man has already effected by his writings and example, cannot be told. But for his exertions and writings, Suttee would be in full vigour at the present day, and the influence of the priesthood in all its ancient force; he has given the latter a *shake,* from which, aided by the education and spirit of bold inquiry gone forth among the rising natives of Hindoos, it never can recover. I need hardly tell you that the liberalism of such a mind is not confined to points of theology or ritual. In all matters involving the progress and happiness of mankind, his opinions are most independent; and he is, withal, one of the most modest men I ever met with, though near fifty years of age; and though he is the most learned and enlightened of his countrymen and nation, and indeed has held that position for the last fifteen or twenty years, and has received praises enough to have turned the head of any other man alive.

"It is no small compliment to such a man that even a Governor-General, like the present, who, though a man of the most honest intentions, suspects every one, and trusts nobody, and who knows that Rammohun Roy greatly disapproves of many acts of Government, should have shown him so much respect as to furnish him with introductions to friends of rank, and political and *Indian* influence. Either they will find him intractable, and throw him off, or they will succeed in what no one hitherto has succeeded—in beguiling or bending the stranger.

"A stranger, however, he is, and of such sort as has not before appeared among you; and he will stand in need, doubtless, of all the kindness and attention that friends here can procure for him. *You* have weightier and other matters to occupy you; nor are your habits such as to enable you to be of service to Rammohun Roy in the ordinary way. Yet I felt assured you would like to see and converse with my Indian friend; and, indeed, I recollect you expressed such a wish. For the rest, you will probably make him over with his credential to our friend, Bowring, and the reprobates,* and Stanhope.

"I most truly rejoice to hear and to see printed proofs that you continue to enjoy your accustomed health, strength, *and spirits.* No one among all whom you know wishes more truly and earnestly than I, that you may continue to enjoy those blessings for the sake of us all.—Your affectionate and attached friend."

(*Works of Jeremy Bentham*: Bowring, Vol. XI, pp. 59-60).

*Bentham's Secretaries.

MODERN TREND OF PSYCHOLOGY

By ANATHNATH DATTA, M.SC., B.L.

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THE aim at supremacy and immortality led man to observe the Universe and to systematise the knowledge thus acquired under the name of Science. But this Universe when looked upon as a whole appears to be chaotic. So it is studied from different points of view and we have different aspects of existence. We have thus a bewildering number of sciences.

"The lark singing at heaven's gate is a fact of experience which may be studied physically, biologically, and psychologically, but a complete answer to the questions asked by Physics would not answer those asked by Biology, still less those asked by Psychology."[1]

The tendency of every science is not only to be supreme in her own sphere but also to exert influence over others. Let us examine whether this tendency is to be found in Psychology.

Psychology is one of the acknowledged sciences of the present time. She appeared as early as the other sciences but for centuries she was the hand-maid of Philosophy. Side by side with the metaphysical or rational psychology which interested herself in the origin, nature destiny of the soul, there appeared empirical psychology which busied herself in the observation of facts of mental life as they appeared in one's inner experience, without meddling with the soul.

The modern empirical psychology may be said to have begun with John Locke (1632-1704) who was the first to urge emphatically against the faculty theory of mind by espousing the cause of introspective method. According to the faculty theory, the mind is divided into a number of independent faculties or powers and all mental phenomena are nothing but products or expressions of these faculties.

Empirical psychology aimed to be scientific rather than philosophical, one consequence of which was the adoption by it of the method of science. But the way through which this method came into psychology was the way of sense physiology and it was on this latter that the experimental psychology based her foundation. It was not until the last quarter of the 19th century that psychology, having freed herself completely from the influences of philosophy, put forth her claim to be recognised as a distinct independent science. The experimental psychology which originated in Germany soon reached America where she received wonderful development, partly through the doctrine of associationism and partly through the doctrine of evolution.

Every science follows the path of truth, dealing with facts impersonally and disinterestedly. Psychology too is 'interested in the analysis of criminal act as much as in that of the heroic deed, in the babbling of the insane mind as much as in the reasoning of the thinker, in the silliest play of the infant as much as in the highest creative processes of the artistic mind.'[2] She deals with these facts disinterestedly without allowing any moral or other extraneous considerations to colour her interpretations of them.

Like other sciences, psychology has two problems, *viz.*,—(*i*) the description of mental phenomena and (*ii*) the explanation *i.e.*, the determination of their causal relation. Now, description involves the idea of communication which can only be made through the physical medium, *e.g.*, speech, posture, writing, facial expression, etc. Here the mental content is transformed into the physical form which in its turn is again transformed into the mental concept by the psychologist for the purpose of his science. The knowledge of the contents of the mind of a living organism is ordinarily inferred by the method of analogy. But for scientific purposes a more accurate method is employed, *viz.*, the method of analysis, whereby the mental content which 'is not a mosaic of solid unaltered things'[3], is analysed into their elements. But the psychological concept of analysis into elements cannot 'be compared with the analysis of matter into atoms, but rather with the analysis of a movement into its components or into the momentary velocities of a moving point . . . . The continual change of conscious experiences hinders the determination of psychological elements just as little as a velocity changing from point to point hinders the determination of the momentary

1. J. A. Thomson—*Introduction to Science*, p. 54.

2. Munsterberg—*Psychology General and Applied*, p. 9.
3. Koffka—*British Journal of Psychology*, XV. p. 3.

velocity at any single one of these points.'[4] The question as to the number and kind of such elements becomes, then, a purely empirical one. Wundt, the founder of Experimental Psychology, regarded sensation and feeling as the two elements. Titchener, a Structuralist, however considered sensation, affection and image as the three elementary processes. Marbe, Watt and Messer of the Würzburg school found some new elements which taken as a whole are described as *Bewusstseinslagen* (conscious attitudes). They are not reducible to sensations, feelings and images. They bear certain resemblances to the 'imageless thought' and a very close similarity to the 'Stream of Thought' of James. Wertheimer, Koffka and Köhler propound other similar processes which are termed 'Gestalten' or organised wholes.

The universal scientific method is observation, which is a way of getting facts and materials of science. But the psychological observation which is distinct from observation of physical science, has been termed introspection, a looking-within. The data of introspection are purely descriptive and 'are never themselves explanatory; they tell us nothing of mental causation, or of physiological dependence, or of genetic derivation. The ideal introspective report is an accurate description made in the interest of psychology of some conscious process.'[5] According to Wundt and his followers introspection is sufficient to supply a knowledge of psychological facts. Watson, a Behaviourist, not only did away with introspection but also with consciousness which is a name of physical experiences. He says

"that two hundred years from now, unless the introspective method is discarded, psychology will still be divided on the question as to whether auditory sensations have a quality of 'extension,' whether intensity is an attribute which can be applied to colour, whether there is a difference in 'texture' between image and sensation; and upon hundreds of others of like character."[6]

Köhler, a Gestaltist, holds that 'Gestalten' the ultimate foundations of mental life can neither be arrived at by the method of introspection since the introspective attitude changes an experience, nor by the method of the behaviourists since they ban consciousness altogether from psychology. He, therefore, says that 'much of current introspection seems to be rather sterile and, in an odd contrast to its ambitions, to lead research away from the more urgent problems.'[7]

Although the behaviourists advocate that the subject-matter of psychology is behaviour and not consciousness, nevertheless they do not abolish the introspective method in *toto*, and even Köhler accepts introspection in the sense of phenomenological description of consciousness. But as introspection cannot supply the complete knowledge of the mental phenomena, so it is supplemented by other methods, *e.g.*, observation of behaviour, experimentation and inference.

Psychology wants to formulate theories and hypothesis from the interpretation and generalisation of observed facts. It is a matter of every day experience that the disturbances of the nervous system affect the mental states. It is seen that disorder of the nervous system especially of the brain is accompanied by a corresponding disorder of the mental function. This leads some to believe that psychology depends wholly on physiology. Psychology depends on physiology in the same sense as the play depends on the stage in a theatrical performance, or in other words it can be said that psychology plays upon the stage of physiology. In this connection it may be mentioned here that we have different hypotheses concerning the relation of body and mind. According to interactionism, body and mind influence each other. According to parallelism, body and mind do not influence each other but they run parallel—a change occurring in the one is accompanied by a corresponding change in the other. So from the points of view of the two hypotheses, mind and matter are distinct substances, a principle first enunciated by Descartes (1596-1650). But according to pan-psychism, every substance possesses both psychical and physical energy and therefore can affect both mind and body which run parallel.

"If we suppose matter to have a dual aspect, physical and psychical, and if we suppose that physical energy has its counterpart in the psychic energy, we shall steer clear of all conflicts between mind and matter. A physical object like alchohol brings about a mental change not because it acts directly as matter on the mind but because it has its counterpart of psychical energy along with its physical which is responsible for producing changes in the brain. The psychical energy of alchohol brings about the mental elation just as the psychical energy in a lump of chalk produces the perception of chalk."[8]

In order to attain her coveted goal, every science devotes herself in making observations and generalisations. But in course of time, besides these duties she takes upon herself the task of utilising the fruits of her own investigations for the benefit of mankind. In the beginning psychology was busy with analysis

4. Klemm—*A History of Psychology*, pp. 210-211.
5. Titchener—*American Journal of Psychology*, XXIII, p. 486.
6. Watson—*Behaviour*, p. 8.
7. Kohler—*Gestalt Psychology*, p. 19.
8. Bose—*Indian Journal of Psychology*, VII, Nos. 3 and 4, (1932), p 26.

and classification of mental facts, but at present the more noticeable tendency is her eagerness to render practical assistance in every sphere of life.

The problem of education was handled by the educationists in their own way long before psychology as a science came into being. But it was left for psychology to demonstrate that the same standard or method of education is not applicable to all. She now advises the teacher to direct his attention more to the taught than to the subject-matter of study. She, by the method of specially devised tests, *e.g.*, Intelligence Tests, estimates the degree of intelligence of each student and suggests the proper method of training. She does not stop formulating the best methods of teaching of the normal children; she has also found out the method of teaching for the feeble-minded and backward children. She now tactfully handles the problem-children who are the causes of anxieties and worries of the parents and teachers alike.

A high degree of intelligence is of no avail to the person who is not in the proper field of work. Many a man of genius have been choked by being wedded to a vocation for which they have neither aptitude nor inclination. The talents of Sir C. V. Raman, were at one time in considerable danger of being burried under the files of the Accountant General's Office. Cases are not rare where persons of very high intelligence have been seriously handicapped because they had the misfortune to choose a work for which they had no interest or aptitude. So the choice of the proper vocation is important because upon it depends to a large extent the future well-being of a person. Psychology has, therefore, taken up the problem of Vocational Guidance and Selection. She by a number of tests, *e.g.*, Tests of emotion, association, volition, etc. determines the talent, character, personality, etc. of a person and guides him in selecting the proper vocation for which he has qualities and aptitude. She is a guide not only to the employees but also to the employers. With her help the employer is now able to select the proper type of persons who are physically and mentally fit for a particular kind of work and thus prevents the waste of a large amount of money and energy caused by imperfect and spoiled work.

In the field of Industry, she has already shown that by proper arrangement of light, temperature, ventilation, humidity of the factory room, by the methodical arrangement of tools and by allowing proper rest to workers, an increased output of work is possible to the satisfaction of the employers and the employees. She has demonstrated that bad ventilation and bad lighting are the causes not only of lassitude, weariness and fatigue of the workers but also of spoiled work and imperfect work. She has proved that the larger period of work does not produce a greater output and reduction of working hours decreases not only the rate of accidents, sickness and absence but also the amount of spoiled work.

Advertisement and propaganda are the two important factors upon which depends the success of business or commerce. An advertisement which fails to attract and hold the attention or to fix the impression on the mind of the public or fails to evoke a response, is not an advertisement at all. Therefore the determining conditions of the advertisement are the interest it creates and the impression it makes on the public. Psychology has found out the best methods of advertisement. She says that intensity, vividness, suddenness, novelty are some of the means to attract the attention. She also says that a moving object attracts the attention more easily and quickly than a stationary one. She now declares that the advertisement which is pleasing and is repeated at intervals with some new features added, can produce lasting impression. She makes manufacturers, dealers, etc. to understand that unless they keep themselves acquainted with the sentimental changes of the customers there is no hope of prosperity.

Psychology has rendered most useful service to mankind by evolving psychological methods of treating the cases of nervous disorder. She says that the past does not die out but lives in the present. She, by means of psycho-analysis, the X-ray of the mental science, has brought to light the working of the unconscious region of the mind. She has been able to detect the causes of that class of diseases known as Psychoneuroses. She has demonstrated what great influence the Unconscious plays in guiding the course of our mental life. She warns the parents to be cautious of their activities before their children. She says that there is an underlying motive in our slips of tongue, forgetting of names, fears, anxieties, dreams, etc. etc. She has proved that fixation *i.e.*, tying up of interest of love-life at any stage of development is dangerous for the future well-being not only of a particular individual but also of others who are in direct touch with him. She declares that all maladjustments have their causes in the very early stages of life and they can be removed by making the patient understand clearly the origin and nature of the

disorder and by directing his unconscious trends to normal and legitimate ways.

Psychology stresses that besides the 'wishes' there are environmental factors, *e.g.*, poverty, defective discipline, moral laxity, etc. which determine to a large extent the asocial or abnormal behaviour of an idividual. She has proved that poverty alone can turn an individual into a Jean Valjean. But it is not punishment nor imprisonment but the kind and sympathetic treatment which can turn him to be a dutiful and truthful citizen. So it is neither whipping nor imprisoning but the reformatory schools which can turn a delinquent or a young offender into a useful member of the society.

Thus psychology is gradually becoming successful in the attainment of her goal and it is certain that in the near future her influence will be felt in all other domains of science and in every walk of life.

COMMENTS AND CRITICISMS

Universities & Research

To

The Editor, *The Modern Review*

Sir,

I have read with interest Dr. Quanungo's review of *Mir Qasim* in the August number of *The Modern Review* (p. 195) in which he has incidentally referred to researches suffering under the dictatorship of political interests. I quite agree with him when he says that knowledge must be pursued for its own sake, and to be of real worth must be under no obligation to prove its usefulness whether that be of the nation or even of humanity. It is true scientific researches cannot thrive under such limitations; the scientist must be entirely free to pursue his aim of discovering Truth and leave the future to turn out what profit it can from his findings. But that cannot be *his* ideal.

This is so far all right; but I am afraid Dr. Quanungo is painting a state of affairs which is as it ought to be and not what it actually is. Is he sure all the research workers of our land, or even the majority, have actually set before themselves this high ideal? Personally I have had something to do with research work myself and was also once connected with a University for such work; so that University life is not entirely foreign to me, nor is scientific research. But the disillusionment about the intellectual integrity of not merely research workers but of the majority of professors engaged in teaching work did not take long in coming. I saw very soon that Science and Truth were very often not the chief concern of those who professed them. Many of them treat their period of research fellowship for the purpose of marking time; and as soon as they secure a permanent job anywhere and are assured of their bread and butter they lapse into the humdrum of routine work and of dictating notes and leave the temple of Truth to take care of itself.

Not only that. I have seen some workers in the field who discovered unpleasant historical truths in course of their researches, truths which might not be to the liking of those who paid them good money. And I have seen them shut up their mouths for fear of losing their bread and salt, or perhaps tone them down till they lost all the strength of Truth. Many also change their course or deliberately choose such harmless lines of research as would meet with no opposition from their paymasters. Has not Dr. Quanungo ever come across such workers in his own experience?

I am sure you will agree with me when I say that a research worker who puts Truth above all else does not

(1) convert his truth for money,
(2) nor does he flinch when the pursuit of Truth brings suffering in its train, however severe the latter might be.

He may perhaps halt on his way for breath, in poverty and in distress, but he may not surrender Truth on that account. One is always prepared to take one's hat off to research workers of that type. But I have had the pain of watching University professors grumble at Rs. 400/- a month, and do no research work on the plea that the University did not pay them more while it paid others higher still. I have seen people earning Rs. 500/- a month spend more on bricks and lime and mortar than on books.

When such is the actual state of affairs among our professional worshippers of Truth, when there is hardly anything to distinguish them from an orthodox money-hunter, do you think it is wrong for the nation to demand from time to time what these people are doing, what "good" if any comes out of their endeavours, particularly when these workers and professors are being maintained at a standard of living far above the average of the man in the street, from whose pockets the income of the Universities is ultimately derived?

Truth is perhaps its own reward, and it often does not bring material comforts and social status in its train. Where people claim to follow Truth, but are not prepared to pay the price for it in suffering and in labour, they can neither claim respect from their fellowmen nor immunity from the criticism of those who maintain them above their own heads.

Yours faithfully,
Nirmal Kumar Bose

World Production of Minerals

With reference to the editorial notes in *The Modern Review* of August 1937 on "Production of Petroleum", "World Consumption of Tin", "World Production of Iron and Steel," "World Production of Gold," I suspect that India's name has been omitted from the petroleum

table because the production of petroleum in India is so negligible that it hardly deserves mention. I have the 1931 world production figures before me, and I see that India produced only 0·61 per cent of the total output of that year. Now that India does not include Burma, the present Indian output must be very insignificant. As regards tin, I do not know the consumption figures, but the production of tin in India in 1930 was only 0·8 per cent of the whole. The separation of Burma must have considerably reduced the percentage at the present moment. Regarding iron and steel Japanese production of steel ingots and castings is about 2 per cent of the world production, whereas Indian production is only about ½ per cent; although Japan is poorer than India in ore. In gold production, India occupies a comparatively honourable position, her production of gold being about 2 per cent of the world production.

GANAPATI PILLAY

Editor's Note. In the petroleum table of the Statesman's Year-book for 1937, the quantity mentioned against Bahrein Islands is 0.5 million tons for 1936. In the Statistical Year-book of the League of Nations for 1936-37 the figure given against the Bahrein Islands is 636.000 tons for 1936, and the figure for India is 1,340,000 tons for the same year. Assuming that the Statesman's Year-book did not mention India's production of petroleum in 1936 because Burma was separated from India on the 1st April 1937 and because Burma produces most of the petroleum shown against India, why could not Burma's production be shown separately? Surely, if 636,000 is worth mentioning, 1,340,000 is more so.

As regards the production of ferrous minerals or metals, the Statistical Year-book of the League of Nations for 1936-37 shows separately the productions of iron ore, pig-iron and ferro-alloys, and steel (ingots and castings). The Statesman's Year-book ought to have done the same, and then India's superiority to some countries in the production of iron ore and therefore her potential capacity to produce pig-iron and steel would have been made clear.

In 1936, India produced 2,402 tons of iron ore and Japan produced 516,000.

As regards pig-iron etc., according to the latest League of Nations' Statistical Year-book, India produced 1,565,000 tons in 1936, and Sweden produced 632,000 tons in the same year. So India's production was more than double that of Sweden. But whereas the Statesman's Year-book gives the figures for Sweden, Italy (775,000 tons), and Poland (582,000 tons)—all less than that for India, India's figure is not given in that book of reference.

In the League of Nations' Statistical Year-book there is no table of World Consumption of tin. Hence we are unable to comment on the statistics relating to it given in the Statesman's Year-book.

Anti-"Phooka" Agitation

In the May number of your esteemed Review, under "Notes" writing about the Anti-"Phooka" Agitation, you quote, apparently with approval, an extract from the speech of Mrs. F. Stanley, secretary and superintendent, Calcutta S. P. C. A. which appeared in the proceedings of that Society's first general meeting of 1935.

The following appears therein :—"I have always been told that evidence is greatly exaggerated, and the process, which is the result of superstition, is not in many cases serious." "Now this torture is going on in every cow-shed throughout the length and breadth of India."

If it is granted that the evil exists throughout the whole length and breadth of India, in every cow-shed therein, then why point out specifically that "it must not be supposed that the evil is confined to Bengal"? If you pass this assertion of the existence of the evil in every cow-shed throughout India, unchallenged, why call for a publicity campaign in "regions where the evil exists?"

AN INDIAN IN MALAYA

Editor's Note. It is not at all true that "phooka" is practised in *every* cow-shed in India. We regret that we did not contradict Mrs. Stanley's obviously exaggerated statement. The omission was due to oversight.

EXCHANGE OF GIFTS

When my heart did not kiss thee in love, O world,
thy light missed its full splendour,
and thy sky watched through the night
with its lighted lamps.
My heart came to thy side with her songs,
whispers were exchanged
and she put her wreath on thy neck;
and I know she has given thee something
which will be treasured with thy stars.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE
in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*



Book Reviews



ENGLISH

STATISTICAL YEAR-BOOK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, 1936-37: *Pages 330. In Wrappers, 10s. Bound in Cloth, 12 s. 6 d. League of Nations Publications Department, Geneva.*

It is a comprehensive international collection of economic and financial data, mainly derived from official sources and accompanied by social and demographic statistics. It contains statistics for the various countries of the world on the following subjects: Territory and population; Labour conditions; Production; International trade and balance of payments; Transport; Public finance; Banks and currency questions; Prices.

The present edition of the Year-book, like its predecessors, contains numerous improvements and valuable data, some of which have not previously been published. These new data relate chiefly to production (dairy products, ores, artificial fibres, etc.), the world development of air traffic, currency conditions (yield of bonds, rates of exchange, etc.), the activity of the capital markets (issues and investments of capital), international trade (statistics based on the "Minimum List" recommended by the Council of the League of Nations), the degree of employment and the fertility and reproduction rate of the population in a large number of countries.

The number of explanatory notes has been greatly increased; those on the issue and investment of capital and on public finance throw light on the great complexity of the subject; those relating to exchange rates and central bank accounts give a description of the currency measures taken in different countries (restriction, devaluation, fixing of new parties, etc.).

MONEY AND BANKING 1936-37: *Price: Vol. I, 6s., Vol. II, 6s.*

The Economic Intelligence Service of the League of Nations has just published a work in two volumes entitled "Money and Banking 1936-37."

The first volume, entitled "Monetary Review," contains five separate studies dealing with the course of foreign exchanges; the market in forward exchanges; exchange stabilization funds; gold supply and central monetary reserves; and finally, interest rates. These studies cover the period from 1929 to March 1937, but the events of the last two or three years are dealt with in greater detail.

The second volume, entitled "Commercial Banks" contains 174 pages of statistical data indispensable for bankers and those specially interested in international finance. Detailed information is given in the case of 45 countries. As an illustration of the importance of these data the clear and full picture of the situation as regards Germany, to which 12 pages are devoted, may be cited. The various tables indicate the means whereby Government expenditure has been financed. One table shows the progressive increase in Germany in the amount of Government securities held by credit and insurance institutions which increased from 3,404,000,000 Reich marks in 1929 to 11,415,000,000 at the end of 1936. Other tables indicate the effect of this increase on the credit situation of the commercial banks and the small part they now play in financing private trade as compared with the financing of Government needs.

The section devoted to Japan indicates an expansion in the total amount of Government bonds in existence at the end of 1932 as compared with the amount in March 1937, from 3. 932 million yen to 7,716 million.

Whilst the expansion of credit in the United States is shown to be almost as spectacular, the difference in the situation there as compared with that in Germany emerges clearly from the section devoted to the former country. The effect of large gold imports into the United States has been neutralized by the sterlization of a large part of these imports, first by changes in the reserve ratio of the member banks of the Federal Reserve system, and second by the selling of Government securities.

REVIEW OF WORLD TRADE, 1936: *Price 2s. 6d.*

The Review of World Trade for 1936 has just been published by the League of Nations Economic Intelligence Service. This year's edition contains a general synopsis of world trade during 1936 and a comparison of the figures for that year with the years immediately preceding and with 1929. Special attention has been paid in this edition to recent changes in the distribution of each country's trade by countries of provenance and destination, brought about by variations in competitive power or by new methods of commercial policy.

Following a summary of the chief results, sections are devoted to: value and quantum of world trade in the years 1929 and 1936; trade by main groups of articles; trade by continental groups; trade by countries; analysis of the trade of principal countries in 1936; trade in certain staple products; and geographical distribution of trade as influenced by discriminatory measures. Statistical tables are given in three annexes.

In the section dealing with trade by continental groups, it is mentioned that in 1936 Europe's share in world exports as well as in total world trade fell to lower figures than in 1929, the fall being due partly to the abnormal conditions governing the trade of Italy and Spain. Data are given regarding trade of the Empires, which show, for example, that the share of the British Commonwealth, including colonies, etc., in world trade fell from 27.9% in 1929 to 26.7% in 1931, but has since

increased, and amounted to 29.8% in 1935 and to 31.0% in 1936. The rise from 1932 to 1936 in the share of the British Commonwealth in world trade contrasts sharply with the fall in that of the French and Netherlands Empires.

The gold value of United States exports has increased since 1934, but the exceptionally low value of her exports as compared with the year 1929 reflects perhaps the most outstanding change in world trade that has occurred since that year.

X

THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM OF INDIA: *By Naresh Chandra Roy, M.A., Ph.D. Calcutta University. 1937. Pages 380.*

Dr. Roy has chosen an opportune subject. He describes and comments upon the Indian Constitutional System from the grant of the Dewani (1765) to the passage of the Government of India Act (1935). Te discusses in turn the evolution of the representative system, the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, the genesis of the new constitution and the provisions of the Act of 1935, in each case giving sufficient accounts of earlier events so as to prepare a historical background for his main theme—the Federal System.

The author does not profess to have any novel proposals of importance, and his occasional criticisms are thoughtful and free from bias. There are indications that he doubts the wisdom of some of the provisions in the new Constitution (*e.g.*, the Composition of the Federal Assembly, the life of the Provincial Assemblies, the introduction of Second Chambers in the Provincial legislatures etc.). His comments are usually respectful; but whenever an opinion upon a moot-point has been advanced, it has been offered freely and boldly. His advocacy for a Constituent Assembly and the recognition of Dominion Status as the political ideal of India are cases in point.

The book is an accurate summary, which will be useful to students and convenient to teachers as a handbook for ready reference. It is not, however, a critical and detailed study of the constitutional problems of India; and such has neither been the object of the author. which was just "to place before the readers an estimate of the constitutional organization of our country within a reasonable compass." In this he has been fairly successful.

KRISHNA PRASANNA MUKERJI

THE PATTER OF ASUDE: *Cr. Octo. 122 pp. Numerous cartoons in Black & White, printed and published by N. Mukherjee, B.A. The Art Press, Calcutta. Paper cover. Price Re. 1-4 or Two shillings.*

If we classify all humorous literature we find that the major portion falls under one of two main groups. The first of these groups may be described as "beyond ordinary intelligence." Many may laugh over such criticism but few enjoy it. In popular parlance such humour may be called "high-brow" and like all "high-brow" stuff it is too good for the average menu. The second broad group includes antiquarian titbits of no originality, save and except what is engendered by faulty recapitulation. One appreciates such humour as an act of homage to one's ancestors. Fortunately for the reader men like Asude do not walk the "Tarmacadam." They ramble in the bye-paths and in the wide territories beyond the known roads. So that we obtain glimpses of things, in their writing, which are not shown on the well-known maps of wit and humour.

A man like "Shoshi" or a railway like the A. B. C. R. deserves to be recorded. But for Asude they might have joined the endless ranks of "Full many a flower," etc. Asude is good. By good we do not mean anything that refers to his absolute virtues. We mean he is good for us, all of us.

ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

INDIAN ECONOMICS (*Fifth-Revised Edition 1937*): *By G. B. Jathar, M.A. and S. G. Beri, M.A. Vol. I, xi+490 pp. Vol. II, xiii+694 pp. Oxford University Press, Bombay. Vol. I Rs. 5. Vol. II. Rs. 6.*

This is the fifth edition of the book that has already won for the authors their well-deserved reputation throughout India. The book has been thoroughly revised in this edition and brought up to date. Almost every Chapter bears marks of careful revision.

Vol. I is mainly devoted to consideration of India's productive resources and problems of Agriculture. Vol. II is a fairly comprehensive survey of her problems of industry, trade, transport, currency and public finance. It also notices the seriousness of the problem of unemployment among the educated classes. It is, in short, an authentic critical account of all the important economic problems that face modern India.

Students will find this edition immensely helpful. It will save him time and trouble of summarizing the reports of all recent commissions and committees. It will make him up to date in a few days on all important economic questions of the day. Busy public men and politicians may depend upon these volumes for correct information, if not guidance, on almost all matters that affect the economic interests of the country. The book is sure to prove a profitable reading both to students and educated men generally. The students should read these volumes and they will probably read them: but our students are generally poor; and the price of eleven rupees may affect their effective demand.

INTRODUCTION TO ECONOMICS: *By G. B. Jathar and S. C. Beri. Pp. XVI+595. Oxford University Press, Bombay. Price Rs. 4-8.*

The book under review consists of two parts. Part I deals with elementary principles of economics and Part II with problems of Indian economics. Part II is merely an abridged edition of the authors' Indian Economics with certain portions omitted. The book is rather disappointing. In the Preface we read: "The book is designed to meet the difficulties of beginners and to give a sufficiently interesting exposition of the subject to enable them to retain and develop their interest." Had the authors been successful in this attempt, they would have done a distinct service to the young learners of economics in India: for we have no such book on elementary economics as yet. The book is full of informatoin and may also be useful for answering questions of University examinations. But it has not been written in a way that stimulates interest in the subject. It is likely to repel a beginner and make him imagine that the subject is too difficult to read without the help of a teacher. But B.A. Pass students of our Universities may find it helpful for their examination. Similar remarks may also be made with regard to Part II devoted to Indian economics. It has not been written for beginners at all. The authors' bigger book on Indian Economics has only been summarized to a shorter volume with the express purpose of serving as a text-book for the junior boys. The inevitable consequence has been that it has failed to realize the object the authors had in view (as stated in the preface). It has not solved the difficulties that confront a beginner: a few pages will tire his interest. The presentation appears to be unsuitable for beginners.

P. C. GHOSH

LIFE OF BANDA SINGH BAHADUR (*based on Contemporary and Original Records*) : *By Ganda Singh, Research Scholar in Sikh History; published by Khalsa College, Amritsar, 1935. Pages 291. Price Rs. 2-8.*

It is a hopeful sign that the spirit of research is abroad among modern scholars of the martial races of India such as the Rajputs, Sikhs and Marathas, to whom the pen of Muslim historians of Medieval India as well as that of the modern historians of other communities is suspected to have been unsympathetic, and sometimes positively hostile. We too have long felt that perhaps the verdict of history has sometime gone against these races only by default, only because the valiant children of the sword could never dream that they would ever be called upon to stand a trial before the tribunal of history. We sincerely welcome Mr. Ganda Singh's *Life of Banda Singh Bahadur* which is the first fruit of his labours in the field of historical research. The author has not only given us a new interpretation of known facts about Banda Singh but has also considerably advanced the bounds of knowledge by utilizing in his book original materials of Sikh history in Gurumukhi, not hitherto available to scholars. Mr. Ganda Singh refutes some of the atrocities such as the exhumation of the dead attributed to the Sikhs. The town of Sirhind destroyed to every brick not by Banda as we have hitherto held but long after by Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. The booty acquired by the victor was worth more than two crores and a few lakhs, greater part of which came by an indiscriminate plunder of "the heartless Muslim population." "Many Hindus and Muhammadans," among whom were Dindar Khan and Mir Nasiruddin, became converts to Sikhism apparently to escape their hard lot though the young Sikh author considers it "very striking" (p. 73). Banda was intolerant not only towards Hindus and Muslims but also towards some sections of the Sikhs who differed from his views, *e.g.*, "the Ram Rayia" of Ghudani. Next he marched against Maler Kotla which was spared, says the author, out of a sense of gratitude for its chief who pleaded for mercy in favour of the martyred sons of Guru Govind.

Banda set himself up as the Protector of a theocracy, rather a Sikh Communal Government in the Punjab, with Mukhlispur as his capital. It was a peasant regime in which Zamindari system was totally abolished. Emboldened by their success in the Punjab the Sikhs began to make incursions into the Gangetic Doab and ravaged the *sarkar* of Saharanpur. The inevitable reactions against the aggressive and intolerant Sikh Communalism soon appeared in the Punjab. Both Hindus and Muslims headed by the land-owning aristocracy rose against the Sikh rule and a Peoples' War in the Punjab ensued. This war is known as the Haidari Flag Jehad, which for a time checked the Sikhs. But soon the Hindus realized their folly in allying themselves with the Muslims. "And since some of the cowards and idiots from among these . . . perpetrated certain abominable misdeeds upon the Hindus of the city (Lahore) and disgraced Imperial officials" (Qasim's Ibratnama. p. 106). However, the Lahore Jehad against the Sikhs failed and Murtaza Khan and a grandson (?) of Todarmal, leader of the Hindu allies, were killed by the Sikhs at the battle of Bhilowal. Shams Khan, the Faujdar of the Jullundar Doab proclaimed another Jehad against the Sikhs who gave him a severe defeat at the battle of Rahon (Oct. 1710) by their Parthian tactics which are described so graphically by Qazi Nur Muhammad, author of *Jang-nama*.

At last the Emperor Bahadur Shah came against the Sikhs who now began to lose ground before the imperialists. The author gives us a sad picture of the lot of the Hindus who, partly for their own folly, found themselves between two mill-stones, Sikh and Muslim. Bahadur Shah died in 1712, but the war was carried to a successful close by Abdus Samad Khan, Governor of the Punjab, who captured Banda with his followers at Gurdaspur (December, 1715).

The fate of Banda and his followers is a well-known fact of history.

Banda Bahadur came as the scourge of God against the oppressors and tyrants; but he himself proved to be a victor without the qualities of mercy and tolerance.

Mr. Ganda Singh is an honest narrator of facts no doubt, but with a bias towards Sikh sources which are not, we must say, without the taint of pious fraud. Mr. Ganda Singh ought to have been more critical with regard to such documents as the Zafarnama or the Epistle of Victory addressed to as a piece of gospel truth, and would have us believe that Guru Govind held out offers of peace to Aurangzib and gave the Emperor a safe conduct through the Punjab. To take a commonsense view of things, Guru Govind was not after all such an important figure but only one of the numerous supplicants moving in the Emperor's train. We also hope that in future Mr. Ganda Singh will not allow the Sikh in him to influence his historical judgment.

GURU GOVIND SINGH'S VISIT TO RAWAL SAR (*Mandi State*). *taken from the Diary of Bhai Dhanna Singh* : *By Mr. Nahar Singh. Price annas six.*

Mr. Nahar Singh so far as we can judge of him from his popular series on Sikh history appears to be more of a propagandist and pious enthusiast. We have very grave doubt as to the genuineness of the so-called Diary of Bhai Dhanna Singh. Every historical document in Gurumukhi or otherwise now published by the efforts of the Sikh scholars should be as critically scrutinized as Sir Jadunath and others have done with the Maratha Bakhars and other documents.

K. R. Quanungo

THE MODEL VILLAGE : *By A. H. Jaisinghani; published by Ganesh and Co., Madras. Price not mentioned.*

In this little volume written in a delightfully easy style the author describes his ideal of a model village. His is a plan of a four-fold experiment, economic, social, religious and, to some extent, political—the object of which is to establish a more equitable order leading to a true and lasting form of unity. In the author's opinion discord and division have crept into all departments of our life, so all the four sides should be simultaneously tackled. They are also interlinked and interdependent. Therefore in the re-construction of a village, attention should be paid to all the four aspects—economic, social, religious and political—of life. The author believes that his Utopia of Model Village is not far removed from reality; it is quite within our reach. We agree with the author in his honest premises and recommend his work for the perusal of all interested in the welfare of Indian villages. The book is well-bound and neatly printed.

Sukumar Ranjan Das

MARTHANDA VARMA (*Historical Romance*): *By C. V. Raman Pillai. Translated from Malayalam by B. K. Menon, M.A. Published by Kamalalaya Book Depot, Trivandrum and dedicated by kind permission to His Most Gracious Highness the Maharaja of Travancore. Pages 254 & 330 each volume. Price Rs. 3.*

It is a jumbo edition of a book which according to the translator, 'held pride of place' in Malayalam

literature for nearly half a century. It is an epic of mediaeval Travancore where we find sword-buckling and love-making side by side. It is a titanic tale of romance and revolution. The great difficulty in a historical novel lies not so much in the representation of secondary figures as in painting the great historical personalities—the chief actors in the historical drama—so as to make them real, living beings. But this is exactly where Raman Pillai, the doyen of Malayalam literature, has succeeded most wonderfully.

Indian novels lose much of their 'flair and flavour' even when they are adequately translated. In the 'Apology,' the author rightly says, 'however proficient the translator might be in both the languages, it will be impossible for him to be entirely faithful to the original and at the same time to fulfil the expectations of the public and satisfy the fastidious tastes of the critics alike.' To hope for a happy result under such circumstances is to pray for a miracle.

The story opens characteristically in Indian fashion in the heart of a vast jungle tract in South India in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, with a murder scene. Subhadra, the much maligned woman, is the real heroine. In the opening chapters she is something of an enigma, a sort of Mary Magdalene of Biblical fame. But as the story unfolds itself, she stands revealed in all her purity and nobility of mind. Sundaram, that arch-villain, that fiend in human shape, that "incomparable globe of sinful continents," that perverted Iago, is indeed a creation! Thirumukhath Pillai, that old world warrior, is true to his king and country amidst all the tumult and treachery of a falling empire.

The book deserves to be widely read, but we wish the translator had been more concise and his style less flamboyant. We shall be happy to see a second edition free from printing mistakes which mar an otherwise excellent publication.

Rajendracharan Ghose

ACROSS THE SAHARA: *By F. J. Davar, F.R.G.S. London. Arthur H. Stockwel, Ltd. 29 Ludgate Hill, E. C. 4. Pages 131 and 22 plates.*

The author travelled on a push-bike across the world, and the present book is a record of one of the most adventurous parts of his journey. Truly the journey was nothing if not heroic.

The printing is excellent.

CHROME TANNING FOR COTTAGES: *By Satish Chandra Das Gupta. Khadi Pratisthan, 15 College Square, Calcutta. Price annas eight. Pp. 36+4 plates.*

The author is of opinion that it is quite possible to introduce chrome tanning in villages. He has designed a simpler technique and suitable instruments for this purpose. The book is a clear, concise description of his modified process. The price of the book is very moderate.

We are sure those interested in the tanning industry will find the book very helpful.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

LIFE! MORE LIFE: *By C. Jinarajadasa. Published by Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Pages 260.*

This is a series of lectures delivered at different places on a variety of subjects—all, however, centering round Theosophy. The lectures are written in a simple style and are eminently readable. There is a ring of sincerity about them; and one cannot but admire the earnestness of the author's appeal and the genuineness of his conviction.

THE THIRD OBJECT OF THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY: *By C. W. Leadbeater. Theosophical publishing House, Adyar, Madras.*

This is an Adyar pamphlet—rather two pamphlets rolled into one—of twenty-six pages which say little in particular except that the latent powers of man are worth cultivating and that the Theosophical Society has a future.

U. C. Bhattacharjee

SRI RAMKRISHNA: HIS UNIQUE MESSAGE: *By Swami Ghanananda. Published by the President, Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras. Pp. viii+234. Price Re 1.*

The book consists of twelve chapters. The subjects of the first two chapters are 'The World Conflict' and 'Comparative Religion.' The next five chapters contain descriptions of Sri Ramakrishna's spiritual disciplines or *sadhanas* of different faiths, Indian as well as non-Indian. In the eighth, the nineth and the tenth chapters, the author presents his message in relation to its religio-philosophical background, discusses the different Indian schools of thought in their varied aspects, and reconciles their apparently contradictory views in the light of his teachings based on spiritual experience. The harmony of religions, which stands out pre-eminent in his religious outlook, is also dealt with at some length in the tenth chapter. The last two chapters are set apart for the practical application of this message of harmony and its bearing on different cultures and civilizations.

In the first half of the nineteenth century when agnosticism and atheism ran rampant amongst the educated class, the advent of Sri Ramkrishna on the religious firmament of India was an unique event, and the spiritual life he lived was a direct challenge to these heretical doctrines. In him we find a rare and happy blending of mysticism and rationality. The author has done well in bringing out in an opportune time this nice little volume on the life of the great saint of Dakshineshwar, when communal discord is almost of everyday occurrence. Of all his teachings, his message of the Harmony of Religions has a far-reaching effect. He was the very embodiment of catholicity. He is rightly called the Prophet of Harmony.

The intrinsic value of the book would have been increased to a large extent, if a short life-sketch of Swami Vivekananda, the greatest of Sri Ramkrishna's disciples, who was instrumental in the preaching of his gospel to the world, had been added as an appendix. The style is elegant and the language lucid and highly expressive. To the spiritually minded the book will undoubtedly be an useful companion.

The name of the writer of the article entitled 'The Problem of Hindoo-Moslem Unity' (published in *The Modern Review* for June, 1926), an extract from which the author has quoted in page 17, is not Moulvi Mohmmed Hossain, but Moulvi Wahed Hossain. In the foot-note of page 85 while citing the different *Chakras* or centres of the *Yogins*, he has left out the *Bisuddha Chakra.*

It is refreshing to note that the book is entirely free from printing mistakes. The get-up is excellent and leaves nothing to be desired.

Ananga Mohan Saha

URVASHI: *By Adhyatam Singh. The Book Company, Calcutta. Pp. 102.*

This is a story in verse. The heroine is not the Urvashi of Hindu mythology but a creation of the writer. It is a disappointing production. The author attempts "free verse" but fails to give his lines the swing or rhythm of poetry. Countless grammatical and orthographical errors occur all over the piece. The story itself

is a curious medley of romance and realism. It presents supernatural phenomena and at the same time contains lectures on such mundane subjects as socialism and capitalism. One cannot admire the discretion of the writer in having rushed to print with a performance of this kind.

P. K. Guha

Dravidian Linguistics: Brahui

THE BRAHUI LANGUAGE: Part II—THE BRAHUI PROBLEM, Part III—ETYMOLOGICAL VOCABULARY *By Sir Denys Bray: Delhi: Manager, Government of India Publications, 1934: Pp. II+313: Cloth, Rs. 7-14 or 13s 6d.*

In 1908, Sir Denys Bray, Foreign Secretary to the Government of India (then Mr. Denys de S. Bray, I.C.S.), published his "Brahui Language, Part I, Introduction and Grammar." After over two decades he has completed his work with the publication of the present volume. This is quite an event in Dravidian studies. Sir Denys is the greatest living authority on the Brahuis and their language and customs, and whether viewed as a frontier question or as a problem in Dravidian linguistics, or again as a riddle in Indian anthropology and history, the study of the Brahui language and the Brahui world is a very important and fascinating subject. Those who are interested in it, particularly students of Indian linguistics and anthropology, will receive with acclamation Sir Denys Bray's scholarly work. His *Brahui Language* in these two volumes, and his *Life-history of a Brahui* (Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1913) will continue to be our greatest authority on the subject for a long number of years—if not our final authority, considering the fact that the Brahui tribal and social organization and Brahui culture and language are faced with a rapid disintegration and decay, although they now number some 300,000 people, at a generous estimate, in Balochistan, Sindh, Afghanistan and Persia.

Balochistan is the present day *nidus* of the Brahuis. The presence of these Dravidian speakers so close to Mohen-jo-Daro lends support to the theory that the builder of the pre-historic civilization of Sindh were ancient Dravidian speakers. In the first volume of his *Brahui Language,* Sir Denys gave a very detailed study of its grammatical structure. In the present volume, he writes with both authority and convincing force on the *Brahui Problem.* The actual situation, social and political among the Brahui tribes is vividly described with a wealth of detailed information drawn from actual contact with the Brahuis. Bilinguism among the Brahuis is then discussed. Of the total number of Brahui speakers, a third and more are already bilingual. This would appear to be an indication of a rapid inroad of foreign tongues among the masses of the native speakers; and, when there are no great qualities in the native life and culture, this means rapid decay and prognosticates ultimate death of the language. The Dravidian affinities of Brahui are then treated: and this forms a solid contribution to Dravidian linguistics. Originally a Dravidian language, as its grammatical structure and its roots and words of fundamental importance as well as its most characteristic affixes and inflexions show, Brahui has been much overlaid by other languages —so that the native Dravidian element would appear to be outweighed in the language by a foreign element coming from Western Panjabi, Sindhi, Balochi, Pashto, Hindustani, Persian and Arabic and English—the last three exerting mainly an indirect influence. But although the Dravidian words form 'a very small minority', yet, as Sir Denys says, 'it is a minority of stalwarts. It is composed almost entirely of words to express the most fundamental and elementary concepts of life.' Sir Denys has sought to find out the linguistic palaeontology of the Brahuis from the native Dravidian words in the language—how the pure Dravidian roots and words still current in the language would go to show that the primitive Brahuis were a pastoral people, who, armed with the bow, lived mostly in the hills. The connexion of Brahui with the various other Dravidian speeches is sought to be explained. The venue and nature of foreign influence in Brahui forming an important topic in Brahui linguistics, is not neglected, and Sir Denys has some interesting bits of information to communicate. He is apparently puzzled over the dental *t* in the word बोतल *botal* ('bottle'), a widespread modern Indian borrowing from Europe. If it were borrowed from English, we would have found a cerebral *t* in it, and the Hindustani form expected in that case would be *batal* बाटल. Sir Denys assumes the intermediary of some South Indian language to explain the dental *t.* But the South Indian languages as much as those of North India denote an English *t* by a cerebral *t.* The proper explanation is different: Indian loan words like *botal, botam* ('button'), *phita* ('ribbon'), *tamaku* ('tobacco') etc., came directly from the Portuguese (*botelha, botao, fita, tobacco*) which has dental *t.* The ethnology and anthropology of the Brahui people forms another subject-matter which has been lucidly treated by the author. As it is, we do not come to any positive result: the Brahui riddle remains a riddle, and the solution is probably in the decipherment of the Mohen-jo-Daro writing.

The *Etymological Vacabulary* forming the third part of the work, is a solid piece of scholarship extending over 250 closely printed pages which gives Sir Denys' book its permanent value. The Brahui words are given in the Roman script, and after the English meaning of each word there are copious quotations of sentences and phrases from the actual living Brahui speech showing the use of the word. This is followed by the etymology, which in the case of the native Dravidian words of Brahui gives analogous or cognate forms in the other Dravidian languages and dialects as well. A random study of the vocabulary shows how Brahui shares a common speech element with the Aryan languages of India which is not of Aryan origin. But that is another matter, and it cannot be taken up in the course of this review. In Sir Denys Bray's *Brahui* we have a work of first rate importance for Dravidian and Indian linguistics, and the author as well as the scholarly world are both to be congratulated for this fine production.

Suniti Kumar Chatterji

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

NANJARAJA-YOSA-BHUSANA OF ABHINAVA KALIDASA: *Edited with Introduction and Index: By E. Krishnamacharyya. Gaekwad's Oriental Series XLVII. Baroda, 1930.*

KAVYALANKARA-SARA-SAMGRAHA OF UDBHAT *with a Vivriti, edited with Introduction and Indices: By K. S. Ramaswami Shastri. Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. XLV. Baroda, 1931.*

JAYAKLYA-SAMHITA: *Edited by E. Krishnamacharya, with a Sanskrit Introduction, Indices etc. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. LIV. Baroda 1931.*

NYAYA-PRAVESHA: *Edited with Notes and Introduction by A. B. Dhruva. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XXXVIII. Pt. I. (Sanskrit Text with Commentories). Baroda 1930.*

The Gaekwad's Oriental Series has already signalized itself, through the enlightened liberality of the Maharaja,

in publishing a series of rare Sanskrit texts on an astonishing variety of interesting subjects. The present publications certainly maintain its high reputation and will be welcome to interested scholars. Of the first two works mentioned above, which will interest students of Sanskrit Alankara, the first is a comparatively recent compilation, composed about the middle of the 1st Century by Narasinha Kavi, who arrogates to himself the title of Navina or Abhinava Kalidasa. His patron Narijaraja, whose name is borne by the title of the work and whose glory it celebrates throughout in its illustrative verses was the Sarwadhikarin of Mysore from 1739 to 1759 and was a well-known historical figure in the struggle for power with South during the middle of latter half of the 18th Century. The work is modelled generally upon Vidyanatha's more wellknown *Prataparudra-Yas'o-bhusana* which was written with a similar object of panegyrising the prince whose name it bears in a similar way on its title. As an original treatise on Sanskrit Poetics, the present late work possesses little value or originality either in its treatment or in its subject-matter. It deals with the conventional topics in a more or less conventional manner, and excepting in some matters of detail, it keeps fairly closely to its model, and contributes nothing of importance to the study of the subject.

The text of the next work of Udbhata has been published twice before respectively by Col. Jacob in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (1897), and by the Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, with the Laghu-vitti of Pratiharenduraja, in 1915. The imperfections of both these editions were remedied by a more elaborate edition (with the same Vritti) preparel by N. D. Banpatti in the Bombay Sanskrit Series in 1925. The interest of the present edition is the publication of a new anonymous commentary, entitled Vivriti a copy of which, discovered in Malabar in 1919-20, exists in the Government Oriental MSS Library, Madras. Attention was drawn to this commentory in 1925 by the present writer in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, iv, p. 279, as well as by Banpatti about the same time. The commentary bears no name of the author, but there can be no doubt that it is fairly late. The learned editor makes an elaborate attempt to demonstrate that the Vivriti cannot but be taken as the lost Viveka or Vicara of Rajonaka Tilaka. The evidence adduced is plausible but is not conclusive, and in the absence of more definite data it is better to leave the question open. So far as a work can be edited from a single MS. which in itself is far from being a perfect specimen, it has been edited with care and scholarship; and there is a fairly exhaustive Sanskrit introduction in which all points of interest have been detailed by the editor. But the value of the Vivriti as an exejetical work need not be placed too high.

The next is a work on Vaisnava Tantra. It is one of the three authoritative Pancharatra Agamas, for which a high antiquity (5th Century A.D.) is claimed. The work, however, concerns itself with developed Tantrik cults and practices, and it is doubtful if such an early date can be assigned to the form of the text which has been published. There is a chapter in which the letters of the alphabet have been given descriptive name; and the general editor has based his arguments about the date by an attempt to approximate these designations to the forms of the letters obtaining in the various period of Indian palaegraphy. The arguments are ingenious but hardly convincing or conclusive. There can be doubt that this well edited text is highly important and interesting for the study of a little known aspect of Indian culture and as such deserves the pains that have been taken in publishing it. There is a Sanskrit Introduction by the learned editor, himself a devout Vaisnava, elucidating the leading tenets and practices of the school in relation to the present work; which the general editor of the series had added an English introduction in which he discussed, among other things, the date and general character of the work itself.

The last work in the series gives us the Sanskrit text of Nyaya-pravesa (the Pt. II giving the Tibetan text, edited by Mm. Vidushekhar Shastri), which is ascribed by the Tibetan tradition to the famous Buddhist logician Dingnaga (5th Century A.D.) but by the Chinese tradition to Dinaganga's pupil, Sankaraswamin. It has been edited with great care and scholarship on the basis of four MSS, along with the commentary (Vritti) of Haribhadra, a Jaina writer, and the sub-commentary (Panjika) on Haribhadra's Vritti of Parsvadevagani, also a Jaina writer, who belonged to the 1st half of the 12th Century. The edition is enriched by a critical introduction and learned notes by the editor. On the question of the authorship of the original text, about which there is a conflict between the Tibetan and Chinese tradition, the editor examines the arguments advanced on both sides and soberly expresses his inability to come to a definite conclusion "because no single piece of evidence, not even the general weight of the whole, which is at present available, is found to be conclusive." But he gives his tentative opinion that the Nyayapravesa is a work composed by Sarikarasvamin to facilitate entrance into the Nyayadvara which is a work of his master Dingnaga. He then examines the question of the relation of the Nyayapravesha to tre Manimekhalai, and rightly holds the view that the chapter on logic is the latter work, which is a romance, has been interpolated out of the Nyaya-pravesha. On the problem of the chronological relationship between Prasastapada and Dignaga, he maintains, against Stcherbatsky's recent view, the priority of Prosastapada to Dignaga. There is also to the introduction an able erposition of the problem of Dignagas contribution to Indian Logic. This is a publication which certainly bears out the reputation of the Series, as well as of the veteran editor, to whom the work was rightly entrusted.

S. K. De.

MAKERS OF THE ARYA SAMAJ—BOOKS I, II & III: *By Diwan Chand Sharma. Published by MacMillan & Co., 294, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta.*

In these books we have the biographies of the makers of the Arya Samaj, including that of its founder Swami Dayanand Saraswati. The style is simple, almost that of school text-books for beginners in English. This is so, we are told by the author himself, because he wants "to make their appeal as wide as possible." The narration, however, have omitted many details which might be considered important by those who are interested in the history of the Arya Samaj movement.

The Arya Samaj has had many enemies in the past—has even now. But it has succeeded in establishing one great principle, *viz.*, that the right to proselytize may be claimed even by Hinduism. If Soviet tendencies, which have come into existence in Russia, gain ground throughout the world, Religion perhaps will soon by a matter of antiquarian interest only. So long, however, as that consummation has not taken place, in fairness and for the sake of amity, the right to proselytize ought to belong either to all religions or to none. In fighting for this, the Arya Samaj fought for a principle; and some of the persons whose biographies we have in the books before us, died martyr to this cause. The books ought to have an appeal for as wide a circle of readers as the author intends.

U. C. Bhattacharjee

HINDI

SAPTA-SARITA: *Translated from Kaka Kalelkar's original Gujrati into Hindi by Hrishikes Sharma. Published by the Bharatiya Sahitya-Parishad, Delhi. Price 4 annas. 1937.*

Kaka Kalelkar, a veteran educationist, had paid his homage to sixteen Indian rivers out of Gujerat in his mother language; seven out of those sixteen, selected by Kakaji himself, have now found a way in Hindi. A genuine love for the rivers animates the description in these pages. Markandi, Krishna,. Ganga, Jamuna,—they are all "mothers of men", and the author looks upon them in different ways, the Ganga being the mother, the Markandi being a friend, etc. The book is, as the author tells us in the preface, not a lesson in Geography, but a tribute paid by a Hindu to the springs of life. The personal touch is evident throughout, and the descriptions make a pleasant reading. The Parishad has been well advised to bring out a cheap edition in Hindi and a wide circulation of this excellent manual is desirable.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

BENGALI

SANCHAYITA: *By Rabindranath Tagore. Third Edition. Rs. 4. Visvabharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.*

This volume of 614 pages contains selections from the poems of Rabindranath Tagore made by the poet himself. He has almost entirely excluded from this collection the productions of his juvenile years, as in his opinion they had not attained the level of poetry.

The selection is almost up-to-date, and includes some of the best prose-poems of the author.

As he is a voluminous writer of great merit, it is not every one who can afford the leisure to read all his works either in verse or prose. Yet who would not like to be acquainted with his best in either medium? To such the present volume would be a fitting companion in hours of leisure.

This neatly printed volume does not, as it cannot and is not intended to, contain all the best poems of the author. But it contains enough to make the reader acquainted with some of the best work done by the greatest poet of Bengal and one of the greatest in the world.

D.

ANGLO-BENGALI

GOVINDA'S KADCHA: *A Black Forgery. With a foreword by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., P.R.S., D.Litt., Kt., C.I.E. By B. V. Das Gupta. Published by S. N. Das Gupta, 10, Dolaiganj Station Road, Dacca. Price Rupee 1.*

The book under review, like the Bengali works *Chaitanyadever Dakshinapath bhraman* of Charu Chandra Srimani and *Govindadaser Karcha-rahasya* of Mrinal Kanti Ghosh, which were already noticed in the *Prabasi* (Magh 1342 and Magh 1343) seeks to prove the spurious character of the Bengali work *Govindadaser Kadcha* (Notes by Govindadasa on the Southern tour of Chaitanya, the great Vaishnava Master of Bengal) first published in 1895 and re-edited by Dr. D. C. Sen from the University of Calcutta in 1926.

In fifteen chapters the book presents a mass of internal and external evidence which gives the history of the first publication of the text in 1895 since when it was openly denounced as spurious, and draws attention to the innumerable inconsistencies and inaccuracies occuring in it in the form of modern words and expressions, anachronistic statements, historical absurdities, geographical blunders and the like. Incidentally (in chapters VIII and IX) it exposes what appear to be attempts on the part of Dr. Sen to give the text in his edition an old appearance by way of making room for occasional lacunae in places where there were none in the original edition, as also by giving older and archaic forms of apparently modern words occuring in it. A chronological bibliography of all the writings—not small in quantity—on the subject would have been interesting and useful. The absence of reference to the numbers of the *Vishnupriya Patrika* in which the genuineness of the work was first questioned is specially to be regretted as it deprives the inquisitive reader of making a direct acquaintance with what was published there. The book under review along with its predecessors in Bengali (already referred to) the line of argument of which is occasionally found to have been followed here, though unfortunately without any acknowledgment, should receive the serious consideration of all impartial scholars.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

ANGLO-GUJARATI

TARAPOREVALA'S UP-TO-DATE ENGLISH-GUJARATI DICTIONARY. *Complied by Principal S. S. Oza M.A. and published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay. Full cloth, double-crown* $\times$ *32. Pages 1424.*

It is a handy Anglo-Gujarati dictionary specially compiled for the use of students. Besides giving English words and their meanings in Gujarati, the compiler has added at the end of the volume several classified lists of technical terms with their Gujarati equivalents about law, medicine, science, commerce etc. This and other information enhances the value and usefulness of the book.

B. M. V.

GUJARATI

EKAJ PATNI: *By Chhotubhai N. Joshi, B.A., LL.B. Advocate, High Court, Bombay. Printed at the Ila Printing, Bombay. Thick Card Board. Pp. 90. Price Re. 1-8 (1936).*

This is a three act play, written on modern lines, with stage directions etc. The author's belief is that as long as the heartless way in which marriages between young boys and girls are allowed to take place in the orthodox fashion and confined to the system of marrying inside the caste only, the salvation of India will never come about. He advocates freedom of marriage as between members of the whole Hindu community, irrespective of caste. In the play he has tried his best to bring into relief the advantages of the innovation proposed by him. The performance suffers from the handicap natural to a writer writing in this direction for the first time. With further experience crudeness will wear away.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

STATES AND THE FEDERAL SYSTEM: *By N. N. Sastri, M.A. Hyderabad, Deccan. Pp. 34. Price As. 8.*

A brief discussion of the problems of Indian Federation.

MY SCRAP BOOK—*of Business Ideas, Inspiring Thoughts, Wit and Philosophy: By R. S. Gian. Published by the Author at Hyderabad, Sind. Price Rupees Three or 4sh. 6d.*

The book contains businessideas, epigrams, mottos, wit, hints etc., culled from different sources.

CROSSWORD CYCLOPÆDIA, Part I: *Compiled by K. K. C. Published by Crossword Publishing Co. Agra. Pp. 4+40. Price Annas 12.*

A record of the past competitions, with suggestions for the competing populace.

INSULT TO MAN'S HUMANITY, AND PENAL EXCESS

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

In my childhood, I remember, the police appeared to me as part of some immense department of frightfulness; they were as alien to normal human life as ghosts and ghouls. Thieves, for this reason, were for me monsters quite outside the frontiers of the human race. Then it occurred once that I saw a thief with my own eyes, running away from our house in a desperate attempt to elude the porters. What surprised me was that he was like any ordinary man, indeed weaker than most.

The time has not arrived yet for my surprise to vanish: the unnatural situation remains. Those who having broken the law—whatever the reason—have once been branded as criminals are still the objects of such extreme prejudice that we have no compunction in dealing out inhuman treatment to them. We take it that they are not like us, and it seems that we carry full social sanction when we allow our treatment to become a torture. The sadism that lies at the depth of human society thus secures victims for self-indulgence.

Let me relate another experience—of a later period. In Calcutta I saw a policeman dragging through the crowded street a person charged with some offence—he may or may not have been guilty—by means of a rope tied round the man's waist. The insult offered in dragging a man like an animal lies on all of us. This struck my mind deeply because, among other reasons, I have never seen such an evil sight in England or anywhere else in Europe. Insult to man's humanity, and along with it insult to my fellow-countryman in particular, made my heart so galling; there was, firstly, cruelty practised on a law-breaker and contempt for him besides because he belonged to one's own land. That contempt lies on us all. In our country alone humiliation is heaped on top of legal penalties.

It is natural to savage mentality to think that a cruel system is efficacious. From the primary school to the lunatic asylum one sees this mentality holding authority. The primitive savage lurking in the human mind delights in atrocities. In civilised countries the sphere of such enjoyment has been narrowed down; the partially civilised side of human nature shames and controls the brute within. In countries free from such control the brute revels, cruelty becomes legal. The ideal of humanity is daily violated in the prisons by brutism.

Had the jails not offered shelter for the practice of vengefulness, justified as a means of rectification, the aggressiveness of legalised punishment would for very shame have disappeared. The nature of evil is to spread and extend its secret domain once it is encouraged in some form, great or small, in the social system. Modern Europe offers ugly instances; repression baring its teeth and shamelessly mocking civilised behaviour reigns in countries proudly claiming to be civilised—but the roots of such monstrosity lie in all the prisons where cruelty is practised with the deliberate sanction of the ruling power. Enormous cages have been built to feed and nourish Satan with human blood; the modern statecraft of political barbarism is born there. There, in those costly gaols, civilisation daily poisons itself with the virus of callousness.

Even now after many years I remember how such a centre of punishment can corrupt humanity in its neighbourhood. Our ship arrived in Hong Kong on its way to China. From the deck I saw a Chinese pedlar trying to sell his ware to the travellers on shore. This may have been forbidden. In course of applying the law a Sikh constable, countryman of mine, pulled him by the pig-tail and gave him a kick. Uncivilised legal procedure, it is evident, helps the brute in an uncultured brain to lust in rudeness. I imagined the case of a European, not a mere pedlar but a thief or a ruffian, under similar circumstances. The Sikh constable, in pursuance of his duties, could even have hit the miscreant with a stick but never pulled him by the ear or kicked him. That policeman in Honk Kong had restrained the pedlar but had kicked the whole nation. Human beings living in countries subjected to contempt not only put up with such treatment but invite increase in savagery.

Agents of the government who can pull a man by the hair and kick him are no doubt plentiful in this country. The reason which makes them flourish in China exists here in full force. Contempt, and its attendant cruelty, have, we feel, thoroughly infected the air of India.

In this connection I should like to tell another story. I was then in Selidah. The fishing folk of that neighbourhood I used to know intimately. Their whole existence depended on such rights as they had on the use of the river. Occupation rights on the water are never so decisive as on the land; the owners of the water took advantage of this to oppress the fishermen as they liked—in this respect the fishermen were more helpless than the peasants. Some agent of the zemindar once came and took a large haul of fish, quite illegally, from a fisherman's boat on to his own. Such events

frequently happened. Those for whom acceptance of wrong is the simplest way of self-preservation could not, on this occasion, suffer silently; they hacked away an ear of that plunderer. Round about midnight a deputation of fishermen came to my boat—their whole settlement, they said, was being ruthlessly raided by the police. At once I sent to them a gentleman from my Estate, not to obstruct the police in the discharge of their public duty as it is solemnly termed, but to be present during the occasion. He had no power but he represented some ideal; his presence on the spot would be a challenge to wrong-doing.

Even with regard to the prisoners in our country we cannot do more. We can point out what is decent and what is not; we can appeal in the name of humanity. But to whom shall we direct our words, whom shall we confront? Our appeal must be to those who belong to the category of hair-pullers, those who are the intermediaries, those who have no compunction in heaping insults on their own countrymen in serving a foreign government.

There is a definite procedure, we must remember, laid down by law for careful trial of an accused before he is penalised. This civilised procedure we have got from the English. Summary judgment by the *Qazi* was once the order of the day; we have learnt to disrespect it because that whole system of trial and punishment was based on individual guess work, on caprice, on personal prejudices. It was easy in those days, as it is even now perhaps to a lesser degree, to maltreat an individual the moment he was under accusation, because the conception of a civilised legal system was lacking, human freedom was insecurely founded. In civilised countries it is recognised, moreover, that for sure proof of guilt the law itself should provide for proper search and scrutiny of witnesses by expert lawyers, and by experienced judges. We have now learnt to value a legal system which by its impartiality shows respect for all men. We know that in spite of such precaution there has not been, in many cases, convincing judgment; innocent people have been incarcerated. If the very foundation of our faith in justice is removed then this business of law and law courts must be looked upon as a gigantic game of wastefulness.

Even if it is decided that in special cases, according to the gravity of the offence, there have to be secret examination of witnesses, judgment on suspicion, and summary punishment —I would not argue; but it must be asserted that in such instances the punishment should not be excessive. It would be well to guard against future regret for having inflicted inordinate suffering on a wrongly convicted person. The condition of imprisonment is itself sufficiently painful. If by adding extra ingredients it is made more intolerable, that procedure cannot be called civilised. That the ingredients are of a bitter kind we can only guess from outside. When it is claimed that proper trial to prove the offence is not possible, there should at least be some provision made for the mitigation of suffering in dealing with such doubtful cases.

Many have been returned from prison in their last hours to die from tuberculosis in their mothers' arms; I ask you, Indian representatives of my own country, do you feel quite sure, without ever holding a trial, that they deserve such slow torturous death?

May I speak of a long-stored agony of my mind? Within a short time there have been in this country a number of serious acts of reprisal and murderous attacks. Those who have been eye-witnesses and been involved in personal suffering along with their families and friends, those who know the inner story have been responsible, sometimes, for the dissemination of news which our people have had every reason to accept as reliable. The authorities, however, because they did not consider such acts to be political offence, have not in these cases chosen to pursue the logic of suspicion to its extreme end, ordered punishment without offering any explanation. This they have done in dealing with the other side, and evidently our Indian representatives today have considered the procedure to be correct. Persons responsible for political murder and loot are despicable; no less despicable are those who are responsible for similar acts committed by the other side. The argument that it is easy by means of secret information to discover the culprits on one side but not so on the other is too strange to be seriously advanced. Punishment must be meted out on both sides; it may not be possible to obtain legally valid proof of conspiracy and secret crimes but both in the number of crimes committed and in the degree of heinousness in their commission one side is as guilty as the other. Excessive punishment, I have already said, I consider to be barbaric; on neither side would I have vindictiveness equated by violent reprisal. But judge we must, whether a Government or a Society, by condemnation. Solitary confinement or banishment in the Andamans I would not advocate for offenders on either side. If our representatives seated in high authority do so, I, standing below, must contradict them.

Rabindranath Tagore's speech at Santiniketan on Andaman Day. Authorized translation by Amiya Ch. Chakravarty.

EUROPE—TODAY AND TOMORROW

By SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

It is customary in modern Politics to classify the different nations as the 'Haves' and 'Have-nots.' The 'Haves' are those, like Great Britain and France, that have profited as a result of the Treaties of Versailles, Trianon and Neuilly, following the Great War. The 'Have-nots' are those that have lost territory under some of these Treaties or have specific grievances against their provisions. In Europe, Great Britain, France, as well as the succession states that have been carved out of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire are among the 'Haves.' On the other hand, Germany, Italy, Hungary, Austria and Bulgaria are among the 'Have-nots.' Though Russia lost much of her territory as a result of the last War, she is now interested in maintaining the status quo and is therefore classified among the 'Haves.' And though Italy acquired territory from the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the end of the War, she is nevertheless regarded as a 'Have-not' because she was expecting a greater share of the spoils of war. Italy was cajoled into joining the Allies in 1915 by the terms of the Secret Pact of London, wherein Britain and France promised her several things, including the Dalmatian Coast which later on was assigned by the Peace Conference to Jugoslavia (called in the Peace Treaty the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes).

Though Austria should be one of the principal 'Have-nots,' she seems to have resigned herself to her fate and does not cherish any irredentist dreams. Austria is therefore no longer an explosive force. The Government Party, led by Chancellor Schuschnigg, which has the backing of the Catholic Church and a section of the peasantry, is interested in maintaining the integrity of Austria's present frontiers. The younger generation who do think and dream of a change, look forward to an 'Anschluss' or Union with Germany. Occasionally one hears that the Government Party is thinking of reverting to the monarchical form of Government with Archduke Otto as Emperor. Though Austria is not herself an explosive force, she is unwittingly a disturbing factor, inasmuch as Germany wants to annex her, while Frnace and Italy want to preserve her independence.. And behind both these parties, moves the youthful and sinister figure of Archduke Otto, who from his Belgian retreat, plots and schemes for the throne of his ancestors.

Of the other 'Have-nots,' Bulgaria is the quietest. She lost territory to all her neighbours (Roumania, Greece and Servia—now Jugoslavia) as a result of the Balkan War of 1912 and the Great War as well. But she nurses her grievances in secret and sighs for better days, though she feels helpless within a ring of hostile powers. Hungary is more active, so far as propaganda goes. Her protagonists roam all over Europe and endeavour to canvass support among the Big Powers for revision of her frontiers. From the military point of view, Hungary is not an important factor today, having lost more than half of her former territory and population to Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia (formely Serbia) and Roumania.

Till recently, Soviet Russia would have been regarded as an explosive force of gigantic proportions, busy in stirring up revolution all over the World. But such is not the case today. After the death of Lenin and the elimination of Trotsky, Soviet Russia under the guidance of Stalin is interested only in buiding up Socialism within the Soviet frontiers. The sudden resurgence of Germany has helped to accentuate this tendency. Russia has therefore joined the League of Nations, which by the way is dominated by the capitalist powers, and under the slogan of 'Collective Security and Peace,' is doing everything possible to prevent a disturbance of the status quo in Europe.

The really explosive forces in Europe today are Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. Ranged against them are Britain, France and Soviet Russia. On the complicated chess-board of Europe interminable moves are going on and the scene is changing from day to day.

Before the Great War, the status quo was preserved by maintaining the 'Balance of Power.' The powers interested in preserving the status quo would have a secret alliance among themselves and would endeavour to play against one another the potentially hostile ones who refused to join them. The League of Nations which was constituted in 1919 was meant to put an end to secret diplomacy and to the division of the world into rival groups of powers, which served to keep up the bogey of war. In its

place, was introduced a new technique, whereby all nations were to be brought into the League and made jointly responsible for the maintenance of 'Collective Security and Peace.' Both the League of the Nations and its new technique seem to have failed in their objective, because there are powers that do not feel interested in preserving the status quo and among them, Japan and Germany, are no longer members of the League—while the most powerful factor in international politics, the U. S. A., has never been a member.

To understand the meaning and purpose behind the recent disturbances in Europe, one has to comprehend the aims of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. Since Mussolini came to power in 1922, Italy has been thinking aggressively of expansion—of a place in the sun—of a revival of the Roman Empire. But till January, 1935, Italy did not herself know which direction her policy of expansion should follow. She had grievances against Jugoslavia who had robbed her of the Dalmatian Coast. She was snarling at France who had taken the Italian Districts of Savoy and Nice and was in possession of Tunisia, in North Africa, with a large Italian population, and of the Island of Corsica which belongs geographically to Italy. She was hostile to Imperialist Britain who was in control of Italian 'Malta' and had, with French acquiescence, converted the Mediterranean Sea into a British lake. The tension between Italy and France was particularly acute, with the result that both sides of the Franco-Italian frontier were heavily fortified and guarded. Then in 1933, the Nazi Colossus suddenly appeared on the scence and changed the whole aspect of Europe. France rushed to England for support and alliance against the new danger. But Britain was non-committal. Perhaps in her heart of hearts she relished the idea of a check to French hegemony on the Continent. Perhaps she was simply following her traditional policy in international affairs. However, France was nettled and in annoyance, she turned to Italy and Soviet Russia. France wanted to withdraw her troops from the Italian frontier, and concentrate them against Germany and she wanted, further, an ally on Germany's eastern flank. Thus there came into existence the Laval-Mussolini Pact and the Franco-Soviet Pact.

The Laval-Mussolini Pact in January, 1935, decided for Italy the direction of her future expansion. Italy squared up her differences with France and gave up territorial ambitions in Europe. In return, France agreed to give her a free hand in Africa. The result was the rape of Abyssinia.

After the conquest of Abyssinia, Mussolini made a speech in which he declared to the world that Italy had now become a 'satisfied' power. The annexation of Abyssinia had been regarded by Britain as an encroachment on her preserves in Africa and the speech appeared as a pointer in the direction of the renewal of Anglo-Italian friendship. That expectation was not fulfilled, however. Though Britain had at first challenged Italy over the Abyssinian question and then beaten a quick retreat before the bluff and swagger of Mussolini—she had not forgotten the humiliation. In order to repair the damage done to her prestige among the Mediterranean and Near Eastern nations—she set about strengthening her naval and aerial bases in the Mediterranean. The First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir Samuel Hoare, went on a tour of inspection in the Mediterranean and concluded it with a public declaration that Britain would not withdraw from that zone. Other Cabinet ministers, like Anthony Eden, also made pronouncements to the effect that the Mediterranean was Britain's life-line—that it was not merely a short cut, but a main arterial road. It is this determination on the part of Britain to maintain her position in the Mediterranean and to strengthen it further which has irritated and antagonised Italy—for Italy is equally determined to increase her influence in the Mediterranean through the expansion of her Navy and Air Force and this could take place only at the expense of Britain. It should therefore be clear that the present Anglo-Italian tension is not a product of Il Duce's ill-humour, nor is it a passing phase. It will continue until the question of the future hegemony over the Mediterranean is finally solved through the voluntary withdrawal or defeat of one of the two rival powers. Fraternising letters may pass between Neville Chamberlain and Signor Mussolini, Ambassadors and Foreign Ministers may shake hands—but a political conflict born of objective factors and forces will continue, so long as the causes remain.

Italy's reply to Britain's renewed interest in the Mediterranean is her intervention in the Spanish Civil War. It would be puerile to think or suggest that Italy has plumped for Franco because of her sympathy for the latter's Fascist aims or her hatred of Communism. Political sympathy she would have for Franco in any case, but she is pouring out her blood and money for Franco primarily for strategic reasons. The same is true of Germany and whoever does not realise this, understands nothing of the Spanish Civil War.

In spite of her progress in rearmament,

Italy is no match for Britain. British rearmament throughout the world has made Italy's position weaker since the end of the Abyssinian War. In any case, Britain through her control of Gibraltar and Suez can, in the event of a war with Italy, bottle up the Italian fleet and carry out an economic blockade which may prove disastrous to the latter. Italy has to import most of her raw materials like coal, iron, oil, wool, cotton etc. and two-thirds of her seaborne trade comes from the Atlantic, while eighty per cent of her imports come over the Mediterranean. Her coastline is long and vulnerable and she can maintain contact with her African possessions, Libia, Eritrea and Abyssinia, only if she dominates the Mediterranean. For all these reasons, an economic blockade combined with an attack from British naval stations, like Malta and Cyprus, can create havoc for Italy and even strangle her. She may retaliate by attacking British possessions in the Mediterranean or British trade passing through that sea, but she can neither attack Britain nor touch Britain's sources of raw materials and food which lie outside the Mediterranean zone. Thus, matched against Britain in war, Italy is virtually helpless and can play a primarily defensive role. And as long as Spain remains friendly to Britain, or even neutral, Italy's helplessness will remain unrelieved. Only with the help of Spain can Italy escape from her fatal strategic position. With Spain under her control, Italy could take the offensive against Britain. She could destroy Gibraltar and menace both the trade routes of Britain—the Mediterranean route and the cape route. What is more, she could get over the blockade by using the land routes over Spain in order to bring imports from the Atlantic side. As the advent of Air Force more than compensated Italy for the weakness of her navy, *vis-a-vis* Great Britain, during the Abyssinian campaign, so the control of Spain, or even a foothold in Spanish territory, would enable her to convert her present, fatally weak and defensive position into a strong, offensive one in the event of a future war.

Thus Italy is fighting Great Britain in Spain. She is helping Franco in order to get a foothold in Spanish territory.

After considering these strategic factors, one need not be surprised that Italy is so greatly interested in Franco's success. Rather, it is surprising that there should be people in England who sympathise with Franco and the rebels. As Captain Liddell Hart, the well-known British strategist says in *Europe in Arms*:

"Strategically, the danger (to British interests) is so obvious that it is difficult to understand the eagerness with which some of the most avowedly patriotic sections of the British public have desired the rebels' success."

This is probably a case of political prejudice (*viz.* hatred of the Socialists and Communists) overriding the dictates of self-interest.

Notwithstanding all that I have just said, it has to be pointed out that Italy today is on the whole a satisfied power. She resents British supremacy in the Mediterranean and she thinks that as in days of yore, the Mediterranean should be a Roman lake. But she will not go to any extreme in her conflict with Great Britain. Intervention in the Spanish Civil War is all right for her, because she knows full well that none of the Big Powers is yet ready for an international war. Mussolini is far too shrewd a politician to stake his position or the position of his country in a risky adventure in the near or distant future. Therefore, we may rest assured that Italy will not take the offensive in disturbing the peace of Europe—nor will she enter into a war unless she is pretty sure of victory.

But Germany under Hitler is an incalculable factor, despite the sober and cautious policy of the Reichswehr, the German Army. Nazi Germany has been dreaming dreams which can be fulfilled only through the arbitrament of war. Moreover, the economic crisis within Germany has been growing so acute that many observers opine that the day is not far off when she may have to launch on a war abroad, in order to stave off discontent at home. To understand the future of Germany, we shall have to probe a little deeper.

Since the Great War there has been a French hegemony on the Continent. Not content with crushing Germany, France erected a diplomatic wall around Germany through alliances with Poland and with the Little Entente—the succession states, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Roumania. She followed this up by establishing cordial relations with Turkey which was formerly within the German orbit of influence. Germany looked on helplessly while she was thus diplomatically isolated from the civilized world. Her only reply to this policy of encirclement was the Treaty of Rapallo with Soviet Russia.

French hegemony in post-war Europe has been anathema to Germany whose influence on the Continent had been paramount since the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, resulting in the ignominious defeat of France. Since then, Germany had been expanding in several directions. Outside Europe she went in for colonial expansion. In the sphere of trade she bid fair to be a rival to Great Britain and the U. S. A.

She built a powerful navy which was looked upon with suspicion by Britain. She brought Austria, Bulgaria and Turkey within her sphere of influence and planned the Berlin-Baghdad Railway which was regarded as a thrust at Britain's Eastern possessions. But the War smashed all these achievements and aspirations and for a decade Germany lay in the slough of despair, while her thinkers began to philosophise about the decline of the West and Spengler wrote his *Untergang des Abend-Landes*. Then came the new awakening through the emergence of the National-Socialist or Nazi Party.

The political doctrine of the Nazi Party can be summed up in one phrase—'Drang nach Osten'—or 'Drive to the East.' The doctrine was first propounded by Müller van den Bruck in his book, *Das dritte Reich* or 'the Third Empire.' He did not live to see the establishment of the third Reich under Hitler in 1933, for he committed suicide in 1925 in a fit of despair. His idea was, however, taken up by Hitler and amplified in his (Hitler's) book *Mein Kampf*, or "My Struggle," which he wrote in prison in 1923. The essence of the above doctrine is that Germany should give up the idea of being a naval or colonial power. She should remain a continental power and her expansion should take place on the Continent—towards the East. It was pre-War Germany's greatest blunder to go in for colonial expansion and thereby come into conflict with Great Britain.

The new social philosophy of the Nazis, as expounded by Hitler, advocates the purification and strengthening of the German race through elimination of Jewish influence and a return to the soil. "Blut und Boden," or "Blood and Soil," is the new slogan for the German people. In foreign policy, the Nazis advocate the unification of all German-speaking peoples and the acquisition eastwards of more elbow-room for the prolific German race. In practical politics, the above objectives amount to the annexation (1) of Austria, (2) of Memel which she has lost to Lithuania, (3) of Danzig which has been made a free city under the League of Nations, (4) of the German-speaking part of Czechoslovakia with a population of 3½ millions, (5) of the Polish Corridor and the Silesian coal-fields which she has lost to Poland, (6) of the rich grain-producing lands of Soviet Ukraine and (7) possibly also of the German-speaking parts of Switzerland, Italian Tyrol and other adjoining countries.

Since no country will oblige Germany by handing over any of the above territories, it goes without saying that she can realize her political objectives only through war and bloodshed. Germany herself is fully alive to this fact and that is why she has been rearming at a terrific rate on sea, land and air. Having repudiated the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles in March, 1935, and having occupied the Rhineland in March, 1936, Germany has recovered her self-respect and her full national status as an independent State. Her continued rearmament under these circumstances can have but one meaning—*viz.*, preparation for War. Her rearmament has driven the last nail in the coffin of international disarmament and in sheer panic the whole of Europe is now engaged in rearming. When such frantic preparations for war are going on all round, the slightest incident may one day light an international conflagration.

It now remains for us to consider to what extreme Germany will go in achieving her aims. At what stage will she go in for war and with whom?

Political prophecy is always a difficult job—but one thing is certain. Germany has not forgotten the lessons of her last defeat. Hers was not a military defeat, but an economic one. And it was the British Navy which was primarily responsible for starving her to submission. It is therefore certain that Germany will not enter into a war if she knows that Britain will be against her. In 1914, Germany foolishly enough, did not believe till the last moment that Britain would take up the gauntlet on behalf of Belgium and France. It is now generally admitted by historians that if Britain had made her intentions known to Germany beforehand, the latter would probably have kept aloof from the Austro-Serbian conflict and thereby averted—or at least postponed—the World War.

Though in his book, *Mein Kampf*, Hitler asked for a final show-down with France, Germany's foreign policy has been modified since the Nazis assumed the reins of office. Germany no longer wants to get back Alsace-Lorraine from France or Eupen-Malmady from Belgium. In other words, Germany does not demand a revision of the Frontiers in Western Europe. The reason for this is not far to seek. Germany knows quite well that an attack on France or Belgium or Holland will bring Britain into the arena at once and there would probably be a repetition of the last war. Germany has therefore been continually offering to sign a Western Pact which would guarantee the status quo in Western Europe. For a large number of British politicians this offer is a tempting one, because it removes once for all any possible threat to British interests. Germany while making this offer has been striving hard to drive

a bargain at the international counter, her demand being that Britain and France should cease to interest themselves in Central and Eastern Europe so that Germany may have a free hand in rearranging the map of that part of the world.

Germany is now preparing in three directions. Firstly, she is going in for an all-round rearmament. Secondly, she is trying to make herself self-sufficient as regards the supply of food and basic raw-materials. (This is a provision against a future economic blockade). This work was started last year in accordance with Germany's Four-year Plan. Thirdly, she is trying to persuade the Western Powers to agree to neutrality in the event of a war in Central or Eastern Europe. Until all these preparations are complete, it is extremely doubtful if Germany will voluntarily launch on a war.

To win over Britain to an attitude of neutrality, Germany has launched on a large-scale propaganda in that country and she has already attained a fair measure of success. In this effort, Germany has exploited the general hatred of Communism which can be found among the richer and middle classes in Britain. The Franco-Soviet Pact has come handy and the Nazis continually emphasise that for Britain to be tied up with France means fighting a war in Eastern Europe on the side of Soviet Russia, though Britain has no interests in that zone. Alongside of this, the Nazis pledge themselves not to harm British interests in any quarter of the globe. As a result of this endeavour, there is an influential pro-Nazi group in Great Britain —with supporters in the House of Lords, in the City of London and generally among the ruling classes and the fighting forces. There are supporters even among the Labourites, though they are attracted by different reasons. It is generally believed that Montagu Norman, Governor of the Bank of England, Premier Neville Chamberlain and Sir Robert Vansittart, the strong man in the Foreign Office, are all pro-Nazi. It is even averred that Neville Chamberlain has inherited his pro-German attitude from his father, Joseph Chamberlain, who more than forty years ago wanted to enter into an alliance with Germany.

It is too early to say if Britain's foreign policy will ultimately follow a straight line or if it will continue to wobble, as it has often done in the past. At the present moment, British public opinion is terribly confused. Firstly, there is the pro-Nazi group, referred to above, who want a Western Pact and no commitments in Central and Eastern Europe. Secondly, there is the anti-German Conservative Party represented by Winston Churchill who are distrustful of the Nazis and apprehend that when Germany is once supreme in Europe, she will challenge British interests abroad. They point out in this connection that Britain has nothing to fear from France and that outside Europe, British and French colonial interests are everywhere bound up together. Thirdly, there are the Socialists and Communists who on ideological grounds are anti-German and pro-French in their general attitude.

In the midst of this confusion, the British Foreign Office, despite Anthony Eden, is following a definite policy *viz.*, to persuade France to give up her interest in Central and Eastern Europe. The aim of Vansittart's policy is to force Germany to be and to remain a European Continental Power. That is why Britain has acquiesced in German rearmament, made the Naval Agreement with Germany in June, 1935, advised France to ignore German military occupation of the Rhineland in March, 1936, warned France not to help the Spanish Government though she was clearly entitled to do so under International Law. It is further alleged by those who are in a position to know diplomatic secrets that the British Foreign Office encouraged Poland in 1933 to come to terms with the Nazi Government. (The German-Polish non-Aggression Pact was adopted the next year). It also encouraged Belgium to break the alliance with France and return to neutrality and Jugoslavia to make friends with Italy and Germany, against the advice of France. It further encouraged the pro-Nazi Henlein Party in Czechoslovakia and intrigued for breaking, or at least slackening, the bonds of the Little Entente (Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Roumania) and of the Balkan Entente (Jugoslavia, Roumania, Greece and Turkey) which are under French influence.

It would not be improper to conclude from the above facts that the British Foreign Office has been secretly working contra France, at least in Europe, and that French hegemony on the Continent is distasteful to Whitehall. Perhaps because of this, French politicians of the Right were greatly annoyed with Great Britain and Laval proceeded to make alliances with Italy and Soviet Russia, independently of Britain. In fact, Laval's foreign policy might, from one point of view, be regarded as anti-British. But French politicians of the Left follow blindly the policy of the British Foreign Office, believing that France and Britain should hold together through thick and thin.

At present the German Foreign Office is playing an aggressive role, while France is busy

trying to counteract the former's moves and activities. Outside Britain, the Nazis have been remarkably successful in Belgium. A pro-Nazi Party (the Rexists) has come into existence in Belgium and Nazi propaganda is active among the Flemish-speaking people of Belgium. The Belgium Government has broken away from the alliance with France and will in future adopt an attitude of neutrality in the event of war in Central or Eastern Europe. The treaty of Rapallo with Soviet Russia has virtually lapsed since the Nazis came to power in 1933, but as if to compensate Germany for that, the Nazi Government entered into a non-Aggression Pact with Poland. This Pact served to undermine greatly French influence in Poland. Last year, France made gigantic efforts to recover her influence in Poland and a number of visits took place on both sides. But it seems probable that the Franco-Polish Alliance will never become a living force again and that in future Poland will follow an independent foreign policy —that is, a policy of neutrality in the event of a Franco-German or Russo-German conflict.

In addition to the above activities, Germany is now exceedingly busy in trying to weaken France by slackening the bonds of the Little Entente and Balkan Entente and by getting a foothold in Spanish territory. With the help of several alliances and friendly contacts, the position of France today is exceedingly strong and as long as this position continues, she will never agree to withdraw her interest in Central and Eastern Europe. She will continue to insist —as Litvinov, the Soviet Foreign Minister, also does—that peace is indivisible and that there should be one European Pact to guarantee collective security to all the states under the aegis of the League of Nations. Failing this, besides the Western Pact, there should be another Pact to guarantee peace in Central and Eastern Europe. To this, Germany does not agree and will not agree.

France has fortified herself with military alliances with Czechoslovakia and Soviet Russia. The two latter powers have also a military alliance between themselves. Consequently, these three powers will always be found together in the event of an international emergency. Czechoslovakia has an understanding with the other Little Entente powers, Jugoslavia and Roumania. And Jugoslavia and Roumania have an understanding with Greece and Turkey through the Balkan Entente. Germany hopes that by weaning away Jugoslavia and Roumania, she will isolate Czechoslovakia in Central Europe—for help from Russia can reach Czechoslovakia only through Roumania or through Poland. Poland is no longer a problem to Germany because of the non-aggression pact. Germany is trying to bring Austria under her influence through the instrumentality of Italy. Through Britain, she is trying to persuade France that as a military factor, Soviet Russia is not of much consequence and that France should give the go-by to the military clauses of the Franco-Soviet Pact. The recent execution of eight Army Generals in Russia has given a handle to the capitalist powers and they are carrying on a terrific propaganda to the effect that the Soviet military machine is recking with indiscipline and cannot be relied on in the event of war. Last but not least, Germany is trying her level best to obtain a foothold in Spanish territory, so that in the event of war with France she could stab her in the back by cutting off her communications with North Africa, from where France always obtains large supplies of men and materials when war breaks out in Europe. Germany hopes that by weakening France on all sides and by putting pressure on her through the British Foreign Office, she will ultimately make her agree to a Western Pact, giving Germany a free hand in Central and Eastern Europe. If France does not agree to this and if she ultimately goes to war with Germany on the side of Soviet Russia, she will find herself considerably weakened compared to what she was in 1914.

But will France fall in with Germany's plans? Ostensibly not. For Britain it is immaterial who dominates the Continent— France or Germany—for Britain's interests lie outside Europe. But France cannot so easily give up her hegemony in Europe for, unlike Britain, she is a Continental Power, besides being a Colonial Power. Moreover, France is fighting not merely for power and prestige, but also for her national safety. She has not forgotten the tragic defeat of 1870. Her population is stationary and is about two-thirds of that of Germany, whose population is still growing. Consequently, France has a genuine horror of German invasion, while Britain has not, as long as the German Navy keeps to the prescribed limits of the Anglo-German Naval Agreement. To crown everything, there is in France, a deep distrust of German aims and aspirations which has been accentuated by violent denunciations of France in Hitler's book, *Mein Kampf*. As a writer has put it succinctly, in France the Right hates Germany, the Left hates Hitler. In these circumstances, it is extremely doubtful if France will ever give up her allies and alliances in Central and

Eastern Europe as long as the violently nationalistic Nazi Party remains in power.

The issue of the Spanish Civil War is hanging in the balance and it is too early to say how far German diplomacy will succeed there. But in Central and Eastern Europe it has made considerable headway. In Roumania, the King and the Cabinet are, on the whole, pro-German and the Francophile ex-Foreign minister, Titulescu, has lost considerable influence. There is an anti-Semitic pro-Nazi Party, the Iron Guard, led by Codreanu, which is behind the Government. In Jugoslavia, the Premier Stoyadinovitch is pro-Nazi, as also his Government, while the Royal Family is under British influence. In Greece, the Premier, General Metaxas, who has made himself the Dictator, is undoubtedly under German influence. And Greece is important to Germany, because should the Russian Fleet in the Black Sea enter the Mediterranean through the Dardanelles, it could be attacked from a base in the Grecian Islands. Then Hungary and Bulgaria, being 'Have-not' powers, are expected to line up with Germany, if they see any chance of having their national grievances redressed thereby. Thus it appears that Germany has stolen a march over France throughout the Balkan Peninsula and she has been throwing out commercial baits in profusion.

But in international politics there is no finality. France is following on the heels of Germany everywhere. It is difficult to predict how long the Governments of Metaxas in Greece or Stoyadinovitch in Jugoslavia will last. The pro-French party in Roumania, though out of power for the time being, is not negligible and the Balkan temperament is proverbially changeable. Moreover, Germany finds pitted against herself, one of the finest diplomats of modern Europe, President Eduard Benes of Czechoslovakia.

The scene is changing from day to day and political forecasts are anything but easy. One thing is certain. If war comes, it will come as the result of a German challenge to the status quo in Central and Eastern Europe. But will it come? The answer rests primarily with Britain. Germany will not repeat the errors of 1914 and will not go into a war, if she knows that Britain will be against her. She might be trapped into it as she was in 1914, thinking that Britain would keep out of it. If France and Britain agree to be neutral in a conflict in Central or Eastern Europe, war will break out in Europe, as sure as the sun rises in the East, the moment Germany is ready for it. Even if France lines up with Soviet Russia, with Britain remaining neutral, there may be a war, though the upshot of it will be doubtful.

At the present moment, two scenes need watching—Spain and the Balkans. If Franco wins, it will be a victory for Italy and Germany and will mean the end of British hegemony in the Mediterranean and dark days ahead of France, if war should break out on the Continent. In the Balkans, if Germany succeeds in isolating Jugoslavia and Roumania from Czechoslovakia, she will, in the event of war, be able to occupy Prague in six hours and overrun Czechoslovakia within a few days. But the bigger problem will remain—Russia. The Russian Colossus has often proved to be an enigma. It baffled Napoleon—the conqueror of Europe. Will it baffle Hitler?

Dalhousie
August 21, 1937.

THE EVIDENCE OF THE IRDA COPPER-PLATE

By N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A.

In an article on the Irda Copper-plate of Nayapaladeva published in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXII, pp. 150-159 and plates, I dealt with some new evidence relating to a Kamboja dynasty of Bengal and incidentally with the origin of the Pala kings. But a fresh review of the available data has now become necessary in the light of further studies.

The Irda Copper-plate introduces us to a line of Kamboja kings, Rajyapala and his sons Narayanapala and Nayapala, names well known in the Pala genealogy. The wife of this Rajyapala was named Bhagyadevi just as the wife of Rajyapala, the son of Narayanapala of the Pala dynasty. One is tempted therefore to identify the two Rajyapalas. But there are other factors which seemed to go against this identification, and in the article referred to above I observed as follows :

"In the first place, the kings Narayanapala and

Nayapala, sons of Rajyapala cannot be the same as those mentioned in the Pala records. The son and successor of Rajyapala I of the Pala dynasty was Gopala II, whose name appears in the Bangarh, Amgachhi and Manahali plates. Secondly, Rajyapala of this record has the epithet *Kamboja-vamsa-tilaka*, i.e., 'an ornament of the Kamboja clan.' In the *Ramacharita* of Sandhyakara Nandi the Palas are supposed to have descended from the 'Samudra-kula,' whatever that may mean, and in the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva they are represented as belonging to Solar race (*Mihirasya vamsa*). But nowhere has the Kamboja origin been attributed to the Palas." (P. 152).

As regadrs the identification of the two Rajyapalas I must admit that I was not inclined to hazard it merely on the ground of identity of the name of the queen, as this might have been a pure coincidence. Now, however, there is an additional piece of evidence in favour of the identification supplied by a copper-plate of Gopala II recently brought to our notice by Mr. Kshitish Chandra Barman, M.A., in the *Bharatvarsha* for Sravan, 1344 B.S. The plate describes Rajyapala, the father of Gopala II as a *Paramasaugata* *i.e.*, 'a devout worshipper of Buddha' and *Maharajadhiraja*. The same epithets are prefixed also to the name of Rajyapala in the Irda Copper-plate. In view of this fresh evidence the identification seems to me to be likely, although it would upset the current theories regarding the origin of the Palas as well as the Kamboja occupation of Bengal in the tenth century A.D.

In the Irda plate, Rajyapala is described as *Kamboja-vamsa-tilaka*, *i.e.*, 'the ornament of the Kamboja family.' If he is the same as Rajyapala of the Pala dynasty it will have to be supposed that the Palas sprang from the Kamboja race. The only other inscription that speaks of a Kamboja king of Bengal is the Bangarh Pillar inscription which palaeographically may be assigned to the 10th century A.D. It records the construction of a Siva temple by a king of Gauda (*Gaudapati*) whose name is not specified, but who has the epithet *Kambojanvayaja*, *i.e.*, 'born in the Kamboja line.' As the Kamboja family could not have made themselves masters of Gauda without ousting the Palas, it had been hitherto supposed that the Palas were actually dispossessed of a portion of their territory in Bengal by the Kambojas for some time in the 10th century. In case the Palas are proved to be identical with the Kambojas the evidence of the Bangarh Pillar inscription will have to be interpreted differently. For, the Gauda king referred to therein might after all be a member of the Pala dynasty. There would then be no necessity for assuming that in the 10th century a part of the Pala territory was lost to the Kambojas. The current theory that some portion of the territory passed out of the hands of the Palas before the accession of Mahipala I, and that this king retrieved the possessions of his ancestors lost to some usurpers is based on the passage *anadhikrita-viluptam rajyam-asadya pitryam* occurring in the Bangarh grant of Mahipala. If the identification of Rajyapala of the Irda plate be accepted it would follow that he had at least three sons, Gopala, Narayanapala and Nayapala. While Gopala succeeded his father in Magadha and North Bengal, the remaining portion of the empire including Western Bengal passed into the hands of Narayanapala, who as stated in the Irda plate, was succeeded by his younger brother Nayapala. These two sons of Rajyapala were probably then the usurpers, and that may be the reason why their names do not find a place in the genealogy given in the records of the direct line of the Imperial Palas. It is also significant that in the Irda plate the genealogy is not carried beyond Rajyapala, the father of the reigning king Nayapala who issued the plate.

As regards the Kamboja origin of the Palas one cannot of course be definite in the present state of our knowledge. Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sarkar has suggested to me that if Rajyapala of the Pala dynasty had been born of a Kamboja mother (for which however there is no evidence yet) he could well be described as 'the ornament of the Kamboja family' and that the expression *Kamboja-vamsa-tilaka* does not necessarily show that the Pala dynasty as a whole was of Kamboja origin. Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh has further expressed his doubts about my reading *Kamboja-vamsa-tilaka*. I have looked into this matter very carefully and am convinced that no other reading is possible. The attention of scholars interested in Pala history is drawn to the Irda plate, as I think their interest has not yet been sufficiently roused.



An enlarged photo of the particular portion of the record that refers to the Kambojas is furnished here so as to enable the scholars to come to a decision.

WILL AMERICA HELP CHINA?

182 Pilots Recruited for China

Asia Fights While Europe Unites

By CHAMAN LAL

Washington (by air)

Will America help China in her life and death struggle against Japanese imperialism, is the question on the lips of thousands of sincere friends of China. I discussed the same question yesterday (Aug. 11) with the staff of the *Asia* and the *New Republic* (two leading liberal journals), who had invited me to lunch. Half a dozen journalists were present, including a young Chinese lady. The chief editors of both the papers (Mr. Walsh and Mr. Bliven) were frankly of the opinion that America will not help China because it wanted to keep out of war. When I asked them what did they think of nine-power treaty and other pacts, which urged the signatories to keep the sovereignty of China intact, the editors replied, "No country is prepared to go into war for another's sovereignty rights."

The American masses are, apparently, friendly towards China but most of the friendship is limited to oral sympathy. Some Americans have, however, found a good chance to make capital out of China. Lured by high salaries, several unemployed airmen in America have offered to become pilots in Chinese Army. A Los Angeles report says that 182 American airmen, each with two mechanics, have been enlisted to operate war planes for China.

Two more war bargains by Americans are reported. The second is a Shanghai report that a Mr. Norris as Far Eastern representative of North American Aviation, Inc., placed an order on behalf of the Chinese Government with American manufacturers for bombing planes to the value of $500,000.

The third is a Shanghai report that a Mr. Kendall, as Shanghai agent of the Oceanic and Oriental Navigation Company, on Aug. 1st, telephoned orders to American agents for the purchase of all shipping offered for sale.

American arms and planes would sell in thousands and enrich America exactly like the last World War. That is the only interest America has in China. It is a pity that two Asiatic nations fight, give thousands of young men as cannon fodder and send millions out of their country to buy war materials from Europe and America. Let us shed a few tears for Asia.

Europe Unites, Asia Fights

While two great nations of Asia are fighting a bloody war, Europe is trying to avoid war. England and Italy, declared enemies, have exchanged friendly notes and Chamberlain has begged Mussolini to enable England to show eyes to Japan, since it is threatening British influence and trade in China. Such is British diplomacy. England was the country that compelled the League of Nations to take action against Italy by enforcing sanctions and you will soon hear that England will move for the recognition of Italian Empire in Ethiopia. The betrayal of Ethiopia is a landmark in Britain's breach of faith.

England's Friendship

The fact is further proved by latest cables from London, which say that former Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia has been "compelled" to cancel plans for publication of his memoirs, Michael Joseph, his publisher, disclosed adding that the Emperor's decision was based on counsel of his "political advisers." The one-time ruler has found refuge in England, but well-informed persons have pointed out that recently Britain and Italy, which drove Haile Selassie from his throne, have exchanged overtures of fraternity. These exchanges, they have said, may lead ultimately to British recognition of the Italian conquest and abandonment of support of the former Emperor's claims. Mr. Joseph said, the Emperor's solicitor had told him that "quite definitely publication is out of the question." You will soon hear that the last Black Ruler will be expelled from England or made over to Mussolini. He must be saying, "God save me from my English friends."

Three cheers for British diplomacy.

Impotent Europe

Europe, impotent because of its selfishness and jealousies, is not going to help China. England, which let down America in 1932 in the Manchurian affair, is decidedly unwilling to help her customer China because it still thinks it can any day strike an imperial bargain with Japan for China trade. The conservative England is at heart more friendly to Japan than to China and Chamberlain is a friend of Japan. Hence, England will observe mum or continue to play the game of the East India Company and be friendly to both Japan and China and demand her share at the end of the fight.

Other Countries

The Japanese moves in North China are being watched with the keenest interest and some anxiety in the principal European chancelleries. But that is all. Neither interest nor anxiety is likely to produce active interference—diplomatic or military.

Germany for the present is maintaining the most rigid neutrality in the Sino-Japanese conflict. The general impression is that Germany is waiting to see what the Russian attitude will be. There is a very good reason for this neutrality. Germany possesses excellent markets in China for large quantities of her goods; she does not want to lose them when so much depends on maintaining her export trade.

Germany Allied to Japan

But at the same time Germany is bound to Japan politically through the anti-bolshevism treaty of last November. From the German point of view China is badly polluted with communism. In case of a prolonged war between China and Japan, Germany would be compelled to take the Japanese side, trusting to Japanese gratitude for the retention of her markets in the territory Japan would take. There is complete confidence here in an ultimate Japanese victory in such a war. It is the general impression also that Russia will give no help to China. One reason is that Russia is in no condition just now to undertake a military adventure on any considerable scale outside her own territory. To help China against Japan would produce a military situation of the most serious character, because in such a case the German-Japanese anti-bolshevism pact would become operative and German neutrality would end overnight. It is scarcely conceivable that Russia would provide such a German-Japanese opportunity.

It may be coincidence, but is distinctly interesting that the Japanese Ambassador to Berlin gave an interview to a German newspaper, between the lines of which might be read a double purpose—a warning to Russia and a reminder to Germany of her obligations under the anti-bolshevism treaty. The Ambassador, Viscount Kimitomo Mushakoji, stressed the cordiality of Japanese-German relations and the importance of the anti-bolshevism agreement linking Japan to Western fascism. "That accord," says the Japanese diplomat, " is clear and unequivocal in its implications and invites other States to join in the common battle against the disintegrating effects of bolshevism on world civilisation."

Europe at present is wholly absorbed in her own affairs and sees nothing in China, any more than she has in Spain, worth the awful cost of a general conflict. The situation as viewed in diplomatic circles is not dissimilar to that in 1931 when Japan invaded Manchuria.

But Crisis Must Come

But this does not mean that Europe and America will let Japan have a free hand in China for all time to come. A time will soon come when the interests of white powers will be endangered, and they will be forced to try strength with Japan and then China will be used as a base to attack Japan. That will no doubt be the saddest time in the history of Asia, when Western nations using China as base will defeat Japan. Both China and Japan will lose heavily and with them will suffer all the Asiatic nations including India. And whole Asia will curse the greedy imperialists of Japan for the renewed Western domination of Asiatic countries.

I still wish Japan could have the sense to desist from invading poor China and China should have the sense to see that no white man will help her despite her love for the British and other nations.

Could no great man in Asia arbitrate between the two great nations of Asia and save Asia from a further period of white domination?

SUGAR-CANE IN THE UNITED PROVINCES AND BIHAR

By RAJENDRA PRASAD

THERE are two aspects of the Congress programme in the Legislatures—the Political and the Constructive. This article will deal only with one item of the latter. The Congress is pledged to agrarian reform and prohibition and it has also to attempt many other things of vital importance to the people at large, such as reform in education, revival of cottage-crafts, fostering of large-scale industries and so forth. Each one of these subjects is large enough to require much space for comprehensive treatment. I propose, however, to write about one matter of vital importance to the Provinces of the U. P., Bihar and partly Bengal. This is the question of sugar-cane.

Within the last 12 or 15 years the sugar industry has gone up by leaps and bounds in India and a great fillip has been given to it by the protection which the Government of India afforded to it. The result has been that a large number of factories have sprung up almost overnight and today practically the entire demand of white sugar in the country is met by these factories with an almost negligible exception of special quality sugar which comes from outside. Crores of rupees have been sunk as capital in machinery and plant imported from foreign countries and crores of agriculturists have become dependent on these factories for the crushing of their cane and for the disposal of their crop. There have been two occasions during the short period of three years when the absolute dependence of the agriculturist on sugar mills has been manifested in a most remarkable manner. In 1934, the great earthquake of Bihar disabled many factories which stopped working for about two months or more and the Government and the Relief Committee were hard put to it to find means for the crushing of the lakhs of tons of sugar-cane standing in the fields in Bihar. The old cane-crushers worked by bullocks had gone out of use and were not available for crushing such a large quantity of cane. New ones had to be manufactured in large numbers and old cast-out rollers had to be sought out, repaired and put in order. The mills fortunately were able to start working sooner than had been anticipated and the great crisis was partially met. In 1935-36, the factories produced more sugar than could be disposed of in time with the result that when the crushing season of 1936-37 arrived there was a large quantity in stock. The mills decided to postpone starting crushing for about four or five weeks. The crushing season was thus reduced on the one hand and it was apprehended on the other that the cultivators had grown more cane than could be crushed even if the mills had worked full time. A crisis naturally followed in March and it was realized that although the crushing season was approaching its end, there was no likelihood of the vast quantities of cane being crushed. To add to the difficulties the Government of India increased the excise duty on sugar by eight annas per maund and the mill-owners threatened to stop crushing earlier than usual on the ground that it would not pay them to work the factories. There was great consternation among agriculturists. The Government and public men and organizations found that the agriculturists were faced with ruin as they depended upon the cane crop for meeting most of their cash requirements. It was not possible to get together the bullock-worked cane-crushers once again as had been done in 1934. The crop would have to be destroyed, if the mills did not consume them. The mill-owners, however, decided to extend the crushing season. The Government for its part reduced the minimum price payable for cane and the Railways reduced the freight on sugar-cane. The price of sugar-cane was reduced to a level which is much below the cost of production but the agriculturist had no option. He preferred to get what he could instead of losing all. Instances were not wanting when even the minimum price fixed by the Government was not received by the agriculturists, and yet a large quantity of sugar-cane could not be taken by the factories and may yet be seen standing in the fields.

The crisis is not yet over and has to be faced in the coming season of 1937-38. As the United Provinces and Bihar produce nearly 75 per cent of the sugar in the country and as most of the factories are concentrated in these two Provinces their Governments have particularly to be vigilant. It is to be borne in mind that other Provinces like the Punjab, Bengal, the Bombay Presidency and the Madras

Presidency have also their factories and in any case the sugar produced in the U.P. and Bihar goes to other Provinces also. They may not therefore be ignored in formulating any policy in connection with the sugar industry.

A remarkable feature of the situation is the great difference between the prices of Indian sugar and imported sugar. The Indian sugar is selling roughly at prices between Rs. 6/- and Rs. 6/8/- per maund. Java sugar is selling at prices varying between Rs. 9/- and Rs. 10/- per maund . The industry has therefore no danger from outside competition so long as the protection granted to it lasts. The prices have gone down on account of internal competition amongst Indian factories. It is said there has been over-production but it may not be true if per capita consumption of sugar in India is compared with that in other countries. But whatever the reason, the prices of sugar are what they are and the agriculturist has to suffer. Now a sugar-cane crop is a difficult crop to raise. It keeps the land engaged for nearly two years and requires more careful and more frequent tilling than any other crop. Besides, it requires to be irrigated more than once in many parts. It is therefore on the whole a very expensive crop. For various reasons the yield, too, is much less per acre in this country than in other countries like Java with which we have competition. There thus arises a conflict between the manufacturer of sugar and the grower of the sugar-cane which is the raw material. It is argued that sugar is selling at a particular price, say, Rs. 6/8/- per maund and the industry cannot afford to pay a higher price than, say, four annas per maund for the sugar-cane. The Government under the law which has been passed in the U. P. and Bihar is entitled to fix a minimum price for the sugar-cane which may be varied in accordance with the fall or rise in the price of sugar. It fixes a minimum price which in practice becomes the maximum and the cultivator has no option but to supply cane at the price so fixed. As stated above the price fixed for sugar-cane during the latter part of the crushing season of 1936-37 was much below the cost of production and the cultivator had to submit to it as the only alternative to him was to incur further expenditure in destroying the crop to make the land on which it was standing available for growing another crop. The implications of the situation were not fully realized by the cultivators till after the sowing season was almost over and in spite of the dismal prospect which they have to face the area cultivated was not reduced to the extent required but it has nevertheless been considerably curtailed. The industry is bound to suffer on account of shortage of cane after the season of 1937-38 unless steps are taken to assure to the cultivator a fair return for his labour and on his investment. This should be done without delay so that he may not miss the next sowing season which falls in February and March. If the cultivator gets a fair price for the cane in the next crushing season which ought to start normally in November next, he may feel encouraged to sow the crop in the following February; otherwise it is just likely that with his bitter experience of two successive seasons, the cultivator, conservative as he is in his habits and ill-informed as he may be regarding the prospects of the industry, will think twice before he embarks on the cultivation of such a precarious crop and may take to other alternative crops which are not difficult to raise. It is therefore necessary to have a comprehensive policy which may safeguard the cultivator and at the same time do no injury to this nascent industry of the country. It must be remembered that no policy is likely to be effective which is not simultaneously adopted in at least the two Provinces of Bihar and the U.P. and the Governments of at least these two Provinces have to devise measures in collaboration with each other.

In any measures that may be devised, the fundamental factor in the industry, namely, the cost of the raw material—the sugar-cane—should not be ignored. The process of reasoning employed at present has to be reversed. Because sugar sells at, say Rs. 6/8/- per maund, therefore the manufacturer cannot afford to pay say more than four annas per maund for the sugar-cane cannot and ought not to be accepted as a self-evident proposition. The proposition should rather be that sugar-cane cannot be cultivated at less than say five to six annas per maund and therefore sugar cannot sell at less than say Rs. 8/- per maund, if the cultivators and manufacturers have to get even a small return. Any fall in prices below this figure which is caused not on account of competition of foreign countries but by internal competition of Indian mills at the cost of the agriculturist must be resisted. No manufacturer has a right to produce sugar out of sugar-cane purchased at less than the cost of its production and no consumer has a right to expect to have sugar supplied to him at the cost of the sugar-cane cultivator. If once this position which is the only right position is accepted, the minimum price of sugar-cane has to be fixed with reference not to the rise and fall in the prices

of sugar in the Indian market but with reference to the cost of its cultivation. Anv variation in the minimum can only be an addition to the minimum so fixed by reason of a rise in the price of sugar to an extent justifying such a rise.

It has been found on a modest calculation that the cost of cultivation of sugar-cane in land which does not require more than one watering comes to about five annas per maund of sugar-cane calculating the yield to be about 250 maunds per acre. I consider this estimate to be conservative and if, at all, it errs on the side of understatement. The cultivator has simply to provide this expenditure in cash and in labour to produce one maund of sugar-cane. If he has to be given any profit he cannot afford to sell his sugar-cane at less than six annas per maund. Any calculation therefore of the price of sugar must be based on this fundamental figure which does not include cartage and freight from the field to the factory. The cost of sugar may be worked out as follows :

Cost of sugar-cane (11 maunds) for producing one maund of sugar on an average @ -/6/6 per maund including cartage	Rs.	4 7 6
Cost of manufacture Rs. 1-8 to Rs. 2 according to the capacity	„	1 8 0 *or*
Efficiency of a factory	„	2 0 0
Excise duty	„	1 8 0
	Rs. 7 7 6 *or* Rs.	7 15 6

To this must be added the freight and marketing charges and the profit of the manufacturer and retail seller. There is no reason why the manufacturer should sell and the consumer get his sugar at a lower price. If the above rough figures are correct and sugar sells at a lower price, it means that the cane-cultivator does not get his just due. This cannot and ought not to last. The minimum price of sugar-cane should therefore be never below the cost of cultivation.

Another serious handicap under which the cultivator suffers is that he does not always get even the minimum price fixed by the government. It is notorious that there is much loss caused to him by underweighment. The Government has appointed Inspectors to check this abuse but it cannot be claimed that it has altogether disappeared. Then the grower has to wait long hours with his cane in his bullock-cart at the gate of the factory in shivering cold of December and January and in the hot sun of April. He has also to pay perquisites here and there to unauthorised people. In the scheme which may be devised there should be stringent provisions against such abuses and these should be strictly enforced.

It has been suggested that allotting a particular area to a particular factory within which alone it should purchase its sugar-cane and to which alone the cultivator can sell his crop will .create a relationship between the manufacturer and the grower that will be helpful to both parties. It will enable the manufacturer to invest in manures and thus help in improving the quality and quantity of cane grown, and in getting corps of many varieties which ripen early or late grown by the cultivators. The cultivator on his side will by means of a bilateral contract be sure of being able to dispose of his crop and may even get an advance on its security from the manufacturer. While all these advantages are obvious, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that in the past in respect of another crop, namely, indigo, the cultivator in spite of a similar zoning and contract had always the worst of the bargain and the abuses became so patent that the Government had to abolish the system. We must also remember that the system will require a very elaborate organization and so long as such organization has not become *pucca*, the zoning system will place the cultivator entirely at the mercy of one manufacturer who will enjoy a sort of monopoly. It is a noticeable thing that at railway stations where several factories have weigh-bridges for purchase of sugar-cane the cultivator gets a fairer deal from the contractors than where there is no competition or less competition. Zoning may be good but not in present conditions when the cultivator is unorganized and cannot have the advantage either of competing purchasers of his cane or of collective bargaining on his side. In some places co-operative societies have been started amongst cultivators by the co-operative department of the Government. I do not know to what extent they have been successful but keeping in mind the achievement of the co-operative department in other branches of its activity in the past it is not easy to be enthusiastic about them or to be confident about their success. I am told that during the crisis of the last season all the cane of the members of the co-operative societies was not consumed by the factories and the cultivator members were helpless as those who were not members. It is therefore necessary to proceed with caution in this matter of zoning.

Another important factor which has to be taken into consideration is the question of utilisation of bye-products which are wasted at present. Two things are seen and felt in and near every sugar factory, *viz.*, begasse and

molasses. Some factories burn their begasse as fuel in their boilers. But I do not think this is the best or the most economical use of the immense quantities of begasse. There is a suggestion that it can be made into celotax or some sort of pressed artificial wood. It is also said that it can be converted into paper. Scientists could perhaps discover some other use for it. What is needed is research into the possibilities of this article and it should be the duty of the Government to encourage the utilisation of this bye-product in the most profitable way.

The other most important article which is a source of nuisance in the locality of mills is molasses. I sometimes wonder how factory people can stand the foul smell which pervades not only the factory but a large area all round. It is a problem with the factories as to what to do with the molasses they produce. They foul the atmosphere and they also adversely affect the fertility of the land on which they may be allowed to flow in large quantities. Experiments have been made and it seems they can be utilised as manure after some kind of treatment or used for being mixed with fodder. They should undoubtedly be used for these and such other purposes to the extent they can. But another obvious use to which they can be put is to convert them into fuel spirit. It is a matter for scientific investigation as to how far the spirit so produced can be used with or without mixing with petroleum and to what extent it is possible to manufacture this fuel profitably out of molasses. I am told that it is an economic proposition to produce fuel spirit which can sell in the market and can be used for fuel purposes without any very expensive alterations in the machines which now use petroleum. If this is so, there is no reason why this immense quantity of molasses should be allowed to become a nuisance and source of danger to public health and loss to the manufacturer instead of being converted into a marketable commodity. I am told also that the plant required for this purpose is not a very expensive plant and the factories if once permitted will easily be able to put it up or independent factories may grow up easily and within a short time. There is no reason why this industry should not be encouraged.

If the spirit so produced can be used as fuel after or without being mixed with petroleum, there is no reason why it should not be used. On the other hand, there is every reason in favour of encouraging it. What is now wasted by the sugar-manufacturer will be converted into a profitable bye-product and thus give him a larger margin of profit out of which a portion may go to the cultivator. India may, to a considerable extent, be made independent of foreign liquid fuel for its motor cars, and it is as well to make her so independent in view of an international situation which may any day arise. It should therefore be the duty of the Governments concerned to raise any embargo that may have been imposed by excise laws on the manufacture of fuel spirit out of molasses and any objection by oil interests should be overruled in the interests of the cultivator of sugar-cane, the manufacturer of sugar and the general exigencies of a contingent international situation which may cut off or curtail the supply of petroleum.

The additional excise duty which was imposed last year was opposed by all interests concerned. In practice it may be said to have fallen on the cultivator of sugar-cane. Whatever the other reasons may have been it was the immediate and apparent cause of the reduction in the minimum price of sugar-cane, during the latter part of the last season. The discussions preceding the imposition of this additional excise duty left the country unconvinced about the necessity of imposing it and concerted action should be taken by all interests concerned and the Local Governments to put pressure on the Government of India to give up this duty.

A portion at least of the excise duty should be made available to the Provinces concerned for being utilised in improving the crop of sugar-cane and facilities for marketing. A portion is, I understand, so used at present but its effects are not yet visible to the ordinary cultivator and a well-thought-out plan has to be devised by the Governments of the United Provinces and Bihar in consultation with each other.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The New Constitution of the U. S. S. R.

The new Soviet constitution which was adopted by the Extraordinary All-Union Congress of the U. S. S. R. in December, 1936, has been hailed as "an important step toward the establishment of democracy in the 'first workers' republic in the World,' while others view it as clever camouflage of the Communist dictatorship, designed to win the sympathy of Western democracies for the Soviet Union in the coming conflict with fascism." Vera Micheles Dean discusses the new constitution in the *Foreign Policy Reports*, from which the following excerpts are made :

Article 1 of the constitution declares that the Soviet Union is a socialist state of workers and peasants. Omission of the intelligentsia from the list of social groups constituting the state was explained by Stalin on the ground that the intelligentsia "never was and cannot be a class—it was and remains an intermediate layer, recruiting its members from all classes of society . . . In our Soviet period the intelligentsia recruits its members chiefly from workers and peasants."

The constitution distinguishes between socialist property, which has either the form of state property (the wealth of the whole people) or the form of cooperative or collective enterprises, and the personal property of individual citizens. State property embraces land, waters, forests, mills, factories, mines, railways, banks, means of communication, state farms, machine and tractor stations; cooperative or collective property includes collective farms with their livestock, implements, products and public structures. In addition to the "basic income" it derives from the collective farm, every collective farm household may own for personal use a small plot of land attached to its homestead, livestock, poultry and small farm tools. While the land occupied by collective farms is the property of the state, its free and perpetual use is granted to the farms by the constitution.

Side by side with the "prevailing" system of socialist economy, the constitution recognizes two forms of personal property. It permits the existence of small enterprises owned by individual peasants and handicraftsmen provided the operation of these enterprises involves no exploitation of the labor of other persons. And it protects the right of all Soviet citizens to own personal property such as income from work, savings, dwelling houses, domestic articles and utensils, objects of personal use and comfort, as well as the right to inherit personal property. In other words, the non-collectivized Soviet peasant may own a small farm; a shoemaker may own his premises and tools; and every Soviet citizen may own a savings account, government bonds, a house in town or villa in the country, an automobile, books, clothes, and furniture. His ability to acquire such possessions is limited only by his ambition and earning capacity.

Recognition of certain forms of personal property in the Soviet Union has been deplored by some observers—and hailed by foreign conservatives—as a retrogression to capitalism and a surrender to the fleshpots of bourgeois society. Soviet commentators, however, argue that personal property is compatible with socialism and even communism, provided it serves the private use of the worker and his family, and does not become an instrument for exploitation of the labor of others.

The new constitution contains an elaborate list of "the basic rights and duties of citizens."

Freedom to perform religious rites, as well as freedom of anti-religious propaganda, is recognized for all citizens. It should be noted that, while freedom of anti-religious propaganda is explicitly permitted, no similar freedom is vouchsafed for religious propaganda. The new constitution assures inviolability of the person, of homes, and of secrecy of correspondence. "No one may be subject to arrest except by an order of the court or with the sanction of a state attorney"—a provision apparently intended to check arbitrary arrests by the state police (former OGPU). The effectiveness of this provision will depend on the extent to which prosecutors and other government officials are prepared to respect personal rights. The wave of mass arrests and imprisonments which has coincided with promulgation of the new constitution would indicate that, in practice, the government is not yet ready to dispense with extreme methods of repression when it believes itself threatened by opposition or treason.

These liberties are insured by placing at the disposal of the workers and their organizations printing presses, supplies of paper, public buildings, streets, means of communication and other material conditions necessary for their exercise. This provision represents the Soviet concept of socialist, as contrasted with "bourgeois," democracy. The Soviet government has always contended that the freedom enjoyed by workers in Western democracies is purely formal, since the workers have neither the means nor the opportunity to obtain full access to the press, hire large halls for meetings, or hold processions in the streets without interference by the police.

These liberties, however, are to be enjoyed by the adherents of the present government :

"It would be wild," says one Soviet commentator, "to grant freedom of assembly, meetings, street processions, for instance, to monarchists; incongruous on our streets would be people bearing Tsarist flags and singing in the Soviet land 'God, save our Tsar.' It would be wild to imagine that in our halls should appear Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries with an appeal to turn back from socialism to capitalism . . . And he who would attempt to call for the overthrow of the socialist system won by the toilers or attempt to weaken this system will appear before the peoples of the Union as a criminal, having no right to enjoy the liberties envisaged by the constitution." These liberties are to be granted to all "with the exception of those who, by their actions and their ideas are in conflict with the interests of the toilers, who have as their objective the destruction of the socialist order . . . .

What Germans Read

News cannot be distinguished from propaganda in many countries today, and the following extract from *The Living Age* gives one some idea of the German Press today. From the German newspapers,

first of all one gets a general impression that the outside world suffers much more from Bolshevism than it is willing to admit and that it is not particularly concerned to preserve peace. Foreign news dispatches, the peculiar language of which soon grows familiar, imply that Red Valencia and Moscow's influence in France and Great Britain are only the most obvious symptoms of the Bolshevik menace. That Franco is supposed to have suffered a defeat in which even Italian troops were affected is, so the reader learns, just a malicious invention of the English press. If a brilliant general like Franco retreated at all, he did so voluntarily, of course. He had merely determined to shorten his front line in order to improve his communications, a measure that was adopted even in the World War. One learns, furthermore, that the impudent Communist lies to the effect that Italy had sent volunteers to Spain after signing the Non-Intervention Pact were duly answered in the London Committee only by Germany, Italy and Portugal. The sole aim on the other side, asserts the German press, is to increase the general tension.

Seen through the medium of the German press, the Spanish Civil War seems ghostly and disconnected. On the one side there is the grotesque, scheming Bolshevik pack; on the other there are only noble crusaders.

A regimented press which molds everyone to think along the same lines, where there is not the slightest inkling of self-criticism, either in domestic or in foreign affairs, has an intensely depressing effect. With even the humorous magazines limiting their jokes to Jews, grumblers or similar official scapegoats, this impression is deepened. To have some value and to fulfil their function properly the humorous papers, at least, should be permitted an occasional barb. Since the political joke can no longer fulfil its function in public, it does so covertly—and capably. At any rate, the Third Reich possesses no safety valve in its press.

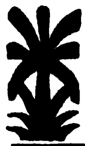
German theater audiences today are conspicuously quiet. Conversation is subdued or absent. It is here that one catches a glimpse of the 'silent Germany,' the Germany which never raises its voice above a whisper in public. This silent Germany is not made of stone. It reacts in its own way, and its reactions are sometimes very revealing. A good example was the recent Berlin production of Schiller's *Don Carlos*. A ripple of applause greeted the Marquis Posa night after night when he said his famous line, 'Sire, give us freedom of thought!' In a much less significant play, dealing with the period when Germany was split up into many small States, there was a noticeable movement in the audience at the statement that Government might rule more effectively by good example than by decree. It seemed like a sudden fresh breeze ruffling the smooth surface of a lake and then vanishing. Coincidence?

The Partition of Palestine

In discussing the proposal of the British Royal Commission for the partition of Palestine, *The New Republic* observes editorially :

Such precedents as we have from the past few decades for a proposal of this sort are mostly unfavourable to it. To be sure, one somewhat analogous scheme worked fairly well : the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey after the war between those two countries. Everywhere else, the attempts so blithely made in Paris in 1919 to create new states and carve up old ones have left an ominous legacy. Nationalism that should have been abated has risen higher than ever. States reduced in size and power cherish the dream of revenge. The experiment with a corridor at Danzig is surely not of a type to suggest the wisdom of a repetition. The task of moving 250,000 persons from their homes and resettling them somewhere else, with extremely limited funds and an atmosphere of suspicion and hatred, is one before which even the most competent and devoted British civil servant might quail. Moreover, the whole Palestine situation lies in the shadow of vast international intrigue. Frequently in the recent past, Italy has been accused of seeking to stir up the Arabs against Great Britain, of seeking indeed to make the whole Mediterranean an Italian lake. France, Germany, the U.S.S.R. all have interests, present or future, real or imaginary, in Asia Minor which might impinge fatally upon this whole plan.

The Jews have brought a comparatively higher standard of living and improved social services into a country where many of the Arabs toil for the lowest possible wage for the benefit of a little group of landlords and other exploiters, of their own race. To some degree, anti-Semitism among the fellaheen has been skilfully pumped up to divert their attention from a system against which they have a legitimate right to rebel, and to a certain extent, the same thing is true in the Jewish community. While there are some communal experiments on a socialized basis, there is also exploitation and subsequent unrest. It is a striking fact that the phrase "Jewish fascism" is so often heard, even if half-jokingly, in Palestine. If the British Royal Commission could have solved the problem of maldistribution of wealth in both the Jewish and Arab communities, there would have been no need for such heroic measures as have now been proposed.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



The Emperor of Ethiopia

Amiya Chandra Chakravarty gives an account in the *Visva-Bharati News* of his interview with the Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie in England and a short description of the heart-rending condition of the Abyssinian refugees who came to meet him in Aden. Further immigration of refugees into Aden has been stopped by the Port Authorities. His appeal to mitigate the sufferings of at least this small number of homeless unfortunates will meet with response in India :

Before leaving England I had the opportunity of renewing my acquaintance with the Emperor of Abyssinia : he graciously gave me a farewell audience at the Embassy in Princes Gate. He had travelled down from Bath that day.

Haile Selassie, I had decided, is one of the great personalities of our age. The tragic drama which has silhouetted his lonely figure against immense circumstance may have given him a dignity which history would in any case enshrine, but his majesty is not merely derivative. He has that inward greatness which is so much more than the sum total of a person's qualities or achievements.

"No," he said, "there is nothing that India can do for our people."

He would not make any idealistic appeal for a gesture.

"*I tell you,*" he continued, "*If there is a moral principle in this world, our suffering will have its result.*"

These words, placed in their proper setting, would count among the great utterances. Evidently the Emperor's faith even after all that has happened, and is happening, is not based on calculations. The round of reprisal, rebellion, or retribution—however inevitable in the compensation of nature—which impinges on the lives of millions and decides national destinies, could not detract his attention from the moral fabric from which values derive.

As to the Abyssinian War itself his comment was simple—

"Heroism was pitted against chemicals; men defending their own hearth were sprayed with mustard gas : women and children were mown down by aerial machine-guns. This was no war."

"This goes on."

In Aden, a delegation of Abyssinian refugees led by Mr. Workous Gobena came to meet me. The white walls of *Strathaird* loomed against the harbour-waters : a midget motor-boat took me away from it towards the sun-assaulted dock on which a straggling crowd had collected. In that straggling crowd were a dozen Ethiopian young men waiting.

There are about forty men and women, Abyssinian refugees, deprived of home, country and human rights living now in Aden. They are on the point of starvation. In Maalla, just outside the port of Aden, they live in hovels : I saw that some of their womenfolk were there with them. The men are workless : there is no prospect of employment for them. Amongst them are some distinguished citizens of Harrar, Addis, and other Abyssinian townlets; most of them were educated in Europe and America.

Comparing their own sufferings with the unspeakable agonies now being inflicted on their countrymen, these people had nothing to say. They have seen and known much. But they feel that they have some claims on our Indian people—not any logical claims at all, but those which human fellowship can demand. There is a fairly prosperous Indian community in Aden : we have influential businessmen in Bombay and elsewhere who partly control the commercial relationship between India and this neighbouring port. As an Indian I cannot but hope that help will be given by our men to these brave people.

Surely this particular problem of not even half a hundred Ethiopians can be mitigated?

Human suffering, when one views it, but does not allow one's response to reach the *actional* plane can only produce a paralysing, a demoralising effect. The danger of humanity today is that men and women with a sensitive conscience are being led to a passive attitude, while the blustering apes in charge of the machinery of destruction are very active.

But collective moral action on the part of the people of the Earth is possible only if behind the necessary planning there is also spiritual faith. The machinery of any humane international organisation set up against barbarism will not suffice without an ethical philosophy.

Let me return to the words of the Emperor—

"*If there is a moral principle in this Universe, our suffering will have its result.*"

Bengali Literature and its Women Readers

In India and therefore in Bengal also, there really is a vast difference between the literature read by men and that read by women. The chief reason for this is the vast difference which existed between the education of the two sexes until quite recently. Indira Devi Chaudhuri writes in the course of an article in the *Bulletin* of the National Council of Women in India :

After the daily papers, come the monthly magazines. Or rather there is an intermediate class or weekly papers, which seem to be fairly popular, judging from the correspondence published therein by women regarding the woman question, which sometimes grows quite exciting, and shows how much this vexed problem is occupying the minds of Bengali women now-a-days. But of course the monthly magazines are first in the field of favour, so much so that it is said their very existence depends upon women readers.

New magazines seem to crop up every six months, but most of them are of mushroom growth—only about half-a-dozen being securely established.

Last but not least come novels published in book-form, which are the delight of all women, young or old, black white or yellow. To cut a long story short, I may as well say straight out, without fear of contradiction, that magazines and novels, whether English or Bengali, form the staple literary food of modern educated Bengali women. And even in the case of magazines, I believe, the reader usually separates the grain of stories from the chaff of other articles. Poems and plays may be said to come amongst the 'also rans.'

There is a certain class of highly-educated Bengali women, who keep at least their English reading up-to-date, and probably throw a serious book or two into this continuous flow of fiction, like pebbles in a stream—just for a change, or through curiosity,—intellectual let us hope. But their number can be counted on the fingers, and they don't practically count; for we are not dealing with exceptions.

And apart from a sense of duty or compulsion, I submit that women read to pass the time pleasantly, for recreation or relaxation, in short for their own pleasure. Women whose time is taken up nearly the whole day and part of the night too with looking after their house and children, as in the case with most of the Bengali middle-class—hardly have the time or inclination or energy, I should think, to go in for anything but very light literature in their leisure-hours.

I shall conclude by saying that preference of women for fiction can be justified or at least explained by the fact that they are naturally fond of persons rather than subjects, of individuals rather than types. They are not intellectual by nature, that is to say, they prefer the concrete to the abstract, the evident to the abstruse. And would we not rather have them so? I am afraid if they lost their interest in persons, and began to grow cold and intellectual in a body, the world would have a very poor time indeed.

Women and Communal Differences

Padmini Sathianadhan looks at the communal question from the woman's point of view. She deplores that men should be communaly bent and advises them to take an example from women who do not think in terms of communalism. She observes in *The Indian Ladies' Magazine*:

What is coming to our men, we ask, that they are forgetting their sense of citizenship to such an extent and above all, are making themselves a laughing-stock for other nations of the world? Moslems or Hindus, Christians or Parsis, are we not all Indians? Alas, however, the communal spirit seems often to come first in almost all Indian societies—and the spirit of contemplating the glory of India as the chief ideal before us is receding more and more to the back-ground.

Travelling in a train one day, I heard an enthusiastic youth say—in connection with some election—"We want community, not efficiency"—which rather trite remark goes to the root of the matter as regards this problem in India. I stress the word *men*, because, as we have realized, *women* have not evidently got this sense of disunion.

While fighting for the vote, the three chief women's organizations in India, *viz.*, *The All-India Women's Conference, The Women's Indian Association* and the *National Council of Women in India*, came to the following conclusion a long time ago: "We have repeatedly urged that we do not desire the communal *virus* to enter into our united ranks. We, therefore, disapprove entirely, and shall continue to resist to the uttermost, the White Paper proposals by which women will be elected to the Federal Assembly by an indirect system. We totally refuse to be made party pawns for the purpose of weightage for the convenience of any community—a state of affairs which will surely follow if this proposal is accepted. On the contrary, we desire direct election on an entirely non-communal basis. By merit and merit alone do we wish to find—and we are confident we shall find—our rightful place in the Councils and Federal Legislatures of our country."

In conference committees, in ladies' clubs and social work, with regard to the selection of office-bearers, etc., a woman is chosen because of her merit as a public worker, and not, because she is a Mohommedan, a Hindu, or a Christian.

May we not, therefore, hope that men may take an example from women in this case, and forget their communal prejudices, and work towards the good of India, regardless of caste, race and creed?

Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray

On the retirement of Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray who has been holding the Chair of the Palit Professor of Chemistry in the University of Calcutta since 1916, from active service, he has been made by the Senate the first *Emeritus* Professor of that University. Prof. J. N. Mukherjee writes a brief account of his life in *The Calcutta Review*:

Sir P. C. Ray was born on August 2, 1861. "This year," writes Sir P. C. Ray, "is memorable in the annals of Chemistry for the discovery of thallium by Crooks," and it might be mentioned that two other illustrious sons of India, Rabindranath Tagore and Matilal Nehru, were born in the same year, both on the 6th May, 1861. Sir P. C. Ray hails from the village Raruli in the Khulna district (formerly included in the district of Jessore). The village is situated on the banks of the river Kapotakshi made famous by the poet Madhusudan Dutta who also was born on its bank in the village Sagardari. He comes of a well-known Kayastha family, the Ray Chaudhuris of Bodh-Khana. His father, Harish Chandra Ray, was a man of means.

While a student in the Metropolitan Institution of Vidyasagar, which was "something we could look upon as our own," he came under the influence of several brilliant teachers of whom two must have made great impression on him; one was, Surendra Nath Banerjea who, as Sir Prafulla puts it, "was almost the god of our idolatry" and the other was Alexander Pedlar "who was first hand in experiments, his manipulative skill was of a high order. I began almost unconsciously to be attracted to this branch of science." Herein were sown the seeds of the great interest which he was subsequently to take in the political progress of India and of his major pursuit in life, the pursuit of Chemistry and furtherance of chemical industries.

In December, 1870, his parents took up a permanent residence in Amherst Street in Calcutta, and Prafulla Chandra was admitted to the Hare School. A few years later in 1874 he had a bad attack of dysentery, which I mention here as it gave a definite turn, in his own opinion, to his life. It necessitated a prolonged stay away from school and from its "dull and dreary routine methods" of instruction and he "could indulge in his passion for studies without let or hindrance." It also

forced upon him the necessity of being regular and cautious in his habits and food and drink.

He also utilized the period of forced rest of about two years, immediately following the acute attack, in learning Latin and in regularly reading the newspapers which he might not have done if he were to keep to his lessons at school. After "nearly a couple of years" he joined Class III of the Albert School, and came under the influence of teachers who were members of the Brahmo Samaj and had seceded from the Adi Samaj under the lead of Keshub Chandra Sen. In this school under the genial guidance of Krishna Behary Sen, brother of Keshub Chandra Sen, Prafulla Chandra acquired a love for English literature. After passing the Entrance Examination he took admission to the Metropolitan Institution where, as has been already indicated, his intellectual yearnings and interests took concrete shape.

The writer deals only with the early life and association of the Acharya, which is less known.

He took up Chemistry as one of his subjects in the First Arts, and Physics and Chemistry in the Bachelor of Arts Course in the Presidency College, which he joined as an external student. At this time he competed for and got the Gilchrist Scholarship and with it he proceeded to London and thence to Edinburgh where he arrived in October, 1882. There he had Alexander Grum Brown as his teacher of Chemistry and the late Sir James Walker, whose name is quite familiar to most Indian students of Science through his book 'Introduction to Physical Chemistry' and to a less extent through his elementary book on Inorganic Chemistry. There he made his first attempt in writing a book and his Essay on India was the outcome. He was awarded the Hope Prize Scholarship and it was incumbent on him to assist the Professor in conducting the practical work in the laboratory. This gave him very useful training in actual teaching work. After obtaining the degree of Doctorate of Science at Edinburgh he returned to Calcutta in 1888 and after a great deal of worries, which, by the way, illustrates how hard it was even at that time for the most qualified candidates, whose number was extremely limited, to get an opportunity to pursue a scientific career, he got an appointment in the Chemistry department of the Presidency College in June, 1889 as temporary Professor on Rs. 250, Subsequently he became, as is well-known, a Professor and later the Senior Professor and Head of the Department of Chemistry, but he continued on the Provincial Grade throughout his long association with the Presidency College.

As the result of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's persuasion, Sir Tarak Nath Palit and Sir Rash Behari Ghose made their well-known and munificent donations for the foundation of the University College of Science and about a year after the college was founded Sir P. C. Ray retired from the Presidency College and joined the University College as the Palit Professor of Chemistry. His many-sided activities during his association with the Presidency College and with the University College are widely known and it is not possible to give even a brief survey within the scope of this article.

Sir P. C. Ray and Sir J. C. Bose, are undoubtedly the pioneers of Modern Scientific Research amongst Indians.

None in India were able as Sir J. C. Bose and Sir P. C. Ray to impart by their lifelong activities a tangible shape to the spirit of enquiry and scientific curiosity inherent in the human mind. Sir P. C. Ray has, without any suggestion of the least doubt, inspired succeeding generations of Indians to take up scientific enquiries not only in Chemistry but also in other branches of science.

Today he has the satisfaction to see how actively the light he has lit is burning throughout India.

The Seals of Mohenjo-Daro

Writing on the technique of carving at Mohenjo-Daro in *The Aryan Path* Prof. S. V. Venkateswara observes :

My estimate that the antiquities go back to the fifth millennium B.C. *errs, if at all, on the side of caution.* The date of the stratum where the earliest seals are found has possibly to be pushed backwards from 5000 B.C. in view of the interval between it and the next strata which themselves have to be dated at about 4000 or 4250 B.C. The latest stratum dates from about B.C. 2500. Such a wide range is covered by the protohistoric culture of Mohenjo-Daro.

The most interesting symbols on the seals are the wheel and the *Swastika. There is no reference to the potter's wheel in the Rig-Vedic hymns.* A most primitive wheel appears in the pottery (Plate 153 Fig. 24). It has a raised hub only on one side, while the Sumerian wheels have the raised hub on both sides. We have the same kind of wheel at Anau, where also the axle revolved with the wheel.

The *Swastika* figures on several seals. In one (HR 4503) the obverse is an involved design of triangles. In another (576) there is a design of squares found in Susa and Baluchistan in the proto-Elamite or earliest period of Susan culture. *The symbol migrated from India to all parts of the world.* It is found in the pottery of Susa and Musyan. At Troy it decorates the spinning whorl. Dr. Schliemann suggested the identity of the Greek Triglyph with the *Swastika* cross. Evans records its presence in the place of Minos in a simple form with curved arms, and in a complex form on an ivory seal of the third Early Minoan period. In Babylonia it has exactly the form used in modern India. In the earliest cuneiform (*c.* 3000 B.C.) it is in the form of a cross in a square, and denotes the sheep-fold. On the cylinder seal in the Newell Collection it appears as an X-shaped design with loops at its four ends. On a seal (*Ibid.*, No. 168) it looks like a Maltese cross. It is among the symbols at the temple of Karnak and among the signs at Tell-el-Hesy. In the latter it is merely a *plus*, and in the former it is surrounded by pellets exactly in the same way as in the "Ujjain symbol" on early Indian coins. In ancient China there is a smaller arm at right angles to each arm of the Indian *Swastika*, and in Persia we find a triangle at every end.



L' INSTITUT BOUDDHIQUE AU CAMBODGE ET AU LAOS AND ITS WORK

Before describing the efforts made by the Buddhist Institute at Cambodge, we would give a short description of the conditions prevalent in that country prior to the reorganisation. The description is taken from a speech by Mlle. Suzanne Karpeles, the general secretary of the Institute of Budhistic studies. Mlle. Karpeles, it may be remarked in passing has been—and still is—the soul of the present movement for cultural revival going on in Indo-China.

Prior to the reorganisation, there was only a little group of men of letters composed of learned Bouzes (Buddhist priests) who dispensed their knowledge of Pali language and the precepts of Buddhist doctrine to a number of religious and lay students in a seminary at the capital. But in spite of all their sincere efforts this superior academy did not produce the results aimed at by the preceptors, and that for a very good reason. The reason was that there was no agreement of any kind amongst the teachers as to what should be the main objective of all the teaching. Was it merely to produce a number of clerical assistants for the administration? Was it to gradually convert the institution into a normal high school or was it going to gradually form a circle of elite intellectuals capable of starting a cultural renaissance of the Khmer traditions? Each preceptor stoutly defended his point of view and the result was a series of contradictory Royal ordnances. There was no calm atmosphere of erudition in the little institution so necessary for any cultural development.

It was primarily the direction of M. Finot the director of L'Ecole Francaise de Extreme-Orient that brought some degree of order in this confusion. After M. Finot's departure confusion broke out again, but two of the oldest scholars—venerable old men—refused to despair and went on with their efforts at re-organising the library and recasting the system of education in Pali and Sanskrit. They had great difficulty in securing books or manuscripts. The manuscripts were almost all confined to the Pagodas, those in the possession of laity having been dispersed leaf by leaf, as is usual during the passing of an ancient culture following the impact of a new and vigorous foreign element. The available books were principally those printed in Siam and naturally these rendered the ancient culture of Cambodge subordinate to that of Siam.

In order to remedy this state of affairs l'Ecole Superiere de Pali and la Bibliotheque Royale du Cambodge were founded. The first to regularise a course of studies and the second to stop the destruction and perishing of ancient manuscripts in the country.

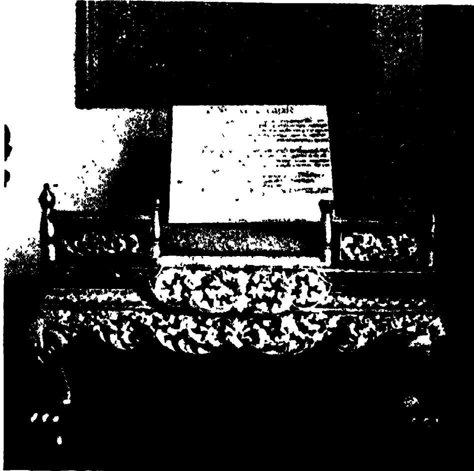
Luckily the people of the country realized the true significance of the Royal Library. Beautiful processions and scenes of rejoicing accompanied the transfer of manuscripts from Pagodas to the library. Men and women dressed as if for a festival carried the manuscripts under large umbrellas followed by long lines of young girls bejewelled and decorated with gay scarves, carrying flowers of the lotus in hand.

It is not possible, within this space, to unfold the interesting tale of how gradually the ancient stream of culture is being restored on to its old course. Suffice it to say that the work is well on its way and the effort is being made from the right quarter and in the right angle.





The *Kinnari* Dance





Left—In the entrance hall of the Royal Library. *Right*—One of the Buddhist paintings of the artist of the Royal Library.





Left—The Court-yard of the Pali High School in Phnom-Penh. *Right*—The Institute of Buddhist studies in Phnom-Penh



The King of Luang-Prabang entering the chief temple in his Capital



The elephant-hunters on the Siamese Frontier



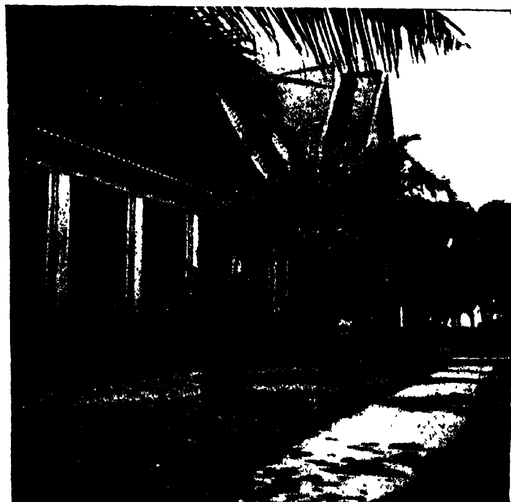
A lonely Buddha in the French Laotian jungle



A specially designed book-shelf for the Cambodian Vinaya Pitaka Volumes

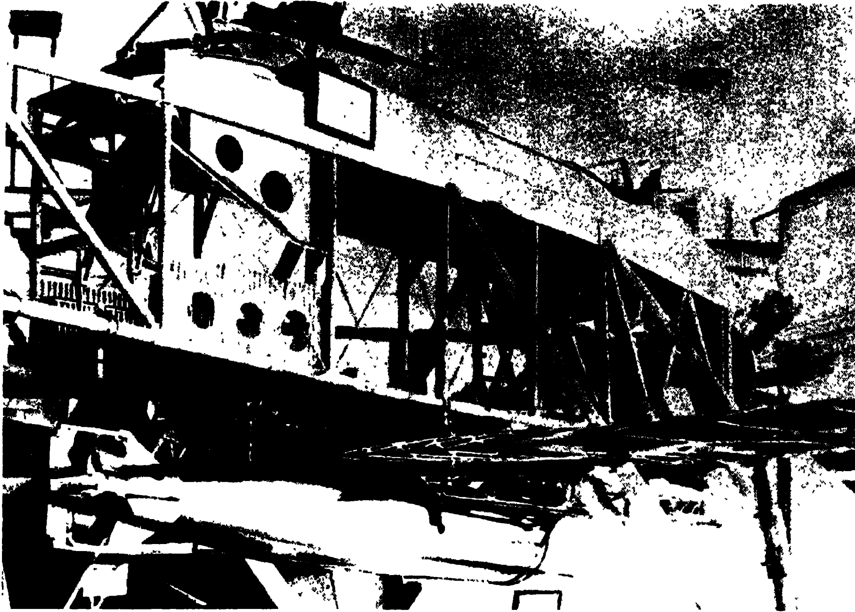


General view of the Royal Library

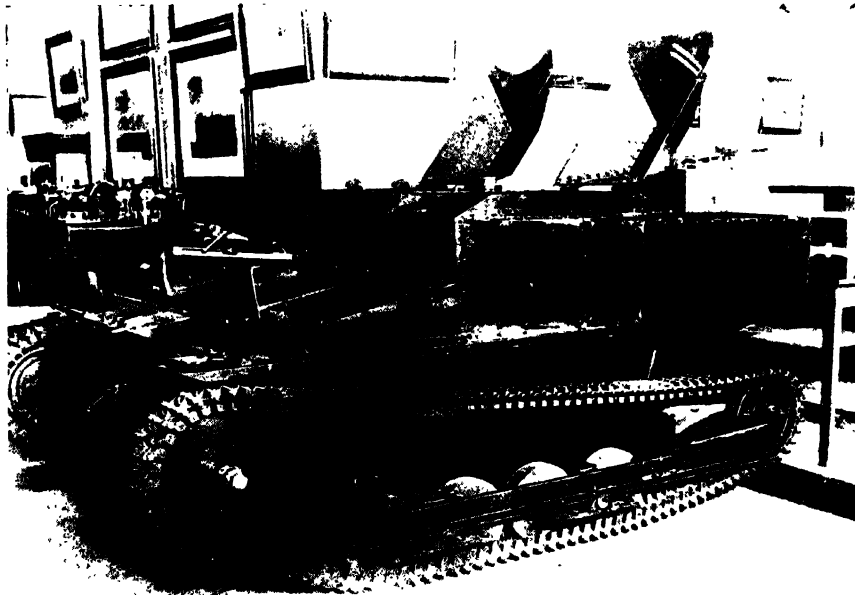


In the gardens of the Royal Library

NEW DEADLY INSTRUMENTS OF WAR



The giant British *Vildebeast* bomb-thrower and torpedo-machine equipped with Air Craft pilot gun, synchronising gear and observer's gun, the Vickers Scarf ring mounting for observer's gun and white head torpedo fitted with eight cylinder Radian Engine



The *Monster* of .he Army—the latest British machine gun carrier with the latest development in catterpillar construction and an armoured head over. The armour steel is more than 6 inches thick. A shell from the French 75 cannot pierce it

Notes

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY SUITS BRITISH IMPERIALISM

THE (third) MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, contemporary of Gladstone, wrote in his *Notes on Indian Land Revenue* :

"We have not the power to give permanent force to a new policy. Can we enact that our successors shall do exactly that which we are not doing—forbear from altering their predecessors' work? Sir Louis Mallet notes a long series of inconsistencies in the course of the Indian Government. Have we any grounds for thinking they will cease? They are not merely subjects of reproach; they are a warning of the fashion after which our Indian Government is made. By the law of its existence it must be a government of incessant change. It is the despotism of a line of kings whose reigns are limited by climatic causes to five years. Whatever power exists in England is divided between a council of which the elements are fluctuating, and a political officer whose average existence amounts to about thirty months. It would be absurd to expect from this arrangement a persistent and systematic policy, if the policy is to depend on the will of the Government. We might indeed commence a new policy with some confidence, if the state of opinion in the services and among Anglo-Indians* here was such as to give assurance that it would be sustained; but of that security there is no appearance. Any sharp change of measures would not be a natural development. It would be 'octroye' by the present Government, and would be at the mercy of any succeeding Government to set aside; and another link would be added to the chain of inconsistencies that would present themselves to future criticism."—Quoted in *Consolidation of the Christian Power in India* by Major B. D. Basu.

Up to the time when Lord Salisbury made these observations it was perhaps true that India had been never governed by the British on any consistent policy. Whenever necessary, the policy was changed with a view to the attainment of the object of British rule in India, namely, to maintain British supremacy and to derive the utmost possible economic advantage from that supremacy. It is not our purpose in this note to investigate whether after the days of Lord Salisbury Britain has all along pursued any single consistent policy in the governance of India.

To gain the object of British rule in India it was necessary to give India a comparatively centralized unitary government for some generations. That fact has enabled British imperialists to boast that it is Britain which has made India one country. It is not necessary to discuss here whether Indian unity was ever before a reality in any political or other sense. Suffice it to observe here that, if it be assumed that Indian unity is a British achievement, the underlying motive of the endeavour which produced that result was the attainment of Britain's own political and economic object; the motive never was to make Indians a unified nation aspiring after freedom and self-rule.

We have referred to the British imperialist's boast that Britain has given India unity, making it one country. That boast finds expression in the following passage in the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform :

"The record of British rule in India is well known. Though we claim for it neither infallibility nor perfection, since, like all systems of government, it has, at times, fallen into error, it is well to remember the greatness of its achievement. It has given to India that which throughout the centuries she has never possessed, a Government whose authority is unquestioned in any part of the sub-Continent; . . . ."—Paragraph 6, page 3 of the Report.

Again, in paragraph 10, we are told :

"We have emphasised the magnitude of the British achievement in India because it is this very achievement that has created the problem which we have been commissioned by Parliament to consider. By transforming British India into a single unitary State, it has engendered among Indians a sense of political unity. . . . . Finally . . . ., it has favoured the growth of a body of opinion inspired by two familiar British conceptions; that good government is not an acceptable substitute for self-government, and that the only form of self-government worthy of the name is government through Ministers responsible to an elected Legislature."

Paragraph 11 begins by observing :

* Old style.—Ed., *M. R.*

"The Indian problem cannot be understood unless the reality of these political aspirations is frankly recognized at the outset."

So "the British achievement in India" "has engendered among Indians a sense of political unity." It has given rise to some "political aspirations," which are described and "frankly recognised" in the Report. This "sense of political unity" and "these political aspirations" constitute the "problem" which the Joint Committee of the British Parliament were "commissioned by Parliament *to consider*"—perhaps not to solve! For the outcome of the Report of the Joint Committee has been the Government of India Act of 1935, which has not at all satisfied Indian political aspirations. But that it has not satisfied Indian political aspirations is not the worst thing that can be said of that Act. The scheme of "Provincial Autonomy" embodied in it is "weakening or even destroying that unity," which is claimed to be the greatest achievement of British rule. This is not a mere assumption of ours. Let us quote the Joint Committee's Report, paragraph 26 :—

"We have spoken of unity as perhaps the greatest gift which British rule has conferred on India; but, in transferring so many of the powers of government to the Provinces and in encouraging them to develop a vigorous and independent political life of their own, we have been running the inevitable risk of weakening or even destroying that unity."

So the Joint Committee were conscious that the kind of Provincial Autonomy which they recommended would weaken or even destroy India's political unity! And though they have boasted repeatedly that Britain has given unity to India, it must be a peculiar kind of unity in their opinion! For in paragraph 30 they declare :

"A completely united Indian polity cannot, it is true, be established either now or, so far as human foresight can extend, at any time."

It must be an absolutely unique and wonderful brand of political unity which will baffle human ingenuity for all time to manufacture a completely united polity for the country which possesses that sort of unity!

Two things, however, are clear from the Joint Committee's Report, namely, that British rule made India one, and that British rule is going to weaken or even to destroy that unity. So, if Lord Salisbury had been now living, he would perhaps have observed that "another link" had been "added to the chain of inconsistencies" of British policy.

But are these inconsistencies quite accidental? Perhaps not. The advantageous character of provincial autonomy from the point of view of British imperialism was discerned at least as long ago as the year 1858. Major G. Wingate appeared before the Parliamentary Committee on the Colonization and Settlement of Britishers in India as a witness on the 13th July, 1858. On being asked :

"7771. You speak of the dangers that arise from a central government and you say that it leads to a community of aims and feelings that might be dangerous?"

he answered :

"Yes, I think that, if there be any one subject in which the whole population of India would be interested, that is more likely to be dangerous to the foreign authority than if a question were simply agitated in one division of the empire; if a question were agitated throughout the length and breadth of the empire, it would surely be much more dangerous to the foreign authority than a question which interested one Presidency only."

Mr. Danby Seymour, a member of the Parliamentary Committee, asked Major Wingate :

"7772. Is what you mean this, that all the people of India might be excited about the same thing, at the same time?"

The Major answered, "Yes."

In Bengal, there has been recently a *lathi* charge on some young men and women. Such a thing is not likely to happen in the six Provinces which have Congress ministries. And these Provinces have their own problems which they are trying to face and tackle. So all the Provinces cannot "be excited about the same thing at the same time." Most of the hunger-strikers in the Andamans and all the detenus who are fasting in Deoli and Berhampur are from Bengal. "Autonomous" (!) Bengal non-Congress ministers have not asked the Government of India to restore these prisoners to Bengal. The Congress ministries in two or three provinces have, on the contrary, requested the Government of India to give back their Andaman prisoners to them. But public feeling has not been roused outside Bengal to the extent that it has been in Bengal itself. It would not be unfair to assume that perhaps it was because of "provincial autonomy" that the hunger-strike with its tragic possibilities did not excite the whole of India. The Working Committee of the Congress has, no doubt, passed an appropriate resolution. But it was expected in some quarters, rightly or wrongly, to do something more, as the following passage from *The Hitavada* of Nagpur would appear to show :

NAGPUR, AUGUST 17.

"We have gauged the strength of the Congress Working Committee. We are returning from Wardha. We had gone there with a mandate. Our suggestion was that the release of political prisoners in the Andamans should be made an issue. The Ministries in the six

"Congress provinces should exert their weight in securing their release. Failing this they should resign. As a third alternative we had suggested that a seven day All-India hartal should be observed to express our protest. The Working Committee has shown a cold shoulder to our proposals. It can do nothing. We must depend on the strength of you all, young and old alike," said Mr. Sibnath Banerji, M.L.A., (Bengal), a prominent Trade Union leader, addressing a meeting of the citizens of Nagpur this night. In spite of the drizzle the people stuck to their seats and listened to the woes of the Andaman prisoners, as delineated by Mr. Banerji. Mr. Ruikar presided.

It would be interesting to add here another illustration of the "inconsistencies" of British policy in India to which Lord Salisbury referred. In the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform, paragraph 10, it is stated :

"By transforming British India into a single unitary State, it has engendered among Indians a sense of political unity. By giving that State a Government disinterested enough to play the part of an impartial arbiter, and powerful enough to control the disruptive forces generated by religious, racial and linguistic divisions, it has fostered the first beginnings, at least, of a sense of nationality, transcending those divisions."

These sentences, assuming the truth of the statements contained therein, would naturally lead one to expect to find in the Government of India Act provisions for counteracting and neutralizing "the disruptive forces" mentioned above. But one finds instead that the Act gives full recognition and an indefinitely long lease of life to these forces. This is perhaps, therefore, an example of a policy being followed by its opposite. But we may be mistaken. Perhaps the new Government of India Act has been so framed as to give the Government full scope "to play the part of an impartial arbiter" and to display its power "to control the disruptive forces." If the disruptive forces had been weakened or neutralized, there would have been no opportunity now and hereafter to demonstrate to the world how impartial and powerful a government can be *vis-à-vis* the disruptive forces.

Under the operation of the Government of India Act the eleven Governor's Provinces enjoying "provincial autonomy" appear to have been divided into two groups of six and five each. The six under Congress ministries are following more or less a similar policy. The five under non-Congress ministries appear to have been following a different policy. A foreign observer not knowing that all the eleven are under British rule might be excused for thinking that the six provinces were under one foreign power and the five under another. It is true, no doubt, that the people of the six 'sympathise', as the phrase goes, with the people of the five. But do we not sympathise with the Abyssinians, the Spaniards, the Arabs, the Jews, and so on, though we do not live under the same government with them?

The Congress flag, which is considered the national flag by large numbers of Indians, including many Muslims, flies even on Government buildings in the six Provinces under Congress ministries. These ministries have told the police, the executive and other public servants in their Provinces that this flag must be respected. In the five other Provinces, not only does this flag not fly on Government buildings, not only have the ministries there not told public servants to respect it, but the police, *e.g.*, in Bengal, can order it to be lowered and furled and subject it to other indignities.

In some, if not all, Congress ministry Provinces, the proceedings of the Legislative Assemblies began with the singing of "Bande Mataram." That was not the case in the five non-Congress ministry Provinces.

Does India continue to be a unitary State?

In some of the provinces under Congress ministries, securities taken from presses and newspapers have been returned to them. In Bengal, securities of some papers have been forfeited and heavy fresh securities taken from them. The security of Rs. 15,000 taken from the *Basumati* is heavier than any taken in Bengal from any other paper before the days of provincial autonomy under a 'popular' ministry. From *Advance*, heavy security has been taken for an article similar to the one for which its editor was convicted and against which conviction he has appealed to the Calcutta High Court.

The chief minister of Orissa has asked the Ravenshaw College (a Government College) authorities to keep National newspapers and magazines in the library and common room, which is contrary to bureaucratic practice.

A Bombay Government communique writes :

"As the Government proposes to cancel where possible orders in respect of books hitherto banned, authors and publishers concerned are requested to submit their publications for the consideration of the Government. The Government desire to make it clear that while giving the greatest freedom of thought and expression they will not be prepared to lift the ban on books which directly or indirectly incite communal bitterness or disseminate ideas involving organized or unorganized violence."

No non-Congress government has done any such thing.

The Bombay Congress ministry propose to go in for State Socialism in certain directions, as is indicated in the following passage from the financial statement of Mr. Latthe, finance minister :

"There are many public utilities services which are at present being utilized for the benefit of a few at the cost of the community as a whole. There is no reason why the State should not nationalise these activities and appropriate the profits for the good of the community as a whole."

As an example he mentioned the supply of electricity to the public. The big provinces under non-Congress ministries have not made any pronouncement in favour of State Socialism.

The attitude of Congress ministries towards the release of political prisoners is different from that of the non-Congress ministry of Bengal. One of the requests of the Andaman hunger-strikers is that all political prisoners in the Andamans may be repatriated. Some Congress ministries have requested the Government of India to bring back the Andaman prisoners of their provinces to them. No non-Congress ministry has made such a request.

The withdrawal of the ban against associations and organizations declared unlawful by previous governments is one of the steps recently taken by some provincial governments, but not by others.

In some provinces under Congress ministries cases started against individuals for political offences before the acceptance of office by Congress ministers, have been withdrawn and the accused discharged. In provinces under non-Congress ministers, prosecutions and other steps for political offences continue to be taken. Section 144 continues to be utilized in some of the latter but not in the former.

In the Congress ministry provinces the police have been told effectively that they are to consider themselves as the servants, not the masters, of the public and to behave accordingly. In some of these provinces, the reporting by the police of speeches at public meetings and similar espionage have been stopped, or at least discountenanced. There the practice of opening and censoring of letters, etc., secretly in post offices by the police has been similarly stopped or discountenanced.

The active participation of students in politics has engaged the attention of both Congress and non-Congress ministries. Some of the former have openly and expressly encouraged students to be politically-minded, to study politics and to participate in politics actively in some ways, whereas some of the latter, *e.g.*, in Bengal, have condemned and discouraged students' contact with politics and political workers and leaders.

In some Congress ministry provinces, the Congress M. L. A.s., who form the majority, intend formally to condemn the Government of India Act of 1935 and the Constitution embodied therein and to recommend that steps should be taken to secure the framing of a constitution based on national independence by the people of India through the medium of a constituent assembly elected on adult franchise. In provinces under non-Congress ministries this will not be done. In fact in Bengal the Governor has disallowed such a resolution which Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal, M.L.A., wanted to move in the Assembly.

In some Congress ministry provinces, the cabinets have taken in hand prison reform, the introduction of free and universal elementary education, prohibition and other similar measures. There has not been any similar activity or preparation for similar activity in the provinces under non-Congress ministries.

There are some directions—some items of provincial expenditure which are non-votable, in which the Government of India Act has made it impossible for the provincial cabinets to carry out any scheme of retrenchment. But there are other directions in which economics can be effected. Hence we find that in provinces under Congress ministries, the salaries and allowances of the ministers, the parliamentary secretaries, the speakers and deputy speakers and the salaries and allowances of the members of the provincial legislatures are very much less than these items in the provinces under non-Congress ministries. The former are more in keeping with the poverty of the country than the latter. Mahatma Gandhi, however, thinks that even the salaries and allowances of the Congress ministers are more than what they ought to be in a country of which the income of the people per capita is not more than five rupees a month. He is right, seeing that in Japan, where the people are richer, the prime minister draws a salary of 800 yen per mensem, the yen being equivalent to 12 or 13 annas.

It is unnecessary to dwell further on the differences between the Provinces under Congress ministries and those under non-Congress ministries. There are those who think that the latter are being better ruled and there are those on the other hand who hold that the former are being better governed. It is needless to discuss who are right, and such discussion, moreover, is not the object of this note. What we want to point out is that for a nation to become or remain united, common aspirations, common endeavours and struggles, common achievements or failures, common joys or sufferings, common exaltations or moods of depression, common disabilities and triumphs are indispensable, and that 'provincial autonomy' has, even within the few months during which it has been in

operation, made for diversity and contrariety, instead of and more than for a community, of conditions. Perhaps the provinces may drift farther and farther apart. No doubt, the attainment of Purna Swaraj still remains the one great aspiration of the whole of India. But provincial aspirations and endeavours, exaltation or indignation, tend more and more to obscure the goal of the national struggle. Such a state of things is of great advantage to British imperialism.

It is not our point that the so-called provincial autonomy cannot be so worked as to yield some good to the people. Our point is that it has or may have a greater tendency to strengthen the hands of British imperialists than the hands of Indian nationalists.

If in spite of what the Joint Parliamentary Committee have said in their Report the Congress ministries can so work the Government of India Act as to make it a means of further national unification and of attaining national freedom and independence, it will be a matter for great rejoicing indeed.

"*Russia in the Shadows*"

Unity of Chicago, edited by the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, has never been a hostile critic of Soviet Russia. But it has now been constrained to publish an editorial note like the following :—

The mystery of Russia not only deepens but darkens. An "uncensored" front-page news despatch in the New York *Times* from its Moscow correspondent, Harold Denny, associate of Walter Duranty, paints a dreadful picture of life in that unhappy country today. Here are some statements which cannot be lightly cast aside but on the contrary must be deeply pondered :

"A cloud of anxiety and bewilderment hangs over this land. The tension in Moscow is so great that even passing tourists feel it and are oppressed.

". . . the frantic hunt for spies and saboteurs, inaugurated by Stalin in his speech of March 5, is resulting in an enormous number of persecutions of perfectly honest people.

"Little people anxious to curry favour and win plaudits for vigilance are denouncing their fellows. Personal grudges are being paid off. The atmosphere must be like that of Salem in the days of witch hunts.

"Old Bolsheviki....are going fast. Few remain in posts of power....The hunt for political offenders is merciless.

"It is the Communists who are most 'on the spot' now. The writer does not know intimately what the position of Communist party members is in Italy, Germany, and other rabidly anti-Communist countries. But it is difficult to believe that they face any greater hazards elsewhere than they face here. For here they have been shooting them."

One wonders, in face of these facts, what has become of that much-tooted new constitution, celebrated right here in our own columns among many other places. Mr. Denny tells us :

"One Russian who should know told me in good faith —and in good faith I wrote—that the new liberal constitution called for new liberal methods. That Russian, I believe, is now in jail....There is no indication of a change of methods."

All this means one thing—*Terror*! Terror after twenty years of absolutist rule; Stalin is making true what the worst enemies of the Soviet have charged against him. Why should we trust him more?

Such condemnation may give malicious pleasure to capitalist, fascist and imperialist rulers. But the question which they ought to ask themselves is whether they are themselves all fundamentally and essentially better than Stalin—some, of course, may be.

"*The Riddle of Russia*"

The New Republic of New York has published two articles on Russia in its issues of the 14th and 28th July last. The first is by Walter Duranty and the second by H. N. Brailsford. The first concludes thus :

Thus one reaches a final synthesis, as follows :

***a.* Trotsky was fanatically determined to overthrow the Stalinist regime.**

***b.* Hitler was fanatically determined to "expand' eastwards" at the expense of the USSR.**

***c.* Both Hitler and Trotsky had at their disposal efficient organizations to develop conspirative action, sabotage and espionage within the USSR and to conduct propaganda abroad.**

***d.* Opportunities for contact between Germany (and Japan) and the anti-Stalinist conspirators both inside and outside the USSR were not lacking.**

The conclusion is inevitable.

It cannot be negatived by foreign bewilderment over the "mystery" of the trials and of the confessions made by the accused, or by foreign belief that the morale of the Red Army has been gravely impaired and that the whole USSR is engulfed in a flood of hysterical witch-hunting. The Kremlin's enemies have used this belief and bewilderment to weaken, at a most critical period, the international prestige of the USSR, but that does not alter the fact that their Trojan horse is broken and its occupants destroyed.

The editors of *The New Republic* preface Mr. Brailsford's article by saying that its "publication does not imply any alteration of the New Republic's editorial position, expressed on several recent occasions, that it is almost impossible for any one outside the USSR to give a final answer to the riddle of recent events there."

Mr. Brailsford himself concludes his article in the following words :

English socialists who had worked for a united front at home and a common international policy on that basis between London, Paris and Moscow, look out after these executions on ruins. No path runs clear through the debris. With some reservations, we had thought Stalin more nearly right over policy than Trotsky. But after this bloodbath—a friend of mine, by drawing on the English press alone, has counted 600 executions—one has

to realize that in a land where loyal opposition is impossible, there can be neither stability nor health.

It has to be added that the editors of the New Republic and Mr. Brailsford have never been hostile critics of the USSR.

A Critical and Comprehensive History of Bengal

We have received the following appeal from Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, and earnestly commend it to the notice of all concerned :

Perhaps you are aware that the University of Dacca contemplates to publish a critical and comprehensive history of Bengal. The History will be divided into three volumes and edited by Sir Jadunath Sarkar and myself. A number of well-known scholars have very readily agreed to contribute to this History, and several Chapters of it have already been written. We confidently hope that it will be possible for us to send at least two volumes to the Press at the end of this year.

In order to make the History as complete and comprehensive as possible, we must have access to all possible data. There are many persons who have in their possession important data or information which might throw light on the history of Bengal. I make an earnest appeal to them to kindly communicate them to me as early as possible. It is needless to add that any information or data so supplied shall be fully acknowledged when it is utilised in the book.

We hope all who have in their possession data or information of the kind mentioned above will co-operate with the editor in the way suggested by Dr. Majumdar.

First Critical Edition of Valmiki's Ramayana

It is a pleasure to learn that the International Academy of Indian Culture, Lahore, has undertaken to issue a critical edition of the Ramayana of Valmiki, similar to the one of the *Mahabharata* being published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona. Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, Raja of Oundh, who is the patron of the critical edition of the *Mahabharata,* has agreed to be the patron of this projected literary enterprise also. The work will be edited by Professor Dr. Raghu Vira, M.A., Ph.D., D. LITT. ET PHIL., Dr. Vishnu S. Sukthankar, M.A., Ph.D., and Professor Dr. Sushil Kumar De, M.A., B.L., D. LITT. It will be based on manuscripts of all the existing recensions from Kashmere to Malabar and profusely illustrated with ancient Rama reliefs from Java.

It would be quite superfluous to sing the praises of the Ramayana. A critical edition, free from interpolations, is desirable from all points of view. The patron and the three editors have issued an "appeal to the generosity of our gracious princes, landlords, business magnates, universities, religious and national institutions, and above all to the understanding and loving devotion of the public." All donations are to be sent to the Director, International Academy of Indian Culture, Lahore. The object of the Academy is to "let Valmiki shine forth in some of his original splendour."

To achieve this stupendous task, separating the grain from the husk, manuscripts have to be collected from all parts of India, from Kashmere and Nepal in the North, to the land of Tamils in the extreme South. These manuscripts are written in different scripts, *viz.,* Sharada, Nevari, Bengali, Uriya, Telugu, Canarese, Grantha, Tamil and Devanagari. The collection is not altogether a simple matter.

The second stage is to record in parallel columns the divergences, varying between minute details of single dots and strokes (which generally affect the sense howsoever slightly) and the transpositions and recasts of entire chapters. It may be noted for general information that excepting direct copies there are no two Ramayana manuscripts which are exactly the same. There are even omissions and additions not of single or scores or hundreds but thousands of stanzas between the versions of the North and the South. In the North itself Bengali has its own particular version. The recording of all variations is a long, patient and most intricate task, done only by a staff of trained men.

The third stage is the restoration of the original, dot by dot, stroke by stroke. syllable by syllable, word by word, quarter by quarter, line by line, and chapter by chapter—a task the delicacy and responsibility of which can be appreciated by only working through the, at all events, thorny tropical growth of variation within variation.

Fourthly is an orderly presentation of the entire material, nothing to be ignored, every item in its proper place.

Side by side with the direct flow of Valmiki's manuscript tradition, there are several other indirect sources of our knowledge of the epic, both in India and outside India at definite periods of history. There are abridged versions, the most valuable being that of the Kashmerian Kshemendra of the 11th century A.D. There are more than 50 dramas deriving their plot from it. There are the Jain and Buddhist versions. There are the Pauranic and Mahabharata versions. Outside India, Tibet, Malaya and Java have their own Rama stories. A unique position, however, is to be assigned to Rama's life in stone in the world famous Parambanam temple in central Java. It is hard to undervalue its significance. Space would be generously devoted to its preservation and to the interpretation of its worth, cultural and scientific. The Parambanam reliefs will illustrate the text richly and profusely.

Bihar Peasantry and Bihar Ministry

Thousands of Bihar farmers and peasants —variously estimated to number from 10,000 to 30,000—marched upon the Bihar Assembly to lay their grievances before the ministers. There were no police orders, cordons or barricades to prevent their march, and, of course, there were no *lathi* charges. They were heard, the chief minister addressed them, and they went away with assurances. The Congress ministry

were not upset. They managed the whole affair admirably.

Here in Calcutta, on the contrary, processions and the like were prohibited within a certain area near and not quite near the Council Chambers and there were *lathi* charges to keep up the prestige of the Police Commissioner's order. This achievement of the non-Congress ministry of Bengal is perhaps more imposing and spectacular than that of the Bihar Congress ministers referred to above!

Mr. Jinnah's Performance

The Indians engaged in the clove trade in Zanzibar are Muhammadans. It is well known that there has been recent legislation in Zanzibar which will make it difficult, if not impracticable, for the Indian traders there to carry on their business. The Congress party in the Central Assembly moved an adjourned motion as a protest against such legislation. It was supported by the Congress and Nationalist members, but as Mr. Jinnah's party voted against it, it was rejected. Mr. Jinnah poses as a patriot, a nationalist and a champion of Muslim rights. But the voting of himself and his party on this occasion showed him up as a henchman of the Government and a champion of the European merchants in Zanzibar.

Orissa Floods and Vested Interests Co-operate

The recent and previous floods in Orissa have been a source of great misery and anxiety to the bulk of the people of Orissa. After the Flood Committee, appointed in 1927, submitted their report in 1928, Mr. E. L. Glass, the then Secretary to the Irrigation Department of Bihar and Orissa, submitted a confidential report after reading certain relevant Resolutions and Reports. According to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika's* own correspondent at Cuttack,

The fourth and fifth paragraphs of the confidential report, submitted by Mr. E. L. Glass, which are quoted verbatim below, will throw a flood of light as to how the interests of poor villagers have been sacrificed for protecting the "vested interests." The fourth and fifth paragraphs of the confidential report are as follows:

"(4) After due consideration Government have accepted more or less the general conclusions of the Committee except that in view of the very extensive vested interest and rights involved they are doubtful as to the real practicability of the advocated general policy of gradual but ruthless removal of existing embankments."

"(5) Decisions regarding each of the specific proposals made by the Flood Committee will be arrived at after thorough examination not only of the engineering and agricultural considerations involved but also in each case of the very large question of vested interests."

So, before taking up the question of removing the embankments in order to save the people from the clutches of floods the Government of Bihar and Orissa cared more for the "vested interests."

According to the same correspondent,

It may be recalled that about a week ago, the Hon. Mr. Nityanando Kanungo, Minister of Public Works, in course of an interview said that the existing embankments must be demolished and Flood Committee's recommendations must be given effect to in order to save Orissa from the ravages of floods.

"Patrika" understands that the Congress Ministry will move, at the next session of the Assembly, for the appointment of a Committee for giving immediate effect to the Flood Committee's Report.

Meanwhile a non-official Flood Committee with Sj. Harekrishna Mahtab as Chairman and Messrs. B. Das, M.L.A. (Central); M. G. Patnaik, Jagannath Das, Godavari Misra and Gunanidhi Mohanty as members, has already begun work in this direction. The members are already collecting suggestions which will be published as a report. It is likely that the members of this non-official Flood Committee may be incorporated in the Committee to be appointed by the Ministry.

The action of the Congress ministers in Orissa show that they are really 'popular' ministers.

Kumar H. K. Mitter

SIMLA, AUG. 24.

Kumar H. K. Mitter, O.B.E., M.L.A., who was nominated to the Central Legislative Assembly, died this afternoon at 4-45.

He came to Simla to attend the current session of the Assembly, but could not take oath of office owing to illness.

Kumar H. K. Mitter was a great grandson of the late Raja Digambar Mitter. He inherited many noble qualities of his ancestor. He was a friend of poor and needy students and many a social and educational institution of the city of Calcutta and suburbs used to receive his patronage in a liberal measure.

His activities during the great famine in the district of 24-Perganas are well known. He was one of the organisers of the famine relief fund and himself contributed generously to the same. He was a sitting councillor of the Calcutta Corporation and a member of the District Board, 24-Perganas. He was a prominent member of the British Indian Association and the President of the Sunderbans Landholders' Association. In recognition of his various public services he was made an O.B.E. by Government this year.

Tragic Protest Against Dowry System

LUCKNOW, AUG. 24.

The report of a girl committing suicide as a protest against the dowry system has been received here from Jhansi.

It is stated that she was betrothed to a young undergraduate whose parents demanded a dowry which her brother, the bread-winner of a family of seven, could not pay. The result was cancellation of the engagement after the betrothal ceremony which was followed by a demand for return of the ornaments given by the bridegroom's

parents on the occasion. The girl took the incident to heart, wrote a long tirade against the dowry system and committed suicide by setting fire to her cloth soaked with kerosene oil. She was burnt to ashes before any help could arrive.—*United Press.*

We greatly deplore the loss of this young life, and are sorry and ashamed to have to observe that her sacrifice will not rouse society from its apathy and numbness. Similar sacrifices have been made before by other sensitive girls but without any permanent good result.

Despatch of Indian Troops to China

The old Government of India Act of 1919 did not give the representatives of the people of India any power over the army. Its successor of 1935 is as bad, if not worse, in this respect. Therefore, the fact that the Viceroy asked the Assembly party leaders to see him to get acquainted with the decision, and the reasons therefor, to despatch Indian troops to China, has no greater significance than a piece of diplomatic courtesy. What is the value of the so-called conference after a decision has been taken and seeing that there was not the ghost of a chance of the decision or arrangements being altered in the least in consequence of any opinions expressed by the M. L. A.s?

Interviewed by the "Associated Press" on the subject Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose gave expression to some home truths, which, though not new in substance, will bear repetition.

"The Central Indian Legislature has not been given any voice in army affair under the Government of India Act 1919 and its power over the defence services will be even less if and when the new Federal Constitution comes into force. Therefore, any discussions that the military or the executive authorities may hold with the members of the legislature should be regarded in the light of purely courtesy consultations. While courtesy should be acknowledged for what it is worth, I am inclined to think that such discussions are fraught with risks, inasmuch as they are likely to create the impression that they carry with it the tacit approval of the legislature to a course of action and policy which it has not the slightest power to influence. That this fear is justified seems to be proved by the upshot of the discussion between the Viceroy and the representatives of the various groups in the Indian Legislative Assembly over the dispatch of two Infantry Units of the Indian Army to the Far East.

Mr. Bose then briefly narrated some facts connected with the episode.

In pursuance of the assurance given at the time of the Abyssinian War, the Viceroy invited the members of the Indian Legislative Assembly in order to acquaint them with the situation in the Far East and to inform them of the contemplated dispatch of troops from India and as a result, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai and Mr. S. Satyamurthi have issued a statement in which they may be considered to have given a qualified blessing to the dispatch of troops on assumptions which are not only irrelevant to the issue but are largely unfounded. Mr. Desai and Mr. Satyamurti say:

"We are also informed that the two Battalions which were being moved are Indianized Units in which predominating element of officers are Indians and we have no doubt that if proof is ever needed it will for once and all lay the ghost of criticism that Indians are unable to man and command their own forces for internal security of their own country or for the protection of their country against aggression from abroad."

It is much to be regretted that Messrs. Desai and Satyamurti have used words which may be misinterpreted to mean by implication that there is the least truth in the interested allegation that "Indians are unable to man and command their own troops," etc. And if there were any, how can the despatch of these two battalions prove Indians' capacity to do so? Mr. Bose's comments are quoted below.

It is obvious from the above passage that Messrs. Desai and Satyamurti cherish the belief that the selection of the two particular Battalions for dispatch to the Chinese theatre of war is due in some measure at least to the fact of their being Indianized Units and that the part that they will play in China will prove the capacity for military leadership of Indians. As a matter of fact no belief could be more illusory. These two Indian Infantry Battalions have been chosen for dispatch not because in them, as an officially inspired message puts it, 'considerable Indianization has taken place' but because they belong to the 4th Deccan Division of the Army in India which is specially earmarked to serve as an expeditionary force either wholly or in part. As for considerable Indianization of these Units, the facts are as follows: Of the forty-four officers with King's Commissions nominally on these two Battalions, twenty-seven are Indians. None of them holds the position either of Commandant, second-in-command or even company commander; all of them are company officers, three of them being Captains and the rest Lieutenants. If the courage and capacity of the Indian rank and file and of Indian officers with the Viceroy's Commission in France, Mesopotamia, Egypt, East Africa and elsewhere in all the wars in which Indian troops have been previously engaged have done nothing to still the voice of criticism against Indian military ability, it may be assumed that anything that this score or so of young Indian officers might do in China will not be able to dissipate the propaganda sedulously carried on against Indian efficiency.

Mr. Bose considers the second assumption of Messrs. Desai and Satyamurti equally fallacious.

The second assumption of Messrs. Desai and Satyamurti is equally fallacious. They say: "As regards the subject matter of the communique we note that the troops who would be moved would be used for internal security duties. As far as Indian troops are used for protection of interests of Indian nationals abroad we should certainly see no objection and in fact would recommend Indian troops to be used for such purposes outside India. We, therefore, trust that the use of these troops will be confined to the purpose stated in the communique and that they will not do or be allowed to do anything that will have an appearance or tendency of India's being involved in the struggle between Japan and China for obviously our sympathy will be with China

against whom an aggressive imperial encroachment is being carried out."

It is plain that Messrs. Desai and Satyamurti have been led into the belief owing to the use of the phrase 'internal security,' that in some way or other the interest of India is at stake in China and that while Indian opinion would not approve of the participation of Indian troops in any military operation round about Shanghai or Hongkong, it is not only permissible but desirable to send them to those places for the purpose of standing by. The fallacy of this line of argument will be easily realized if two considerations are kept in mind. The first of them is that, though the 'internal security' of India might be a legitimate concern of the Indian Army, the 'internal security' of the British Settlements in Shanghai and Hongkong is none of our business. If the distinction between the two sets of circumstances is forgotten simply on account of the use of the phrase 'internal security' why should not the 'internal security' of Great Britain against an air attack by a foreign power, and the 'internal security' of all the British colonies, possessions and dominions be equally a concern of the Indian Army? In actual fact, the kind of work for which the Indian Battalions are being sent to the Far East is called 'Imperial policing' in British military circles. At present, there is no economic or political interest of India in the Far East which would justify the employment of Indian troops there for Indian considerations and in Indian interests.

The second of the considerations to which Mr. Bose referred is that

Indian troops are being sent out in order to meet certain eventualities and, if circumstances so require, they will have to take part in the fighting on whichever side and for whatever purpose the authorities who will control them will decide. The two aspects of the matter —the dispatch of the troops and the possibility of their having to fight—cannot be logically separated from each other. In the present instance, Indian troops will, of course, be used for whatever purpose the British Government may decide upon without any reference to Indian opinion, once they are in China. But even if we had the freedom to lay down a policy, to dispatch troops to China with instructions not to take part in the fighting would have been to stultify the whole proceedings.

Mr. Bose concludes :—

On the whole I cannot resist the feeling that the association of the Congress Party in the Central Legislature with the dispatch of the Indian troops to the Far East will not advance the claim that nationalist India has always put forward in regard to control over the defence services and defence policy. I shall not go so far as to say that there has been a deliberate attempt at mystifying the Indian representatives; but the Government communique has certainly emphasized 'Indianization' and 'internal security' in such a way as to put Indian opinion on a false scent. It seems to me that so far as the members of the Central Legislature are concerned, this diplomatic placing of emphasis has served the Imperial purpose.

The Andaman Hunger-strikers' Requests

All persons in authority, from the Viceroy downwards, who have refused to consider the requests of the prisoners in the Andamans who have hunger-struck, appear to have based their refusal on the ground, among others, that so long as the hunger-strike continues, their petition cannot even be considered; for Government cannot afford to be coerced.

Now, the prisoners who have hunger-struck, or some of them, at first presented a petition through the proper channels embodying the requests. They had not then begun the hunger-strike, nor had they said in that petition that in case it was not granted they would hunger-strike. Therefore, as it is being said now that the requests cannot even be considered unless they give up the hunger-strike, may it be asked why the petition was not considered, why it was summarily rejected, when the hunger-strike had neither been commenced, nor even been threatened or mentioned? Therefore, the matter stands thus : When there was no hunger-strike, the petition was not considered; when there is a hunger-strike, the petition is not considered. What then is the particular condition or circumstance under which the authorities would be disposed to consider a petition like that submitted by the prisoners?

If it be said that, as they are prisoners their petition cannot be considered, far less granted, it may be permissible to remind those in power, that every one of the requests made by them had been made before by the Congress and other parties and leaders and by journalists and other publicists. They were not prisoners. Why then were their prayers, petitions, requests, demands, or suggestions brushed aside?

It has been said that a mass petition of prisoners cannot be entertained. Why? If the prayers contained in the petition are reasonable—and that they are so is proved by the fact that they were submitted by leading men outside jails in speech or writing—they ought to be considered whether submitted in a petition signed by a single individual or in a petition signed by many. It is common knowledge in fact that memorials and petitions are thought to gain in weight by the number of their signatories. Prisoners have the legal right to submit petitions.

Another ground on which the petition has been summarily rejected has been officially stated to be that it is on matters of general policy. This does not seem to us a reasonable or tenable ground. The prisoners' petition had nothing to do with Defence, Foreign Affairs, Customs, Exchange, Land Revenue, Excise, Education, General Administration, Legislatures, the Judiciary, Police, the Executive, the Imperial Services, and the like. It related to matters in which prisoners as prisoners were interested. Why should not they, therefore,

have and exercise the right to make their submissions in these matters?

Both in India as well as in foreign countries, Governments have, ere this, listened to the prayers, requests or grievances of hunger-strikers. That has not lowered them in the estimation of reasonable men; on the contrary, it has raised them in public esteem. It is childish to think that, if Governments listen to the petitions of hunger-strikers, people would think that they (the Governments) had yielded to intimidation. Who does not know that Governments everywhere are not afraid of and do not hesitate to sacrifice the lives of thousands of their own men as well as of their enemies in defence of their interests and prestige? We think the requests of the hunger-strikers ought to be granted as they are reasonable. If they had been unreasonable, we would not have supported them simply because of the hunger-strike. We do not approve of or admire hunger-strikes.

Repatriation of the Andaman prisoners is supported on various grounds. In 1921 the Government of India themselves publicly announced their decision to close the Andamans as a penal settlement. Recently, no doubt, the Viceroy and others have said that the place has become healthier. But visitors like Raizada Hansraj and returned ex-convicts, who have personal knowledge of the islands and the cellular jail, do not support that assertion. But it is not merely owing to the unhealthiness of the islands that the keeping of Indian prisoners there is objected to. Britain has long ceased to have any penal settlement abroad for her convicts. That she keeps a penal settlement for India is rightly considered a mark of the servitude of her people and an indignity. This insult cannot be tolerated. There is no public opinion in the Andamans to serve as a check upon any illegal or improper treatment of the prisoners. If the British claim that the Provinces have been given real autonomy be true, the Provinces should have charge of all their 'provincials,' whether convicted or not convicted. Therefore the prisoners of each Province should be transferred to the same. In accordance with this principle the Congress ministries of two or three Provinces have already requested the Government of India to repatriate their prisoners and send them to their respective provinces. True, the number of Bengal prisoners is large, but the Bengal expenditure on the ordinary police and C. I. D. and jails is also large. These departments should be worth their salt. There is an official excuse for sending political prisoners to the Andamans, *viz.*, that in India they keep up contact and correspondence with their comrades outside the jails and thus help subversive movements. This is really an argument for dismissing inefficient jail and C. I. D. staff and getting better men. Is it right and proper that offenders who have been sentenced, not to transportation, but to ordinary imprisonment, should be subjected to the severer and additional punishment of transportation because the officers of some departments are not worthy of their hire?

The appeal to the vital statistics of the Indian and Andaman jail population to prove the better health conditions of the latter does not really establish what officials want to establish. The political prisoners in the Andamans are generally men in the prime of life and were men of better physique than the average before their arrest. They were also medically examined before being sent to the Andamans. The death-rate and incidence of disease among them should naturally be lower than among the jail population of India, which includes many persons of advanced age and indifferent physique.

We are not supporters or extenuators of violence. But in considering the question of the release of political prisoners, no distinction has been made abroad between persons convicted of offences of violence or otherwise. War or rebellion always involves violence. And after the attainment of self-rule by a country many men who had been punished as rebels have not only been released but have in many cases come to occupy high official positions. This has happened owing to the changed conditions, and because under those changed circumstances no violent or non-violent subversive movement was necessary or would find public support if started.

In India in the United Provinces under a Congress ministry, seven political prisoners were released from the Naini Central Jail on the 24th August last. Five of them were sentenced in connection with the Kakori conspiracy case, one was convicted in the Cawnpore constable shooting case, and another was sentenced in connection with the Benares bomb case.

Indian public opinion does not favour methods of violence. Whatever officials may say, many men who had been convicted for acts of terrorism and are now free after serving out their term and who know their own minds and the views of other prisoners who are still in jail have publicly declared that they are all now against terrorism, and that that is not due to their having been cowed down but is the result of hard thinking.

Up till now (August 25) the Andaman hunger-strikers and those hundreds in Deoli, Berhampore and the Presidency Jail who have given up taking any food in sympathy with the former, have not broken their fast. We have shown above that the requests of the hunger-strikers are not unreasonable and that there is no reason why their petition should not be considered. Therefore, humanity, if nothing else, should induce the authorities to repatriate the prisoners and assure them that their other requests would be considered. And the prisoners themselves should also break their fast.

Defeats Sustained by Assam Ministry

We do not know, by the time that these lines will reach our readers' hands, how many more defeats the Assam ministry will sustain; but the defeats already number eight. Is it not time to relieve the present incumbents and choose in their stead others who enjoy the confidence of the Assam legislature?

Campaign Against Communalism in the Panjab

Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, prime minister of the Panjab, and his colleagues and supporters appear to be in earnest in their campaign against communalism. They deserve success.

Sind Chief Minister Favours Joint Electorates

Sir G. Hedayatullah, chief minister of Sindh, has publicly declared himself in favour of joint electorates, giving cogent reasons in support of his opinion. As Sindh is a Moslem majority province, this declaration of opinion on the part of a leading Mussalman is significant.

Orders of Externment Withdrawn & Ban on 'Unlawful' Organizations Lifted in N.-W. F. P.

ABBOTTABAD, AUG. 22.

It is officially announced that the Frontier Government has rescinded all orders of externment or restriction under the Public Tranquillity Act except those relating to interference with transborder affairs.

The most important result of the above decision is the removal of the ban against Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's entry into the Frontier and the cancellation of restrictions against certain members of the Khaksar movement, including Mr. Inayatullah Khan of Lahore.

The ban upon the Congress and allied associations has also been lifted.

It is understood that the Government's attitude in coming to this decision is that they wish to deny to no person an opportunity of participating in the political life of the province. They are hopeful that the necessity will not arise of taking action to prevent any unconstitutional activities within the settled districts or interference in Waziristan and other tribal affairs.—*A. P. I.*

The Frontier Government deserve to be congratulated on these wise, though belated, decisions.

Congress Will Rule Through Moral Force

Writing in *Harijan* of the 21st August last, Mahatma Gandhi says:

"It is not enough that Ministers should live simply and work hard. They have to see to it that the departments they control also respond. Thus justice should become cheap and expeditious. Today it is the luxury of the rich and the joy of the gambler. The police should be the friends of the people, instead of being their dread. Education should be so revolutionised as to answer the wants of the poorest villager instead of answering those of the Imperial exploiter."

Forecasting that all those imprisoned for political offences—even of a violent nature—will shortly find themselves free, if the ministers can give them freedom, Mahatma Gandhi says:

"This is a phenomenon not to be looked at lightly. It does not mean licence to violence in the terms of the Congress creed of non-violence. The Congress abhors individual violence in a far more real sense than the Government it replaces. It seeks to meet the violence of individuals not with organised violence called punishment, but with non-violence in the shape of a friendly approach to the erring individuals and through the cultivation of public opinion against any form of violence. Its methods are preventive, not punitive. In other words, the Congress will rule, not through the police backed by the military but through its moral authority based upon the greatest goodwill of the people."

Referring to the lifting of the ban on prohibited literature M. Gandhi says:—

"The Congress rule does not mean licence to violence or obscenity or the fomenting of hatred."

Sir Wazir Hassan At Bengal Muslim League Meeting

Presiding over the annual general meeting of the Bengal Presidency Muslim League on the 22nd August last, Sir Wazir Hassan, ex-Chief Judge, Oudh Chief Court, observed:

"Mussalmans must join the Congress. Any delaying in the march to freedom shoulder to shoulder with the Congress 'until a settlement is made' is not only opposed to the constitution of the Muslim League but is highly derogatory to national honour and political morals."

Dealing with the situation in Bengal Sir Wazir Hassan said:

"The dark shadow of the old regime, the old habits of covering acts of injustice and oppression and of flouting public opinion with the pretence of maintaining law and order still dominate the administration of Bengal."

He appealed to the majority community

to help the Hindu minority, relieving the latter from the burden of disadvantages.

Referring to the Congress acceptance of office, Sir Wazir Hassan said that office had been accepted by the Congress with a view to averting a split so that cohesion and solidarity of the people of India might be maintained in the movement for emancipation.

He denounced the partition of Palestine and described the demands of the Andaman hunger-strikers as legitimate and reasonable and the attitude of the government in this connection as callous.

It is to be regretted that the proceedings of the meeting were marred by the rowdyism of a certain section of Muslims. The proceedings had gone on smoothly till the President had delivered his presidential address and four resolutions had been adopted, after which the meeting had to be adjourned to prevent a clash between two rival sections.

At the adjourned meeting which was held at the residence of Sir A. H. Ghuznavi, M. L. A. (Central), Sir Wazir Hassan presiding, the following further resolutions were adopted :

(1) Offering co-operation to the Indian National Congress in the work of mass contact and fight for freedom of the country with adequate safeguards for Mussalmans of India.

(2) Urging the Bengal Government to consider the widespread feeling in the country against the repressive laws which still disfigure the statute book of this province and take measures for repeal of all repressive acts at an early date.

(3) Conveying to the India Government the strong feeling in the country against the use of Indian soldiers in foreign countries and urging the India Government to discontinue the practice.

Winding up the proceedings Sir Wazir Hassan remarked :

"It was a painful sight for me to see that politics in Bengal should have degenerated into such a low ebb that it prompted unseemly scenes which we have all witnessed this afternoon. Nothing can take me away from the path of duty I have chosen for myself. No Minister or a high police officer can deter me from the work I have set before me as the duty to my country and duty to my brothers in Islam."

The presence of Sir Wazir Hassan in Calcutta has made it evident once more that there are many Mussalmans in Bengal who are ready to carry on the struggle for freedom in co-operation with the Hindu nationalists of the province.

The War in Spain

The tragic, fierce and ferocious war in Spain continues to drag its weary length. As *The Tribune* rightly observes :

Long-drawn out struggles are no new thing for Spain. In this connection it is interesting to recall what Macaulay wrote on the subject. "There is no country in Europe which is so easy to over-run as Spain; there is no country in Europe which it is more difficult to conquer. Her armies have long borne too much resemblance to mobs, but her mobs have had, in an unusual degree, the spirit of armies. The soldier, as compared with other soldiers, is deficient in military qualities, but the peasant has as much of those qualities as the soldier. War in Spain has from the days of Romans, a character of its own; it is a fire which cannot be raked out, it burns fiercely under the embers; and long after it has in all seeming been extinguished, bursts forth more violently than ever." This appears to be as true today as when these lines were written . . .

Sir Mirza M. Ismail on India and Java

Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Dewan of Mysore, who went to Java as leader of the Indian delegation to the Inter-government Conference of Far Eastern Countries on Rural Hygiene, at Bandoeng, Java, made a felicitous speech at a banquet given by Dr. J. Offringa, president of the conference, on August 13 last. In the course of his speech he dwelt on the economic and cultural advantages to be derived from a visit to Java.

Coming as I do from the other India, I have long felt a keen desire to see something of the Empire which has been described as 'a garland of emeralds twined round the equator', and to visit its monuments, which have many associations with our own India, and to study its agriculture and its administration in all its branches. It has always seemed to me to be a vast pity when these two great Empires are grappling with similar problems on very similar lines that there should have been so little co-operation between them, so few opportunities for each to learn from the successes and the failures of the other. I may say, on behalf of the part of the India from which I come, I mean Mysore, that we have derived very great benefit as the result of a visit by one of our officers who came to study sugar cultivation here and who was most hospitably treated. Perhaps, I may add that the sugar factory which was established as a result of that visit has been brought into the position of one of the most successful and important factories in India by the efforts of a gentleman who hails, not from the Netherlands Indies, but from the Netherlands itself.

Dwelling on the past historical relations between Java and India, Sir Mirza observed :

We, in India, have recently developed a maternal attitude towards the Dutch East Indies, since students of history within the past twenty years or thereabouts have told us that cultural movements from India (by which I mean what you mean by 'British India') established themselves in Java some sixteen centuries ago, and that reminders of those cultural visitations are still to be found not only as archaeological remains, but as elements in the religious and social life of today. I now learn, however, that there are students of Javanese history who suspect that it was the other way about, and that it is Java that should feel maternally towards Hindustan. Well, I am not seriously concerned with the subtle questions of historical seniority. I am glad that scholarship has, at any rate, discovered cultural links between the two Asian Indias even before the momentous visit of my own co-religionists in the sixteenth century. I believe that in such relationships, outside the distracting problems of economics and politics and creeds, which are tormenting humanity today, humanity can find an approach towards

sympathetic understanding of universal human aspiration and expression in a variety of forms and systems that should be mutually enriching in their disclosure of the many interesting ways along which the central mystery of life may be approached.

In relation to the major arts of dance-drama and music as practised in Java, the speaker said :

It is a matter of profound interest to me to find that here in Java the two major arts of dance-drama and music preserve an unbroken tradition, yet without being merely a continuation of old forms and modes. I am also specially interested in the heartening fact that in Java the dance-drama expresses the ancient Vedic imagination of Hindustan, and does so in the persons of Muslim performers, thus making a beautiful combination in the arts of matters that in other circumstances might be regarded as incongruous.

Sir Mirza Ismail may have found certain other things in Java which may be regarded in other countries as 'incongruous'; *e.g.*, Sanskrit names of Mussalmans, such as "Suvrata" and "Shastra-Vidagdha," and an epic poem in Javanese named *Agastya* after the Hindu sage of that name.

Sir Mirza's concluding remarks related to the work of the conference.

As you know, our conference has just concluded its labours. It has been a most interesting and profitable session. We have passed a number of resolutions, dealing with subjects of the utmost importance to our various countries. We trust that the peoples and the governments concerned will give our recommendations and suggestions the consideration which, we feel, they deserve. Of course, none of us, I think, expects that they will be carried out at once and in their entirety, and we fully realize that this can only be done by years of persistent endeavour. That reminds me of a story and I should like, with your permission, to relate it for the benefit of such of us as may be inclined to be too impatient or imaginative.

There was a missionary who had spent twenty-five years trying to convert the world to his own belief. Absolutely discouraged by the results, he went to a friend and told him that he was going to resign. 'There is no use in my keeping on', he said. 'Think of the few converts I have made compared to the tremendous population'. To which his friend replied : 'The trouble with you is that you want to work quicker than God'.

It has been said that Sir Mirza made a complete success as leader of the Indian delegation to Java by his urbanity and social charm and the ability with which he handled the problems of the conference. There is no reason why to other conferences in foreign conferences Indian delegations with non-Indian leaders should be sent. India has enough of capable leaders to head these delegations. They can voice the Indian point of view, which foreign leaders cannot. Moreover, if Indian delegations are led by Indians, India is spared the humiliation and the wrong of being incorrectly considered incapable of supplying leaders.

Congress Working Committee Meeting at Wardha

WARDHAGANJ, AUGUST 16.

Four resolutions were passed by the Working Committee officially at 5-30 this evening.

The first fully sympathises with Zanzibar Indians' struggle against the clove trade decrees, expresses the view that an embargo should be laid on import of cloves into India and urges people to refrain from using cloves until the new decrees are rescinded by the Government.

ANDAMANS HUNGER-STRIKE

The second resolution deals with the Andaman issue, characterising its use as a penal settlement, especially for political prisoners, as barbarous and opining that the political prisoners should be discharged, that the non-political prisoners should be repatriated and that the penal settlement be closed. Any delay for taking adequate action is likely to lead to alarming consequences. The Committee also appeals to the prisoners to give up the hunger-strike.

The Committee will also send a cable to the prisoners advising them that as their purpose, *viz.*, drawing attention of the country towards the conditions in the Andamans, has been achieved, they should desist from Satyagraha. It has been despatched by the Government of India.

It is curious that the Government of India have thanked the C. W. C. for the cable to the hunger-strikers, but completely ignored the other parts of the resolution.

It is not quite correct to say that the object of the prisoners has been gained. Their object was to get the Government to grant their requests. That has not yet been gained.

QUESTION OF ALLIANCES

The third resolution relates to Bengal and confirms the earlier forecast permitting the minority Congress party to form alliance with other groups for general or specific purposes in connection with parliamentary work, simultaneously declaring that such co-operation does not involve commitments regarding possible formation of Ministries. The Committee concedes full latitude to the Congress party leaders regarding day to day activities, provided the same is not inconsistent with the general Congress policy.

On the question of alliances the Committee has no objection to the Opposition's alliance with other political parties in the minority provinces, but this does not permit of any alliances for the purpose of formation of Ministries. In such cases the Congress parties concerned must approach the high command.

It is to be hoped the high command will grant the request of Congress M. L. A.s in minority provinces, considering the circumstances of each such particular province.

EXPERTS TO CONSIDER PROBLEM

By the fourth resolution the Committee recommends to the Congress Ministries in the provinces the appointment of a Committee of Experts to consider urgent and vital problems, the solution of which in Committee's opinion is necessary to any scheme of national reconstruction and planning. These committees should make comprehensive river surveys for prevention of disastrous floods, devise ways and means for promoting industrialisation and draw particular attention of the Governments of Bihar and United Provinces to the necessity of taking

immediate action in regard to sugar industry by investigating the problem of co-ordinating the industry and utilize such by-products as are wasted today, and by fixing the minimum price for the cane and by protecting the interest of cane-growers. The attention of other provinces was also drawn.

Finally the Working Committee opines that the question of a moratorium in regard to debt also involves inter-provincial consideration.

WARDHA, AUG. 17.

'United Press' understands that as a result of discussions between Congress Premiers and the Working Committee Members it has been decided the Congress Parties in the majority provinces should officially table resolutions putting forward the demand for summoning a Constituent Assembly in the legislatures and that the party should carry on propaganda outside supporting the demand.

Congress Ministry Possible in Frontier Province

The present ministry in the Frontier province has been in a rather shaky condition ever since it was formed. A Congress ministry is likely to succeed it. It was reported at Wardha on the 16th August last that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was likely to visit that province shortly in connection with the formation of a Congress ministry there.

Muslim Demand for Greater Share in Congress Governments

Addressing a public meeting held at Nasik on the 10th August last, the Hon'ble Mr. Yasin Nurie, Minister for Public Works, Bombay, visualised that

Congress within a few years would be ruling throughout the land, including those provinces where Muslims are in a majority.

"Having made no sacrifices as a community in the fight waged by the Congress for the freedom of the country, the present demand of the Muslims for a greater share in the Government is preposterous," declared Mr. Nurie. "It is tantamount to crying for a share in the meals cooked by the Congress, in preparation of which the Muslims took no share at all."

He appealed to the Muslims and Muslim youths to take a growing interest in the activities of the Congress and strive towards the attainment of Swaraj. The Congress while working for wrecking of the Act would utilize the redeeming features of the Act for the amelioration of the masses.—*U. P. I.*

Adult Franchise in Madras Municipalities

The Congress ministry in Madras want to introduce adult franchise in the municipalities. This would prepare the people for adult franchise for the legislature, when it came, and also for the constituent Assembly to be demanded by the Congress ministries.

Budget Speech in Provincial Mother Tongue

The chief minister of Orissa has decided to publish an Oriya translation of his budget statement. It is decidedly a commendable move. He wants to distribute copies among the masses. In order that his object may be gained, the presentation should be popular and the language easy. In statements made for English-knowing people much knowledge is taken for granted on the part of the readers. But a statement made for illiterate or almost illiterate people must be more explanatory, longer and simpler. The Orissa prime minister knows all this, of course. His example deserves to be followed in all other provinces.

"T" and "Th"

Many people have got into the bad habit of using "th" where the correct spelling requires "t." Mr. Satyamurti himself spells his name as "Satyamurti," which is correct, but many other people spell it "Satyamurthi." Apart from other considerations they do not see the inconsistency involved. If it be correct to write the Sanskrit word for truth as "Satya," it should be correct to write the Sanskrit word for image as "murti." But if you write "murthi," you ought to write also "Sathya." Similarly the same people who write—and write correctly —"Sitaramayya" and "Sita," wrongly write "Savithri," "Srimathi," etc. The correct spellings are "Savitri," "Srimati," etc.

A Commendable Educational Suggestion

Endeavours are being made in the Central Provinces and Berar to tackle the problem of free and universal elementary education in right earnest. In that connection, a suggestion has been made by the C. P. education minister that candidates for matriculation who have satisfied the academic tests should be required to render one year's honorary service as teachers before they become entitled to receive the certificate of having matriculated. During years past we have urged that all graduates should be required to render one year's honorary service as teachers. Graduates would make better teachers than matriculates. But it may be that in some provinces the number of graduates would be less for years than the number of honorary teachers required and that in some provinces it may not be easy to find honorary teaching work for the thousands of matriculates turned out every year. It is, however, a matter of detail as to at what stage students should be required to do honorary teaching work. The principle is recognised in practice in some States in Soviet Russia.

Some honorary teachers would require to be given subsistence allowances.

Some Chinese Reactions to the War

In the *Voice of China*, for August 1 last, under the caption "We must fight . . .," it is said, in part:

Chinese troops have recaptured Fengtai and Langfang and are rapidly advancing toward Tungchow. This last minute report tells that the inevitable moment of conflict has arrived. The grim die is cast. War is raging in North China . . . The rapidity with which the Japanese military machine extended its field of operations, and the numerous demands and ultimatums it presented to the North China authorities and the Chinese government left no alternative to an harassed people other than a war of resistance.

China's great desire for peace and her hesitancy to turn the countryside into a battlefield and subject the people to the horrors of war is well known. In the past she has accepted humiliations forced upon her by an arrogant and unmoral aggressor, who capitalized this desire for peace for their own advantage . . . .

War is tragedy; tragedy on a mass scale, with its attendant misery and horror, death and destruction. But when the will and desire of the mass of the people can find no other method of protecting their lives and liberties, war becomes the final arbitrament. This is not a war of China's choosing, and it is in a spirit of solemn desperation that she enters upon its path. The words of General Chiang Kai-shek, that "once war has begun, there is no looking backward, we must fight to the bitter end," find their echo in the hearts of the Chinese people, and with the deepest resolution, they march forward under his leadership for the salvation of the nation.

Selected passages from other articles in this Chinese periodical are given below.

From "WAR IN NORTH CHINA."

What other conclusion can we draw from the paralyzing sweep of our aggressor than that our desire for peace provides the very basis for futher aggression? While we talk of peace our enemy is only busily concerned with what they can further steal from us.

From "WAR AND THE STUDENTS."

The students of the world are not among those who glorify war. They are not war-mongers, but on the contrary are enthusiastic supporters of world peace . . .

At the same time the students of the world are realists, and do not struggle against all wars unconditionally. They are not deceived by the hypocrisy of "humanitarianism." They know that peace cannot be attained by merely shouting, "peace!" but that it must be fought for and won. The students know that peace without liberty is no peace. And so the students are opposed to wars of imperialist aggressors upon weak nations,—like the war of Italy against Abyssinia; and to wars in which the reactionaries of the nation suppress the masses and betray their fatherland,—like the war waged by Franco and his fascist allies against the democratic government of Spain. They know that in such wars they must support the struggle of those who are fighting for liberty, and so we find students from every country of the world, including Chinese students, fighting in the front line trenches of Spain against the fascist aggressors. The students of the world are proving that they are ready to offer their lives in the cause of peace and liberty . . . .

The troops need many things and we can contribute from our own meagre funds to make sure that the soldiers who are fighting at the front do not suffer from the lack of essentials. We can add to their supply of food, clothes and medicine, and give the funds to supply them with anti-gas equipment. The students of China University in Shanghai have started a movement of "One Cent a day" to be contributed to the war chest of our nation. This movement should be followed by students everywhere, and should not be limited to their own ranks, but broadened so that the masses of people will also be led to contribute . . . .

Fellow students of China! For two years we have clamored and worked, and struggled in blood and tears for an anti-Japanese war of national liberation. The war is upon us. Our individual fates are bound up with the fate of our nation, and if it becomes enslaved to our national enemy, none of us can escape the shackles of bondage. Let us contribute our all. Let us devote every thought and energy to the defence of our country. The moment has arrived when we must be prepared to die for our country.

It is not necessary to give extracts from the article entitled, "We Will Win Through Struggle." The heading itself reveals the underlying spirit.

Congress President on Sending Troops to China

In a statement on the despatch of Indian troops to China Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru criticises the action of the Government of India in sending troops to China without consulting the Indian Legislature.

Says he:

"India must protest against this despatch of troops to China. In this struggle our sympathies are inevitably with China and we wish her people success in maintaining their freedom against imperialist aggression. But in this international game anti-imperialist men power and resources will be used as pawns by others. Today we may protest only, but that protest will have the full strength of the Congress behind it, if this policy continues." *A. P.*

Government Censured on Andamans Motion

On August 25 last an adjournment motion moved by Mr. Satyamurti on the Andamans hunger-strike was carried in the Assembly by 62 votes against 55. Mr. Jinnah and his party voted for the motion, thus expiating for his voting against the Zanzibar motion. In the course of the debate Mr. Bhulabhai Desai asked with great emotion, "Will Government repatriate the ashes of the prisoners?" Mr. R. F. Mudie, Joint Secretary to the Home Department said that the Government of India would not stand in the way, if the Bengal Government wanted repatriation. He reiterated that immediate repatriation or repatriation any time did not rest with the Central Government.

Mr. Mudie added that the main obstacle to repatriation was the hunger-strike of prisoners themselves.

Mr. Jinnah interrupting again asked for assurance that the Government of India would do their best to repatriate the prisoners.

Mr. Mudie repeated that he was willing to give assurance that the Central Government would not stand in the way of the Government of Bengal.

So the repatriation of the Bengal prisoners now rests with Mr. Fazlul Huq and his ten colleagues. [But see later telegrams.]

"End Hunger-Strike"

SIMLA, AUG. 25.

The Congress Party has sent the following telegram to the hunger-strikers in the Andamans :

"The Assembly passed a motion demanding immediate repatriation. Please terminate the hunger-strike. The situation demands immediate termination."—*A. P.*

Foreign Delegation of Scientists to Jubilee Session of Indian Science Congress

In continuation of our note on the subject of the foreign delegation of scientists to the jubilee session of the Indian Science Congress, published in our last issue, pp. 218-9, we place before our readers the following extracts from letters received from an Indian scientist :

"The Government of India and some of the Indian universities are paying large sums of money for the expenses of the delegation. Further large sums will no doubt be spent in entertaining them all over India. An appeal for personal donations has also been sent out to the Indian scientists, and members of the Executive Committee of the Congress are asked to figure prominently in the list of donors. They should be happy to contribute funds if the gathering is to be an *international* one; but very little is being done to achieve that end; and those who apprehend that the delegation will be almost exclusively a British one are powerless to influence the majority. For this reason they are hesitating to make any contribution. I have had several letters from scientists in Germany, Holland, Russia and elsewhere, willing and even anxious to come out, but I have little doubt that, unless pressure is put upon the Committee, these distinguished men will not be invited on the same terms as the British delegates. Ordinarily, scientific congresses never pay the expenses of delegates coming from other countries.

The Indian Science Congress had no special reason to provide all these funds and there seems little doubt that they would not have been provided but for the fact that some one conceived the idea of having a "joint session" with the British Association—which was translated into meaning that India should fork out the expenses of the delegates from which non-British scientists, no matter how distinguished, would be excluded, with a few exceptions."

In the course of another letter, of a later date, this Indian scientist writes :—

"I wish to give you a few more facts concerning the foreign delegacy to the Indian Science Congress. I learn that actually as many as one hundred and twenty non-British delegates have been invited, but, unlike the British delegates, they are to come, if they can, only at their own expense. The one hundred or so British scientists are to be paid £50 to £75 per head, and if the finances of the Indian Science Congress improve with further subscriptions from India, the amount to be paid to them is likely to be increased, rather than help some more non-British delegates to come. Just a few (not more than a dozen, if so many) non-British delegates are to be invited specially, and their expenses are to be paid at £100 each, though their number could have been doubled by paying £50 each. The vast majority of non-British scientists invited will not come, as they have not been invited on the same terms as the British.

"Part of the expenses of the British delegation is to be met by the British Association, but I don't know how much of them.

"The policy of treating the bulk of non-British scientists invited from the British scientists will be resented widely when the facts are known by those who are being asked to subscribe funds."

Motions for Constituent Assembly

MADRAS, AUG. 23.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, the Premier, has tabled a resolution demanding the convening of a Constituent Assembly to be moved in the Madras Legislative Assembly most probably on the 31st August after the joint sitting is over.

An identical resolution has been tabled by Dr. Rajan, Leader in the Upper Chamber.—*A. P. I.*

LUCKNOW, AUG. 25.

On September 2, the opening day of the budget session of the Assembly, the Premier will move the following resolution :

"The Assembly is of the opinion that the Government of India Act, 1935, in no way represents the will of the nation and is wholly unsatisfactory as it has been designed to perpetuate the subjection of the people of India. The Assembly demands that this should be repealed and replaced by a constitution for a free India framed by a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise which allows Indian people full scope for development according to their needs and desire."—*A. P.*

These motions are in accordance with the resolution of the Congress Working Committee passed at Wardha on the subject of the constituent assembly.

Subhash Chandra Bose on the Hunger-Strike Problem

In the course of a statement issued by Mr. Subhash Chandra Bose from Dalhousie relating to the Andaman prisoners' grievances and requests, which has been sent to the dailies by the Associated Press of India and published by them, Mr. Bose thanks Mr. Mohanlal Saxena and the Viceroy :

"The public should feel grateful to Mr. Mohanlal Saxena for taking up the question of the Andaman prisoners' grievances direct with the supreme head of the Government of India and should simultaneously be thankful to the latter for the courtesy he has shown in replying at length."

But he adds that "it must, however, be regretted that behind the veneer of gentlemanly courtesy the bureaucratic mentality still manifests itself."

Regarding the distinction drawn by officialdom in India between political prisoners convicted for offences committed with accompanying violence or without violence, Mr. Bose observes :

It is only in India that question of violence or non-violence is raised in classifying prisoners, whereas in all other countries it is taken for granted that political prisoners are those who are convicted for the most heinous crimes with the only saving grace that the motive underlying their crimes is a patriotic one. Mr. Saxena has permanently and effectively pointed out in his second letter that in several countries people occupying the highest positions were once guilty of such crimes. I shall only add that the heads of the Governments of Germany, Russia, Italy, Spain, Irish Free States and some other countries were once imprisoned for crimes much more serious than those for which the vast majority of the Andaman prisoners have been convicted. It may be remembered also that President Benes of Czechoslovakia and President Kemal Ataturk of Turkey would certainly have been shot if they had been caught by any chance when they were proclaimed rebels.

Pilsudski, the former Polish Dictator, used to commit political dacoities regularly besides engaging in rebel activities.

In order that he may not be misunderstood Mr. Bose adds :

I say this not to condone what the Andaman Prisoners may have done but to urge that in the changed circumstances of the country their past career should be regarded as a closed chapter.

Taking presumably a similar view of political offences and considering the changed political condition of the country, the U. P. Government have released the Kakori prisoners.

Mr. Subhash Chandra Bose meets some other arguments also of the Viceroy and concludes :

In conclusion I would earnestly request the Central and Provincial Governments to put aside all notions of prestige and to view the situation from the human point of view as a Government responsible to the people should.

The Congress is doing its level best to meet the Government half-way on this question and so far as Bengal is concerned I have already announced that all the Congress organizations there have undertaken to carry on a persistent campaign for inculcating the spirit of non-violence among the people. In this tense crisis every hour, nay, every minute is precious and the Government should therefore act at once. It is possible that in response to the appeals of the leaders the prisoners may suspend their hunger-strike without waiting for the Government of India to reconsider their decision. And if they do so I would beseech the Central and Provincial Governments to respond with a gesture of generosity.—*A.P.I.*

Dr. Meghnad Saha on All-India Radio

In the course of an interview with the press Professor Meghnad Saha, F.R.S., said :—

"The news that the *Times* has come forward with an editorial suggesting that the All India Radio service should be organized on the lines of the British Broadcasting Corporation will be welcomed by everyone interested in the progress of radio in this country. In fact one wonders why the Government of India had not taken such steps when bringing the All-India Radio service into existence. It is hoped that the Government of India will now take up the suggestion made by the *Times* and organize the All-India Radio service on the proper lines."

Regarding the absence of proper research by the men connected with the All-India Radio, Dr. Saha observes :

"As regards the technical section, it is well known that the All-India Radio has so far been dependent upon foreign radio companies. No attempt has been made to train a batch of technicians in India for the service of India. If any expert advice is needed for major operations, experts must be imported from England in order to set the matter right.

"The research section is as good as non-existent, because the Head of Government research section is one whose qualifications for conducting research work is best known to the Government alone."

India can produce and has produced men who are quite capable of conducting research relating to radio.

"About a year ago in London, Prof. S. K. Mitra gave a party in which some of the most prominent British workers on the radio were present, including Professors Appleton, Watson Watt, Eckerseley, Chapman, Ratcliffe and others. They all agreed that India should have her own national research committee for carrying on research on co-operative basis on wireless propagation, as the Indian conditions of soil and atmosphere were available only in India and could not be reproduced elsewhere. The proposal was enthusiastically supported by the well-known scientific journal, *Nature*, but it failed to produce any impression on the Government of India.

"The public is probably aware that there is no dearth of talent in this country in this particular line. In fact, many works of a very fundamental nature have been done by Indian scientists with very meagre resources and the value of these researches is being appreciated all the world over except in India. I may cite for example the discovery by Prof. S. K. Mitra of wireless reflection from very low heights, subsequently confirmed by British and American workers and considered very important for successful television, and the discovery made at Allahabad by Dr. Toshniwal and Mr. R. N. Roy of new conditions

of reflection from the ionosphere, subsequently confirmed in Norway and France. All this work is being carried on with the meagre resources of the Universities while large amounts are being squandered by the All-India Radio on entirely wrong lines."

Mr. V. V. Giri Friend of Journalists

Mr. V. V. Giri, Labour Minister of Madras, has told the public that it has a responsibility towards journalists. It should subscribe to newspapers, not in hundreds or in thousands, but in tens of thousands. He has deprecated the habit of reading a newspaper in a public reading room or of borrowing a newspaper when the reader can afford to buy his own copy. And, of course, it can be taken for granted that he disapproves of the clandestine art of casting sidelong glances on your neighbour's newspaper in a 'bus or a tramcar or a railway carriage. The practices which he discountenances make figures of newspaper sales in India only an approximate index of the number of people who actually read good newspapers—and which newspaper is not good (in the opinion of its conductors)?

It may be assumed that Mr. Giri's definition is that which has been adopted by the Post Office, that, namely, which entitles a periodical publication to registration for concessions in the rate of postage and which includes dailies, semi-weeklies, 'tri-weeklies,' weeklies, fortnightlies and monthlies!

India Government's Somersault

SIMLA, AUG. 26.

The Government of India have issued the following communique:

"Since it is clear that misapprehensions have arisen as regards the position of the Government of India in regard to the demand for the repatriation of the prisoners in the Andamans, consequent on the discussion in the Legislative Assembly on August 25, the Government of India think it well to make clear beyond question their attitude in this matter. It is as follows:—

"Any order for repatriation would have to be issued, as already publicly explained, by the Government of India as being the Government administering the Andamans. The Government of India have already made it clear that, for the reasons they have publicly stated, so far as they are concerned they are not prepared to give any consideration to demands put forward by the prisoners or by other persons on their behalf so long as the hunger-strike continues."

But if there is provincial autonomy, why should the Government of India refuse to restore to a province its prisoners in the Andamans, if it claims them?

A Volte Face

SIMLA, AUG. 26.

Commenting on this evening's communique of the Government of India on the subject of the repatriation of the Andaman prisoners, which was raised in the Assembly yesterday through an adjournment motion and produced an assurance from Mr. Mudie, Joint Secretary, Home Department, Mr. Satyamurti said: "I consider this communique a volte face on the part of Government. Yesterday they deliberately tried to divide the Opposition votes by saying in the House to Mr. Jinnah's specific question that if the Government of Bengal wanted repatriation of the hunger-strikers from the Andamans, they would not stand in the way. Now they have gone back on the whole position. I think it is unworthy of any Government. Even the Government of India must have some regard for consistency and truth in its dealings with the Legislature."—*A. P.*

Some panjandrum behind the scenes must have ordered the execution of this somersault.

Three Andaman Prisoners Seriously Ill

SIMLA, AUG. 26.

A communique issued today states:

. . . . . The Chief Commissioner's report of August 25 is that the number of terrorist prisoners on hunger-strike in the Andamans is now 231 and the number of prisoners on work-strike is 34. The number of hunger-strikers on the seriously ill list is 3. *United Press.*

Berhampore Detenus Break Fast

BERHAMPORE, AUG. 25.

It is reliably understood that all the hunger-striking detenus in the Berhampore Detention Camp have given up hunger-strike today.—*United Press.*

British Garrison Costs India Twelve Crores A Year

SIMLA, AUG. 25.

To a question of Sardar Mangal Singh, Sir James Grigg replied in the Assembly today that the expenditure on the British portion of the Army in India is estimated at approximately twelve crores annually inclusive of transport charges from and to England and expenses in connection with recruitment and training of British troops.

Sardar Mangal Singh: How much of this expenditure can be saved if British regiments can be replaced by Indian nationals?

Sir James Grigg: Rather more than one-half.

Our guess is that the replacing of British troops and officers by Indian troops and officers would result in a saving of some eight crores annually.

Ban Lifted on Gandhi Films

BOMBAY, AUG. 26.

A Bombay Government communique announces that the Government have lifted the ban on 26 films, all of which deal either with Mr. Gandhi's departure for England for the Second Round Table Conference, his arrival and activities there during the Round Table Conference, his return to India or with the Karachi Congress. These films were banned during the second Civil Disobedience movement.—*A. P.*

They in Bombay will now witness Gandhi *films*. But we in Bengal have already witnessed *real* lathi charges. So Bengal need not be jealous of Bombay.

All Faiths Celebration of the "Muharram" (Moslem New Year)

For the first time in history, the celebration of "Muharram" in a temple of Hindu



PARTICIPANTS IN THE ALL FAITHS CELEBRATION OF THE "MUHARRAM"
Left to right: (sitting) Rev. Eliot White (Christian); Sm. Kamala Mukerji (Hindu); Mr. Clarence Gasque (International Director of the World Fellowship); Dr. G. M. D. Suji (Moslem).
Standing: Rabbi B. Leon Hurwitz (Jewish); Mrs. Henry Debusmann (Mazdaznan); Swami Bodhananda (Hindu); Miss Barbar (Secretary to the Vedanta Society); and Kedarnath Das-Gupta (Hindu, Organizer of Programme)

worship was arranged by the World Fellowship of Faiths at the Vedanta Society of New York on March 14th, 1937. Tributes to Mohammed were paid by Christian, Jewish, Hindu and prominent leaders of other religions. Swami Bodhananda, Minister of the Vedanta Society, presided. The celebration opened with the recital of " The Call to Evening Prayer," written by the noted Hindu poetess, Mme. Sarojini Naidu. This was followed by the readings of the prayers from eleven great religions, compiled by Kedarnath Das Gupta, Founder and General Secretary of the World Fellowship of Faiths. Mrs. Clarence Gasque of London and Paris, International Director of the World Fellowship of Faiths, was the principal speaker of the evening. Mrs. Gasque came to the United States to invite the American leaders to participate in the International Assembly of Faiths, held this summer in Europe. Short addresses in appreciation of Islam and Mohammedan culture were given for Christianity by the Rev. Eliot White, former Associate Rector of the Grace Episcopal Church; and for Judaism by the Rev. B. Leon Hurwitz of the Ninth Avenue Synagogue in Brooklyn. Mrs. Gasque represented the Mazdaznan movement, and Mr. Das Gupta spoke for the Hindus. Dr. G. M. D. Sufi, M.A., D.LITT. (Paris), a Moslem educationalist from India, thanked the organizers and the speakers on behalf of his Mohammedan brothers, and explained the significance of the "Muharram," and also discussed the contributions of the Moslems to world civilization. The celebration was concluded with a Benediction, written by O. Z. Hanish, founder of the Mazdaznan movement, of which the refrain is as follows: "Salaam, Salaam, Aleikum; Salaam, Salaam, Aleikum; Salaam, Salaam, Aleikum."

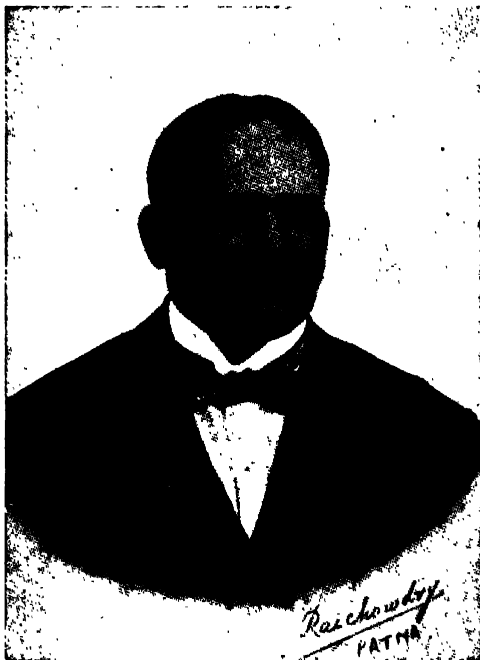
The World Fellowship of Faiths also recently arranged in England and America the celebrations by adherents of all faiths of Christmas, of the Hindu festival, Diwali, of the Jewish New Year Rosh Hashonna, and of the birthdays of Buddha and Confucius. It has been found that the observance of a festival of one religion by adherents of another helps to

promote a better understanding and fellowship through mutual appreciation.

X

Kashi Prasad Jayaswal

Death has removed from our midst an eminent jurist, a great antiquarian, a great historian, a great scholar and a great patriot in the person of Dr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal. He was born in Mirzapur in the United Provinces and received his school education there. He finished his university education at Oxford, and distinguished himself there as a student of Chinese. He was also called to the Bar and practised first in Calcutta and then in Patna.



Kashi Prasad Jayaswal

He delivered a course of Tagore Lectures on Manu and Yajnavalka in Calcutta and had a profound knowledge of Hindu law in all its aspects. As a savant, an antiquarian, a historian and a Hindu-political-scientist, he did not suffer from the inferiority complex. He had both the intellectual and scholarly equipment and the courage to measure swords with foreign indologists and could maintain his ground with ease. He could bring a modern eye to the discernment and discovery of ancient artifacts and records, and a modern mind to their illumination and interpretation. His *Hindu Polity* shows the great variety and range of the systems of government and political institutions which existed in ancient India. Broadly speaking it may be stated that ancient India was acquainted with all the main systems of government and put them to practice in some period or other of her history and in some part or other of the regions lying within her boundaries. It may be said without any injustice to others that he of all men made the Bihar and Orissa Research Society and its Journal what they are today.

His researches and historical works have thrown light on and illumined dark periods of ancient Indian history. He had not a little to do with the research expeditions of the Bhikkhu Rahula Sankrityayana into Tibet. The numerous manuscripts and other material which the Bhikkhu has brought from that country await editing and publication and subsequent interpretation and utilization. It is greatly to be regretted that Kashi Prasad Jayaswal is no longer in our midst to expedite and assist in this important work.

Dr. Jayaswal could discover merit in the work of younger labourers in different fields of Indology and encourage them.

The practice of his profession and his preoccupation with various kinds of research left him little leisure. Nevertheless, he helped us with many notes, articles and rare illustrations, for which we have been always sincerely grateful. Much that is most significant in his *Hindu Polity* was originally contributed by him to *The Modern Review*.

A Governor Disallows Congress M. L. A.'s Resolution

PATNA, AUG. 26.

The "Associated Press" understands that the Governor of Bihar has disallowed the resolution by the Congress M.L.A. recommending the hoisting of the Congress flag on Government buildings.

It is understood that the Speaker has disallowed a resolution by the same member recommending the stopping of conferring titles on the ground that the matter was the primary concern of the India Government.

The Premier will move in the Assembly the Constituent Assembly resolution on one of the days allotted for official resolutions.—*A. P.*

This is perhaps the first instance of a Governor of a province under a Congress ministry disallowing a resolution proposed to be moved by a Congress M. L. A. It is not interference with the work of the Congress *ministry*.

Indians Killed in Firing in Mauritius

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has received the following cablegram from Mr. Boodhan, Indian

Bar-at-Law, Port Louis, Mauritius, which is known as Chhota Bharat :—

"The Indian community intimates that on August 13 unarmed labourers in an Indian-owned factory were fired on, four being killed and several wounded. The strike was general. One hundred have been incarcerated. Labourers demand enforcement of the minimum wage bill. Small planters demand better conditions in respect of the sale of canes. Resumption of labour is partial. A Government inquiry commission is sitting. There is no Indian on it."—*A. P.*

Is being fired on the badge of Indian labour at home and abroad?

British Menace to Indian Film Industry

"The news, according to the *Morning Post*, of the British film industry preparing a scheme for asking Government to subsidise the establishment of British film studios and cinemas in India with a view to competing with Germany and America for the provision of cinema entertainment in villages cannot but be viewed by the public of this country with great alarm," said Sir Phiroz Sethna, President of the Motion Picture Society of India, in an interview to 'Associated Press.'

He added :

"Though the object of this venture is stated to be competition with Germany and America, it may be asserted that Germany has so far done next to nothing in the matter of film production or exhibition in this country. It is true an American concern has constructed one theatre in Calcutta and is putting up another in Bombay."

Sir Phiroz Sethna's protest is quite just and timely. According to the Government of India Act of 1935, the Indian taxpayer's money can be 'lawfully' given for the promotion of British industry in India, but it cannot be given equitably for that purpose. All nationalist members of the Central Legislature, the Congress ministries in six provinces, and the nationalist members in the remaining five should keep constant watch to prevent the misuse of Indian money for promoting British business enterprise in India.

Charge of "Idolatry" against Calcutta University

Muhammadan communalists in Bengal have been trying to find out 'idolatry' in Bengali literary works, particularly those prescribed by the Calcutta University. They sometimes ascribe to the authors the sentiments found in dialogues in dramatic pieces by even so eminent (and monotheistic) an author as Rabindranath Tagore!

Some of these men have found seats in the Bengal Assembly. The other day one of them moved that the entire demand for the grant of a sum of Rs. 1,24,313 proposed to be given to the Calcutta University be refused, "because the Muslims regarded the word 'Sree' and the picture of the Lotus flower as symbols of idolatry and therefore the adoption of this emblem by the university (namely, the word 'Sree' within a lotus) has given a rude shock to the religious feelings of the Muslims of Bengal!" Is it rude shock to *religious* feelings, or greed, or jealousy, or envy?

In *Prabasi* we had pointed out repeatedly that of the twenty meanings of 'Sree,' only one or two denoted a Hindu goddess, and the other meanings were beauty, prosperity, majesty, speech, etc., that 'Sree' was used by Muhammadan monarchs in India before their names. that the lotus emblem was to be found in Moslem architecture in India and in decorative Moslem art in Egypt, and so on. On a previous occasion, in the Bengal Assembly one M. L. A. pointed out that the coin, the Indian Rupee, had a lotus emblem on it. But, presumably because it was not a Hindu coin, but that of the British Crown which commands a big army and gives boons to Muhammadan communalists, no Indian of that class has found fault with it or refused to accept it. It has been also pointed out that Writers Buildings in Calcutta, where the Moslem and other ministers and the Secretaries, etc., have their offices, has images of Greek and Roman gods and goddesses on its southern front. But perhaps as they are not Hindu gods and goddesses and perhaps also as those who have installed them there have both big guns and deep and heavy purses at their disposal (the latter for the special benefit of communalist Muhammadans), these also have not been objected to.

In course of the debate following the cut motion, Mr. Pramathanath Banerji made an interesting and well-informed speech, from which we give some extracts below.

The University appointed a Commitee consisting of the then Vice-Chancellor, the Architect of the Government of Bengal, the Principal of the Government School of Art and the present Vice-Chancellor. This Committee came to the conclusion that if this symbol was used by the University, there could be no objection on the part of any community.

"The then Vice-Chancellor" was a Mussalman.

So far as "Sree" was concerned, the speaker consulted Carey's dictionary. And nobody, the speaker was sure, could accuse Carey of communalism, because he had written the book when communalism was unknown. The speaker found that in that book twenty different meanings had been given to this cabalistic expression "Sree" and two of the meanings given were "prosperity" and "happiness."

And what symbol, asked Mr. Banerjee, could be more fitting for the large number of their girl pupils who were entering the portals of the University, whether they be Hindus or Mahomedans, than that they should represent prosperity and beauty. And what about that

beautiful lotus? What finer flower there could be than the lotus blossoming forth in the turbid waters of party politics! And yet they found the Chief Minister in reply to a question the other day stating on the floor of the House that neither "Sree" nor "Lotus" was objectionable, but it was the mechanical combination of the two that was objectionable (laughter).

The speaker continuing said that he had taken some pains to read the science of numismatics and he found that Mahomedan Sovereigns of Delhi beginning from Mohammed of Ghor had on their coins "Sree" and "Lotus" but the coin of Mohammed of Ghor bore not only the symbol of "Lotus" but even the figure of goddess Lakshmi—goddess of prosperity. The speaker had in his hand a copy of Nelson's Catalogue of Coins and he pointed out to the House from that book three specimens of silver coins with "Sree" and "Lotus" in them. He told the Muslim members who objected to the University emblem, that these coins bore the impression of "Sree" and "Lotus." One of such coins came from the great Sher Shah. And Sher Shah put down his name as *Sree* Sher Shah. And another coin came from Mohammed of Ghor, one of the greatest conquerors of the world. But he was not only a conqueror, he was a humorist as well. On the reverse side of his coin there was the figure of a monkey with a mace. This perhaps meant that when he came to conquer he realized that he came not only to the land of human beings but to the land of *Hanumans* as well (laughter).

It is to be hoped Mr. Banerji's witticism will not be misconstrued as a fling at the great military humorist's contemporaries and posterity.

The chief minister, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, having given an assurance that some amicable settlement would be arrived at at a conference with members of the University on the subject of the emblem, the cut motion was withdrawn.

Assam Divisional Commissoners To Go?

In the course of the Assam budget debate the salaries of the two divisional commissioners there having been axed in the Assembly, and that act having been pronounced quite legal by Sir A. K. Roy, the Bengal Advocate General, the question arises what is to be done with the two commissioners? No one but the Secretary of State can discharge these I. C. S. men, or in any way touch their pockets. It is only their office staff who can be interfered with.

The Bengal Chief Minister and Students

At a conference with the heads of some educational institutions in Calcutta, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq, Bengal's Chief Minister, declared that he was a friend of the students. We do not doubt the sincerity of this belief of his. He wants that students should not take active part in politics, though they may attend political meetings. We think students are entitled to do what others do. Only they should not pose as leaders or give so much of their time and energy to politics or other things as would seriously interfere with their studies. We believe the cinema and the football and other matches are a far greater and more constant distraction and cause of dissipation than politics. But all bureaucratic and Bengal-ministerial guns are aimed only at politics! Why?

But politics would not be so sensational if the ministry *could* and would prevent the police from issuing quite unnecessary orders prohibiting processions by students and the like and from delivering outrageous *lathi* charges. Can Mr. Haq and his colleagues do anything to restrain the police? First maddening the people (however unintentionally) and then telling young people to be good boys is not good even as a joke.

And what shall we say with regard to the other cause of exasperation, namely, the way in which the petition and the subsequent hunger-strike of the Andaman prisoners are being dealt with?

If the authorities want that the public should not disturb the calm of their mind, may not the public also expect to be similarly treated? Reciprocity is a good maxim.

Waziristan Peace Terms

SIMLA, AUG. 26.

The latest information about the Waziristan situation is that the Government have begun to announce the terms of settlement to the various tribes and already the Waziris and three Mahsud sections have been informed of the terms.

As punishment to the tribes for their hostilities the Government have announced that the tribes concerned should surrender to the Government 2,000 rifles and pay a fine of Rs. 70,000.

As regards the terms of settlement the Government have laid down the following:

(1) Construction of new roads which are already in hand

(2) In future certain areas will be called protected areas where tribal disputes will be settled by political officials with the assistance of the Jirga and in accordance with the Frontier Crimes Regulation and as regards the disputes regarding women, settlement will be made with the help of the Jirga according to customary law and

(3) The Government will not impose any land revenue.

Eight tribes are involved.- *United Press.*

The punishment is not heavy. The tribes possess far more rifles than 2,000.

Sino-Japanese War

War has not been declared but is going on all the same between Japan and China. Japan is not having it all her own way—that is all that can be said at present. Nobody knows what other powers will be involved if the hostilities go on for a long time.

Date of Issue of October Number

Our Contributors and Advertisers are requested to note that the October number of *The Modern Review* will be published on the 24th September, 1937.

Dr. Miss Roma Bose has just returned from Oxford after obtaining a D. Phil. degree in Philosophy from that University. She is the first Indian woman to get this distinction at Oxford. She got a first class in Philosophy from the Calcutta University where she secured record marks. She then proceeded to Oxford and obtained a doctorate. Miss Bose is the daughter of Mr. S. M. Bose of the Bengal Public Service Commission.



Dr. Miss Roma Bose

Mrs. Hemlata Tagore, Secretary to the Saroj-Nalini Women's Welfare Society, one of the foremost social workers of Bengal, returned home last month after a long tour in some countries of Europe, including Britain. In the photograph she is seen with Mrs. H. Fulop-Miller of Vienna, and Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta, M.L.A., who visited Vienna in the course of his European tour. Her experience of Europe is expected to be of considerable use in this country.



Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta, Mrs. H. Fulop-Miller and Mrs. Hemlata Tagore



Shovona Devi in her younger days

Shovona Devi, a niece of the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, was about 60 at the time of her death. She was the author of more than one book. Among them "Orient Pearls," published by MacMillan & Co., is the best known. She was a musical genius, and could sing English, French, Italian and Hindustani songs as well as Bengali songs. Her histrionic talents were also remarkable.

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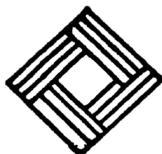
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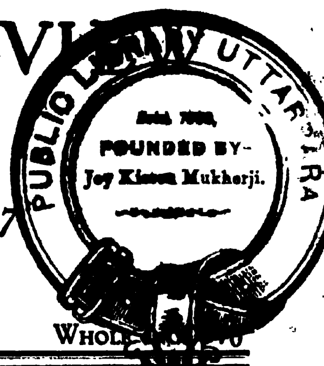


THE MODERN REV

OCTOBER



1937



Vol. LXII., No. 4 Whol

THE ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY OF CAMBODGE

By HENRI MARCHAL

Chef du service archæologique de l'Indochine

The Kingdom of Khmer, known to the world today under the name of Cambodge, is situated to the south-west of French Indo-China. Chinese annals and inscriptions on stones give us a very precise account of an extremely brilliant civilization that existed here during the period covered by the ninth to the fourteenth centuries of the Christian era. The bas-reliefs on the walls of the temples of Angkor confirm these records and further go to show us the splendour of the times of the ancient Khmer kings. These pious kings constructed numerous temples that are spread out over a vast extent of territory comprising Siam, the Cambodge of today, Cochin-China and the southern part of Laos.

An inventory of Khmer monuments would include nearly a thousand edifices of which a good many could claim to rank with the greatest monuments known to the art of the ancient and mediæval times, by virtue of their dimensions, the beauty of their decorations and their architecture.

All these edifices are of a distinctive style of architecture, and it is evident that though India might have influenced the beginnings of Khmer art and given it certain forms, those Hindu elements were soon modified to evolve an entirely new form of architecture. The decorations that ornament the wall-surfaces of the temples are of a richness and variety seldom met with anywhere else. It seems as if the Khmer sculptors were gifted with the imagination and supple imagery of the artists of mediæval Europe while possessing at the same time the sense of harmony of line reminiscent of the ancient Greeks, coupled with the exuberance of the East.

So unique has been the product of this mixture that the visitor to Angkor usually expresses his impressions by exclaiming, "This does not resemble in anyway anything that I have seen before."

The history of Cambodge does not commence before the sixth century of the Christian era, but during the previous centuries there was a stream of immigration from India, consisting of monks, travellers and merchants, that resulted in the permeation of this region by a current of religious civilization carrying Buddhism and Brahminism in its train. The cult of these two religions involved the construction of that multitude of temples which is now found scattered over the whole of the territory of Cambodge. The best known of these temples are situated in the territory to the north of the Great Lake at Angkor, which was one of the principal capitals of the Royal House of Khmer.

The older inhabitants of Indo-China belonged to a race, Malayo-Polynesian in origin, that had inherited traditions, faiths,—and perhaps an art,—from an ancient civilization as yet poorly known. This civilization, usually termed as 'Oceanic' because it is supposed to have originated in the islands of the Pacific Ocean, made its influences felt in Central America as well as in south and east Asia so that we find certain themes common to the arts of these different countries. It is this mixture of



Bayon. Panoramic view taken from the Eastern terrace
[*Courtesy* : *Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*

influences, to which one could add those derived from Egypt, Assyria and Persia through the medium of India, that gave Khmer art those characteristics which have won for it a special place amongst the arts of other origins.

In the seventh century A. D. Cambodge was being covered with towers, isolated or in groups, that were nearly always built of bricks. Their architecture is reminiscent of certain forms found in south India. But the ninth century saw the appearance of a new form in art coincident with the Khmer kings establishing themselves in the Angkor region.

That new form in art, generally known as the 'Classic art,' as opposed to the 'Primitive Khmer art' of the earlier types, presents the following characteristics: enlargement of the surface built upon, replacement of brick by sand-stone, introduction of numerous edifices annexed to the principal sanctuary and the creation of galleries to chain together the towers which were previously isolated. The Art of the Khmers reached its full development and the zenith of its brilliance at the epoch of Angkor Vat (XII-th. century).

As a result of the very numerous wars which the Khmers were obliged to fight, whether against their neighbours the Chams of Annam or against the invaders from the north, the Siamese, the Khmers were vanquished, forced to abandon the city of Angkor, and to retreat to the east in the XIV-th. century. This was the end. Thus faded away the splendour of the Khmers, and their temples lay abandoned after their shrines had been pillaged and devastated.

Trees and creepers grew up and the deserted temples were almost completely covered by vegetation and it was in that state that the French explorer Henri Mouhot found them in 1860. It was he who revealed for the first time the existence of these monuments to a public that was in complete ignorance about it.

At that period the region of the monuments of Angkor belonged to Siam and it was not till 1907 that it was ceded to France, thereby enabling her to bring together the ancient kingdom of Khmer.

By the end of 1908 the important work of conservation of the monuments of Angkor had already started through the solicitude of l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, and thus the



Terrace of Srah Srang

[*Courtesy : Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*

temples in ruins that threatened to collapse were saved.

It is very difficult to picture today the aspect presented by these monuments when they were overspread with vegetation. If the creepers and the verdure gave an extremely picturesque appearance to the towers and galleries, the roots and the consequent humidity disintegrated the masonry and accelerated the ruination.

During the course of the work of deforesting and clearing, many bas-reliefs, statues, inscriptions and some decorative pieces in bronze were revealed. The reading of the inscriptions, mostly in Sanskrit, gave the experts the exact date of the monuments. For a considerable time previously a very high degree of antiquity was attributed to these monuments on the basis of chronicles which were more legendary than historical. The exact dates as obtained by the deciphering of the inscriptions brings the epoch of the splendour of Khmer civilization to that between the IX-th. and the XIII-th. centuries of the Christian era.

Inside and all over the precincts of the city of Angkor and collected over a relatively restricted area, one may see the most beautiful structures of the Art of the Khmers. I shall mention here only the principal edifices.

The foremost edifice that appears before the sight of the visitor to the city of Siemréap is Angkor Vat. The temple panorama with its wide moats filled with water, reflecting the galleries of the gate-ways and the central towers, and with its terraces and paved causeways, is imposing in the extreme . The fosse that surrounds the walls of the outer enclosure measures in length nearly one kilometre along each of its faces and is 200 metres in breadth. In front of the principal entrance it is traversed by a massive stone causeway, formerly bordered with balustrades formed by seven-headed nāgas. A pavilion with lateral galleries and with three entrances in centre, gives access to the interior through the enclosure walls.

One may compare Angkor Vat, with its avenues, its water basins and with its shady lawns, with Versailles. The view of the central monument, with its towers that can be seen dominating the three-storeyed galleries from far off, becomes more and more imposing as one approaches the temple.

There is a gradation in visual effect,

calculated for and arranged by the architects, which displays a great mastery of the science of composition and mass effect and, at the same time, a minute eye for the harmony of line and decoration. On passing into the interior of the galleries and cloisters one is struck by a spectacle that is at once novel and impressive. The bas-reliefs that cover the walls of the first gallery over a length of 500 metres, depict the life-stories of the gods, of legendary heroes and of the king who built the temple. One sees them in palace scenes, in the midst of court festivals or in the battle-field accomplishing the various exploits related in the poems of the Hindus. In the southern gallery, after the marching scene of the army of the king who built Angkor Vat, are shown various scenes of punishment in hell and still more varied scenes of the delights of paradise as enjoyed by the blessed.

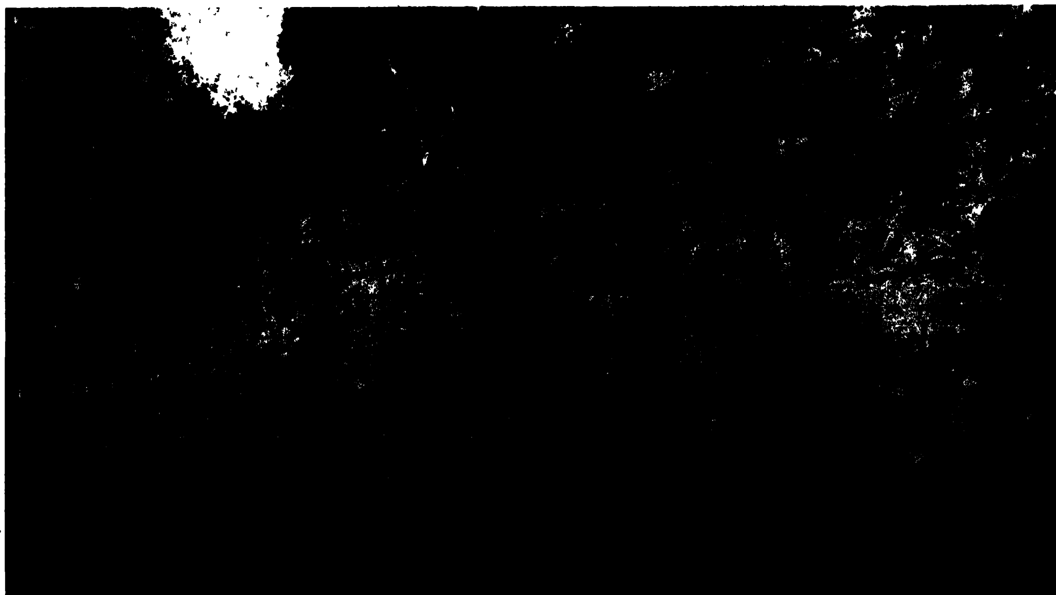
The last storey, containing the holy of holies in the central tower, is reached after climbing the stairs, the elevation from the ground-level being 65 metres. The walls are decorated with sculptures and ornaments, amongst them being feminine divinities with smiling and gracious faces, seemingly offering flowers to the visitor, their busts nude but covered with ornaments.

The towers, with their serried turrets and stages and decorated pediments, soar into the blue of the sky with a strength of line that is truly majestic.

It may be said that Angkor Vat realises an architectural conception, classic in its purity, and of such a degree of nobility as has perhaps never been attained anywhere else.

Quite different is the Bayon, a temple built towards the end of the XII-th. century, or at the beginning of the XIII-th., which occupies the centre of the last royal capital of Angkor. At first sight the temple seems to be a piece of rock carved by nature but on a nearer view it becomes apparent that the central mass is formed of towers of different heights and decorated by human faces. The gateways of the city wall of Angkor Thom, which are of the same period, are also decorated with human visages in sculpture.

Entering the temple of Bayon one is lost in a maze of labyrinthian galleries that intercross each other in multiple vaults, the whole decorated with bas-reliefs of ornamental designs, of figurines, of divine flower-maidens, or of nymphs poised in dance on lotus flowers. But as soon as one reaches the upper platform, at the base of the enormous central towers that rise 45 metres above the ground-level, one is in the presence of a spectacle that seems absolutely like a hallucination. One is dominated on all



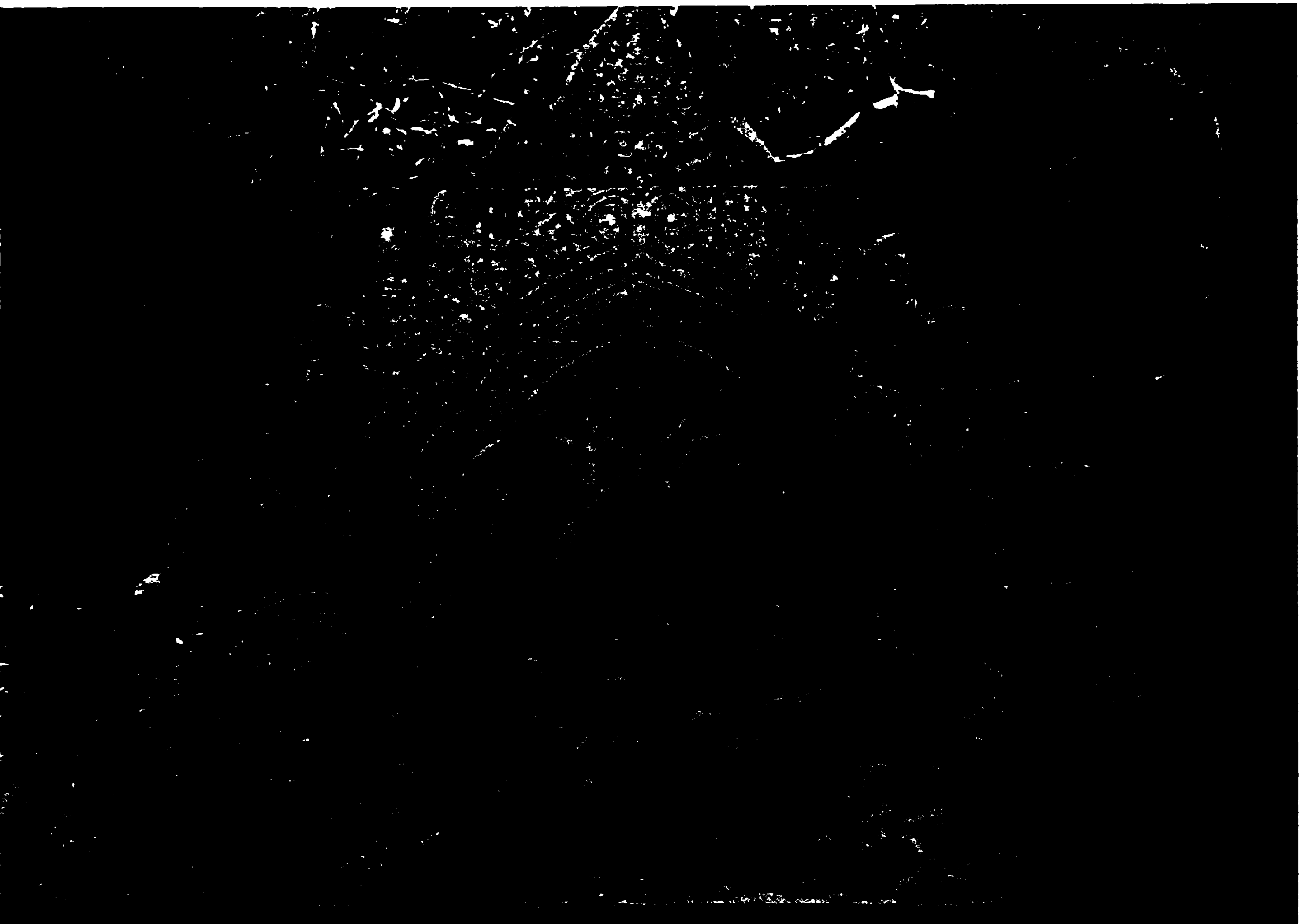
Angkor Thom. Terrace of Elephants

[*Courtesy* : *Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*



Banteay Srei
Central Group. View from North

[*Courtesy : Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*



Banteay Srei
Pediment of Western Gopuram

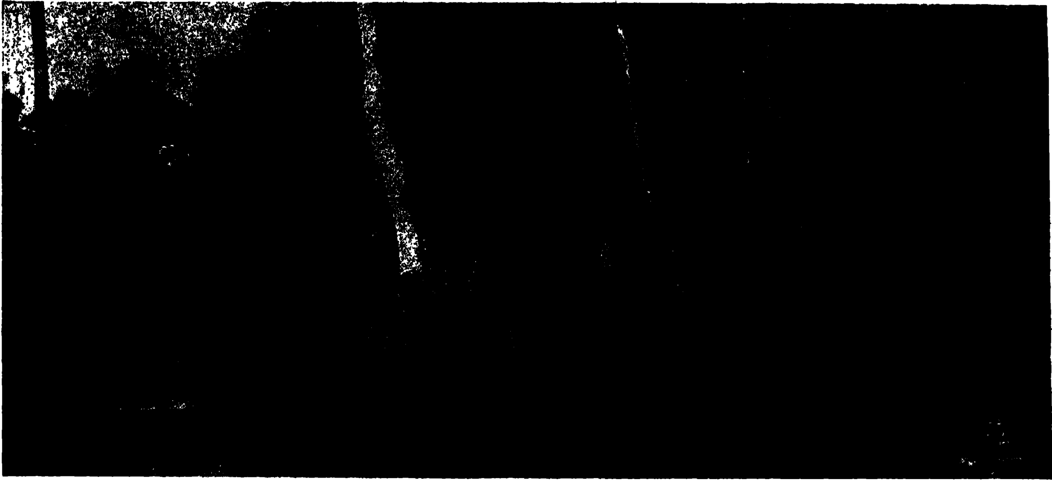
[*Courtesy : Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*



Angkor Vat. Decorative detail of the Eastern entrance
[*Courtesy* : *Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*



The Temple of Banteay Srei. Central Group. South-west view
[*Courtesy : Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*



Pra Khan. Eastern avenue

[*Courtesy : Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*

sides by the strangest of towers of which the human faces, placed at different heights, regard you with the most gentle and benevolent of smiles. It is no longer architecture that one sees but rather a dream-fantasy of decoration materialised in stone.

No other monument in the world bears comparison with this. On the walls of the ancient exterior galleries, whose vaults have collapsed and gone, one may yet trace the long lines of bas-reliefs that related the thousand and one life episodes of the Khmers of that period, ranging from market scenes by the side of the river on which the fishing junks are plying, to the plays and diversions provided in the palace for the king and his court. A large portion of the bas-relief is devoted to a scene of soldiers marching past, same as already shown in Angkor Vat, and to battle scenes that visualise before our eyes the warlike episodes mentioned in the inscriptions.

At the time of its building the Bayon Temple was dedicated to Buddha. But a little while after the faith and cult was changed and Saivaite priests took possession of it. The heads that crown the towers are therefore not those of Brahma or Siva, as has been believed so far, but are probably those of Buddhist divinities. Most likely they are of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara who was the protector-god of the city. As soon as the Saiva cult replaced that of Buddhism in this temple, all the figures relating to the latter were erased from the pilasters and the pediment.

Very near the Bayon, and beside the great square of the city, is found the royal palace, or, to be more exact, the walls that encircled the residence of the kings of those days. Truly, amongst the Khmers of those days, the gods alone had the right to reside in stone edifices, the king himself living in structures made of lighter materials such as brick or wood, which have not survived the onslaught of time through the centuries that have elapsed. Of the Royal Palace, nothing survives excepting a terrace of honour, of about 300 metres in length, decorated by a superb frieze in bas-relief representing a scene of hunting with elephants in the forest. Inside the enclosure-wall there is a little chapel, placed on the top of a pyramid built of red laterite stone, called the Phiméanakas. Legend has it that there was a tower of gold here, within which the king had audience every night with the guardian spirit of the kingdom, who appeared before the king in the form of a female nāgini. The royal line of Cambodge claimed descent from a nāga.

After the terrace of honour, more often called the Terrace of Elephants, comes the Terrace of King Lepreux inside which, about 15 years ago, a wall was discovered to be lying enclosed in masonry. On freeing it from its covering, a magnificent series of bas-reliefs was found, representing princesses and nāginis alternating with nāgas and rākshasas.

It was on this terrace that the statue was found that has lent its name to the entire terrace, namely that of King Lepreux. This designation does not have any historical foundation and is merely the result of an indigenous

belief of the kind that frequently gives random nomenclature to monuments.

The city-walls of Angkor Thom enclose a number of other structures also, such as small monuments, chapels, tanks and terraces etc., of minor importance. All the same it is not possible to pass over in silence the Baphuon which is a temple situated between the Bayon and the Phiméanakas and built on the top of a pyramid, of which the walls of the second stage are decorated with small but interesting bas-reliefs.

Away from the city and to the east, lies the temple of Takeo. In the Hindu religion the gods have their abode on the summit of a mountain, and therefore the Khmer frequently constructed their sanctuaries, representing the dwellings of gods on earth, on the top of natural hillocks or on the elevation at the top of a pyramid. It is thus that the five towers of Takeo rise from an elevated platform built in graded stages, lifitng the silhouette profile of its architecture in the blue sky over the crown of the surrounding forest. In contrast to most other Khmer temples, the decorations here are rough and the higher parts of the walls are bare of sculptures.

The monument of Ta Prohm, very much in ruins and enveloped by the forest, is a monastery which extends over a very vast area, the sacred pile occupying the centre of a park of which the enclosures measures about one kilometre on each side.

The verdure and the trees, that have invaded the interior courts and chapels, combining with the sculptural decorations on the wall interiors, present a composition that is very picturesque and full of seductive charm for the visitor.

It can be comprehended by a visit to the neighbouring temple of Banteay Kdei built in the same style and at the same period, what this temple would look like when it is conserved. This latter temple has in fact been completely cleaned and freed from its covering of verdure, and its architecture, which is now clearly visible allows us to grasp the complete plan.

Of the same epoch is the great temple of Prah Khan where the Khmers created the following wonderful architectural composition, unique in the world of art, in front of the gates of entry in the outer enclosure. Flanking the high way, that crosses the moat surrounding the enclosing wall in the form of a large paved avenue, there is a balustrade on either side representing giants carrying the serpent nāga, whose seven heads rear up at the extremity, seemingly menancing intruders.

Other peoples have had the idea, before now, of marking out a highway by an alignment of statues, but none have succeeded in attaining such an unity of composition or in realising in effect such a decorative conception of a form that is imposing and mythological at one and the same time.

This balustrade represents the rivalry of the gods (*Suras*) and the demons (*Asuras*). This is the famous episode in Hindu mythology where the gods and the demons used the serpent Vasuki as a rope in their operation of churning the sea of milk for extracting *amrita,* the nectar of immortality.

The same motif was in existence in former times before the five gates of the city of Angkor Thom. A reconstruction can be conceived piece by piece in front of the Gate of Victory.

There is a little temple called Néak Péan which has a character quite different. There is a group of tanks arranged round a big one, in the centre of which there is a little sanctuary placed on a round platform built in tiers in the shape and form of a lotus flower. In former times perhaps the water of these tanks was supposed to have the power to heal; unfortunately it is now dry for the greater part of the year and the beautiful tree whose branches shaded the central sanctuary has been split apart by a thunderstorm.

Another monument, the Prè Rup, dating from the XI-th. century which has been conserved recently, is entirely built of bricks. It displays the composition of five towers placed on an elevated platform built in graded tiers. The red tint of the bricks lends a particular character to the group.

In the region of Angkor, amongst other important temples that of Phnom Bakheng should receive mention. It is a little hillock crowned with a sanctuary centrally placed on a raised pyramid base, and it is situated between Angkor Vat and Angkor Thom. This was the centre of the first city of Angkor when king Yasovarman installed his capital in this region in the IX-th. century.

A few half-scores of kilometres away from the Angkor group there are other monuments; the temple of Bantéay Samrè, on which the work of conservation has been started, has already revealed a beautifully sculptured platform around a terrace which leads to the principal entrance of the temple.

Prah Ko of the Roluos group, not far along the road to Angkor, is a collection of brick-built towers of which a portion of decorative work in stucco has been conserved. This monument dates back to the IX-th. century.

Finally we come to a group of sanctuaries

situated at a distance of 35 kilometres from Angkor. This is Bantéay Srei, the most beautiful temple from the point of view of sculpture.

A particular point of interest of this little temple lies in the smallness of its dimensions. The tallest tower is not more than 10 metres in height and the platform is but 125 centimetres high.

An avenue of stone-posts by which one reaches an entrance pavilion, of which a very beautiful pediment has been restored, precedes the temple. A tank, unfortunately dry, surrounds the central sanctuaries which raise erect their carved mass of decoration, of a rich and well-preserved measure of beauty, in the interior of a double enclosure.

On certain pediments some scenes in bas-relief can be observed with regard to which the Art of the Khmers has been most successful both as regards execution as well as composition.

By the process newly instituted in the conservation department workshops of Angkor, the principal edifices of that temple have been reconstructed entirely by the utilisation of the stones that have fallen out. These stones are set firmly together again, after cleaning, thus solidly resetting the area dislocated by vegetation. This group with its central towers and other edifices, completely reconstructed as of old, presents a picture, very rare in the Khmer ruins, of a temple in the state it used to be during the times of splendour of the kings of Cambodge, when pilgrims thronged in crowds to worship the divinities housed therein.

The foundation stele found in the ruins gives us the exact date of building of this temple, 967 A. D.

To sum up, the period over which the development of Khmer Art took place is not far removed in point of time from that movement of art, analogous in more than one sense, what took place in France of the Middle Ages. But contrary to what took place in Europe, where the connections between Romantic, Byzantine and Roman Art stand out clearly and continue right up to the Renaissance, the Art of the Khmers appears in a very brusque fashion and is terminated in no less an abrupt manner. Certainly, as I have mentioned in the beginning, it was due to Hindu influence in the inception, and the very religions, myth and literature were inspired by India. But by the side of these foreign materials there are a number of elements which appear to have belonged to Khmers themselves. I mention the principal: the quality of weight, measure and equilibrium of line that is reminiscent of the classic conception in the Arts of the Mediterranean.

With regard to the sudden decline that Khmer art experienced, and which is explained as being the consequence of invasions and wars, it was not quite so complete as certain authors have declared it to be. The present day Cambodgian, though he be



Banteay Srei. Details of sculptural decoration
[*Courtesy : Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*

disinclined for work, has the inclination and a very marked taste for all that is connected with art. The College of Indigenous Arts (L'Ecole des Arts Indigènes) founded in Phnom Penh about twenty years ago has successfully promoted the revival of the art of the former days. This suffices to prove that the Cambodgian is truly the descendant of those brilliant artists who, a thousand years ago, had constructed and sculptured those marvellous temples that we admire today. But photographs or descriptions lack the power to render in full, their splendour and charm. To appreciate the Art of the Khmers in full measure one has to see its masterpieces in the setting provided by nature, in the frame of forests that add their poetic charm to the architectural beauty of the monuments.

JAPAN'S ROLE IN THE FAR EAST

By SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

EVERY now and then we open our daily papers to read about some clash between China and Japan. Many pass over the columns as something happening too far away to interest us in India. Others go through the columns as a matter of routine. But I wonder how few of us understand the significance of the happenings reported.

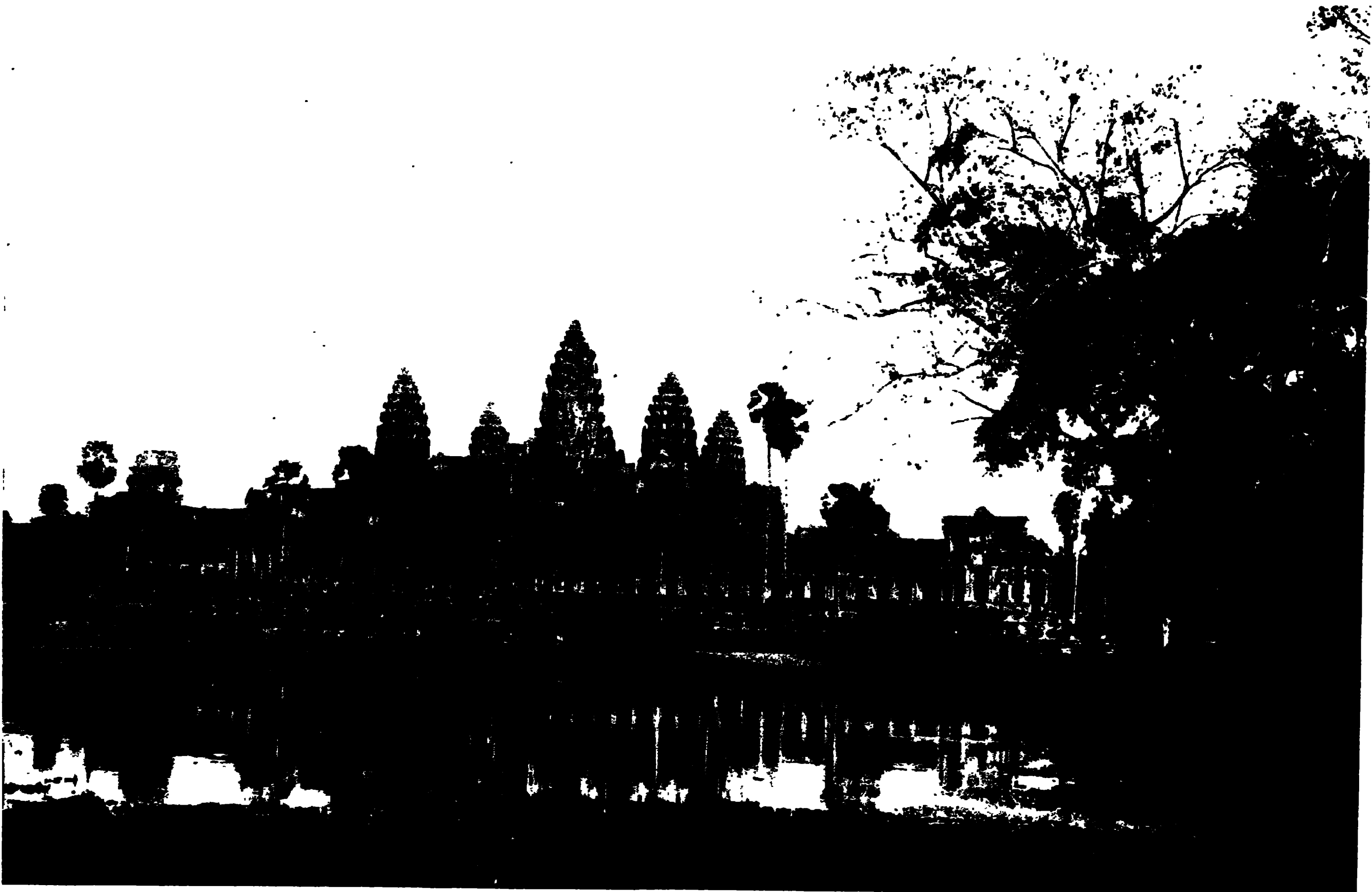
The islands which form the homeland of the Japanese race are overpopulated. They have to support a population of about 70 millions with the result that there is over-crowding and too much pressure on the land. But that is not the end of the trouble. The Japanese are exceedingly prolific and their population has been growing by leaps and bounds. The number of people per square mile in China is 100. In Japan it is 313. Moreover, Japan's birth-rate is twice that of Great Britain. Hence Japan watns more territory for her children to settle in—more raw materials for her growing industries and more markets for her finished goods. No one will make her a present of these three things—hence the resort to force. The only other solution for Japan is to restrict her population through birth-control and live within her own resources—but that solution does not ostensibly appeal to her. This is, in short, the *raison d'etre* of Japanese imperialist expansion.

Japanese expansion can take place only in the face of Chinese, Russian, British or American opposition. If she expands on the Asiatic mainland, she is bound to incur the wrath of China or Russia. If she expands southwards —towards the Philippine Islands or Australia —she is bound to come into conflict with the United States of America or Great Britain. As far as one can judge, Japan seems to have decided in favour of the first course, notwithstanding the appeal made by Lt.-Commander Ishimaru in his book *Japan Must Fight England* to the effect that she should make up with China, Russia and the U.S.A. and concentrate on fighting England. On the Asiatic mainland the territory on which Japan can cast her eyes belongs either to Russia or to China. To attack Russia would be folly for Japan, because under Soviet rule, Russia is fully re-awakened. She has, moreover, a first class military machine, both in Europe as well as in the Far East. Therefore, the only alternative left to Japan for satisfying her imperialist ambitions is to expand at the expense of China. But though she may expand at the expense of China, that expansion can take place only in the teeth of Russian opposition, for reasons that will be explained below. So far as Britain is concerned, however much she may dislike the growth of Japanese power on the Asiatic continent, she will put up with the nuisance, knowing full well that the only alternative to it would be expansion to the south, bringing Japan into direct and unavoidable conflict with her, and in her present mood, the U. S. A. will certainly not go to war with Japan over her "interests" in the Far East.

Being an Asiatic country and living in close proximity to a huge continent, it is but natural that Japan should look primarily to the mainland of Asia to fulfil her imperialist requirements. There she finds a huge state—formerly the Celestial Empire and now the Republic of China—ill-managed and disunited and with more natural resources than she can herself develop. The vastness, the potential richness and the internal weakness of China constitute the greatest temptation for Japan.

The conflict between the two Asiatic countries is more than forty years old. It began towards the end of the last century. By that time, Japan had modernised her state-machinery with the help of modern methods and had modern weapons of warfare. She found that all the big European Powers had begun to exploit China and to enrich themselves at her expense. Why, then, should not Japan, an Asiatic Power living next-door, do the same and keep out the Western Powers from draining the wealth of the East? This was the imperialist logic which started Japan on her race for expansion.

During the last forty years, Japan has not lost a single opportunity for wresting concessions from the Chinese Government and during this period she has been undermining the influence of the Western exploiting powers slowly and steadily. Her greatest rivals were Russia, Britain, the U. S. A. and Germany. During the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, she was able to checkmate the Czarist Empire. During the Great War she was able to wipe out Germany from the map of China. But she has not been



Angkor Vat. Panoramic view

[*Courtesy : Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*

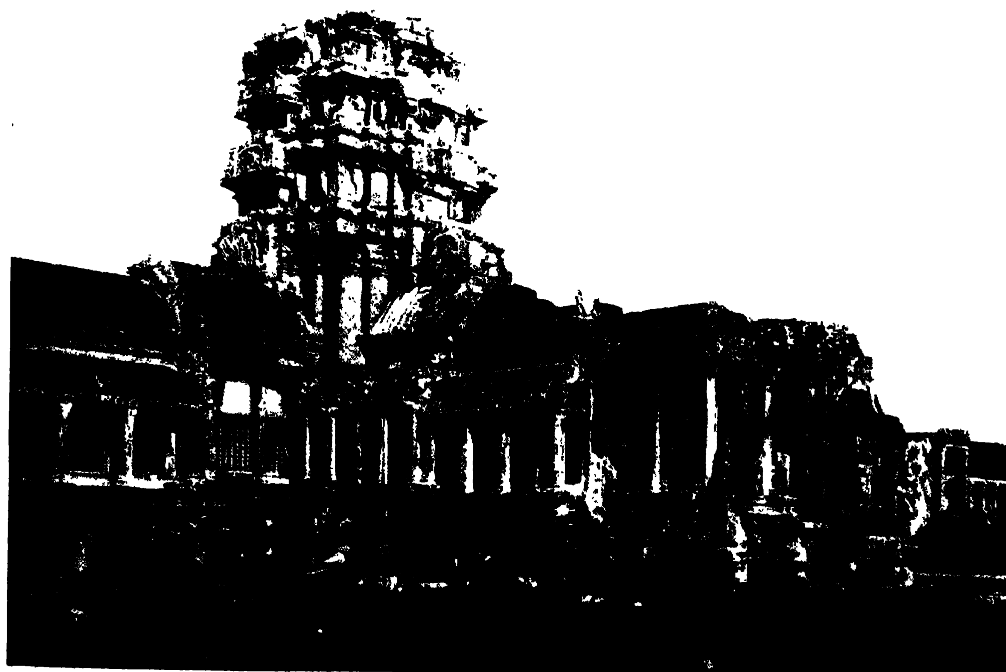


Angkor Vat. Bas-relief. Scenes depicting heaven and hell

[*Courtesy* ; *Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*



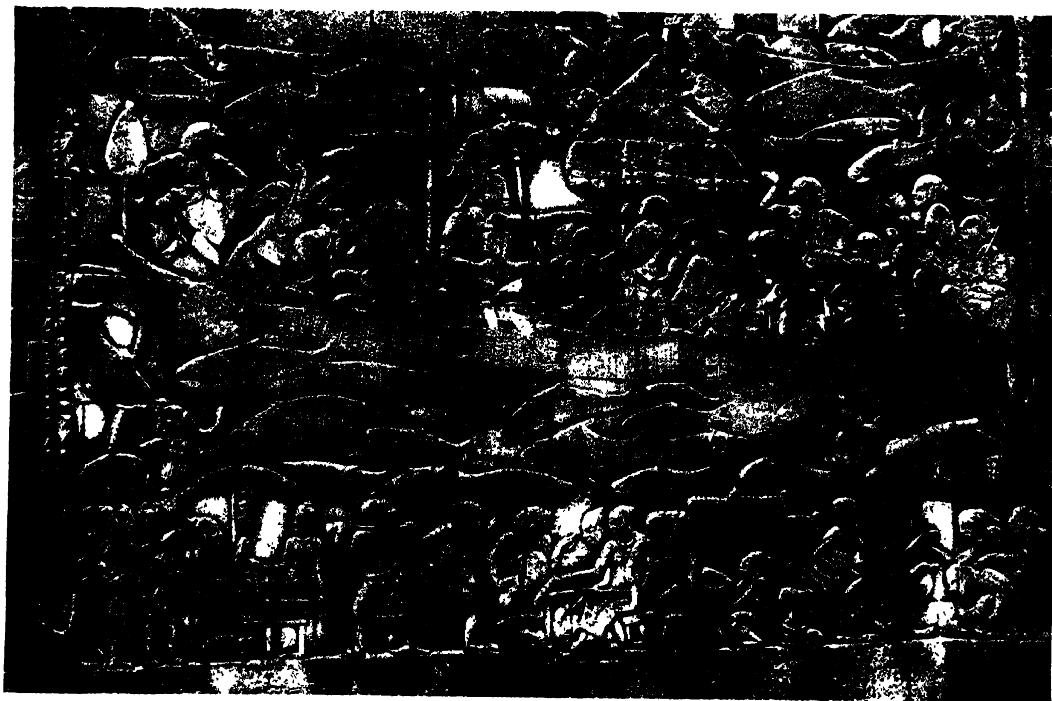
Prah Ko. Central Group



Angkor Vat. Eastern Entrance



Pre Rup. Eastern Facade



Bayon. Bas-relief on the outer galleries

able to tackle Britain and the U. S. A. And in the meantime Russia, which was once beaten, has come back into the picture as a Soviet State, newly armed and considerably strengthened.

The disintegration of China began during the latter half of the nineteenth century. European powers like Britain, Russia, Germany, etc., and the U. S. A. put pressure on China and obtained "treaty-ports" like Hong Kong, Shanghai, etc., which virtually amounted to annexation of Chinese territory. Just before the end of the last century, Japan appeared on the scene and also adopted western tactics in her dealings with China. The island of Formosa lying to the south-east of China was acquired by Japan in the war of 1894-95 with China. Port Arthur in Southern Manchuria and the southern half of Sakhalin Island, then belonging to Russia, passed into Japanese hands after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. About the same time Japan took over the Kwantung Railway and the southern part of the Chinese Eastern Railway running through Manchuria, thereby making South Manchuria a Japanese sphere of influence. Korea, formerly Chinese territory, was annexed by Japan openly in 1910 and it is interesting to note that Japan had professed to secure its independence when she went to war with China in 1894. During the Great War, Japan declared war on Germany and immediately proceeded to seize Tsingtao and other German possessions in the Shantung peninsula. In 1915, when she found all the Western Powers up to their neck in the war, Japan presented 21 demands to China and extorted several concessions from her. After the war, Japan received as her share of the spoils, the mandate for the ex-German Pacific Islands, the strategic importance of which lies in their position athwart the direct sea-route from the United States to the Philippine Islands. Then there was a lull in Japanese expansion for a period, since Japan wanted time to assimilate what she had annexed. The next period of feverish activity began in 1931 with the conquest of Manchukuo (Manchuria), when Manchukuo, formerly a Chinese territory, was set up as a nominally independent state, just as Korea was in 1905. The present expansionist drive which has been continuing since 1931 can be traced to the now famous (or rather notorious) Tanaka memorandum of 1928 in which plans for Japan's future expansion on the Asiatic mainland were clearly laid down. From this brief historical survey it should be clear that Japan's determination to find more elbow-room for herself in this planet of ours is unshakable. Outward circumstances can hardly thwart this imperious drive and can at best determine the direction and speed of her expansion.

A scientific examination of the internal economy of Japan will clearly explain Japan's military aggression since 1931. It is easy to understand her need for fresh territory when her population is growing and her existing territory is already too scanty for her present population. Looking to her industrial system, one finds that Japan has to import all her important raw materials, *viz.*, cotton, wool, pulp, iron, oil, etc., from a great distance. The expansion of her industrial system, like her need for territory, is necessitated by the growth of population. Therefore, to maintain her large population, Japan requires a safe and regular supply of raw materials. The expansion of industries, again, requires new markets. Now, how are all these needs to be fulfilled? Will China of her own accord give up territory for colonization to Japan? Will she allow Japan to exploit her vast resources in raw materials and her extensive market? Certainly not. Both national honour and self-interest will stand in the way. Further, the European powers and the U. S. A. will not voluntarily permit Japan to monopolise China—her resources and her market. They will insist to the last on the "Open Door" policy in China which permits all powers to share the Chinese spoils. Hence Japan has to seize Chinese territory by force. She has been doing this by stages, biting off one slice at a time and taking time to digest it. Each attack is preceded by certain border-incidents, which are carefully stage-managed in order to serve as a pretext for Japanese aggression. The tactics are the same, whether one observes the north-western frontier of India or Walwal in Abyssinia or the Manchurian frontier in the Far East.

Japan's imperialist needs and demands in the Far East can be fulfilled only if she can establish her political hegemony over China to the exclusion of the white races and by virtually scrapping the "Open Door" policy. Time and again, her politicians have said as much in so many words. For instance, Japan's spokesmen have often said that she has special interests in the Far East which cannot be compared to those of any other Western Power—that it is Japan's mission to umpire the Far East and maintain peace in that quarter, etc. etc. No doubt, besides the purely economic motive, the Japanese are inspired by the desire to found an Empire and the consciousness of being an unconquered race whets their imperialist appetite. Incidentally, the foundation of an

Empire abroad enables the fascist elements in Japanese society to get the upper hand.

If China could somehow persuade herself to accept the political and economic suzerainty or patronage of Japan, the Sino-Japanese conflict would end in no time. This is what Hirota, Japan's foremost diplomat, has been trying to achieve for the last three years. His speeches have been extremely conciliatory on the surface, with a constant appeal for Sino-Japanese co-operation. Now, what is the objective of this co-operation? Obviously, the enrichment of Japan and the virtual enslavement of China. But this naked truth cannot be blurted out—hence the slogan is "Co-operation in a joint defence against Communism." This slogan not only serves to cloak Japanese motives, but at the same time conciliates all anti-socialist elements whether in Japan, China or elsewhere. Thus, the Indian papers of the 7th August, 1937, gave the following account of Hirota's foreign policy:—

"Declaring that a major point in Japan's requests to China was co-operation in a joint defence against communism, M. Hirota in the House of Representatives said he believed that Sino-Japanese co-operation was possible if the radical elements in China, particularly the Communists, were effectively controlled. He added, the Japanese Government wished to settle the North China incident on the spot and at the same time to effect a fundamental readjustment of Sino-Japanese relations."

And similar statements in similar language have been made ever since Hirota first became Japan's Foreign Minister a few years ago.

Can China submit to this demand even if it brings her peace? My own view is that left to himself, Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, the Dictator of the Nanking Central Government, would have done so. At heart he is violently anti-Communist and since the split in the Kuomintang (Chinese National Party) in 1927, when he managed to establish his supremacy, he has spared no pains to exterminate the Chinese Communists and their allies. But Marshal Chiang has encountered consistent opposition from two quarters. The Western provinces of China, known as the Chinese Soviet states, being practically independent of Nanking, have kept up the fight against Japan and, on this point, have faithfully echoed the feelings of the Chinese masses. Secondly, the Western powers with their vast interests in China, and with their prestige to maintain before the Eastern races, cannot easily persuade themselves to scuttle. The foreign investments of U. S. A. in China are, in point of magnitude and importance, second only to its investments in Latin America (Central and South America). Regarding British investments in China, the following extract from the London *Times* of the 19th August, 1937 is illuminating:—

"British direct interests in China are worth about 250 million pounds, made up of 200 million pounds in business investments and 50 million pounds in government obligations. Of the total sum, about 180 million pounds is tied up in Shanghai, and of this 180 million a high proportion is in the Settlement district north of the Soochow Creek. This is the district now being most heavily shelled and bombed. It is where most of the Public Utility offices and works, and where most of the large mercantile businesses, are established."

The *Times* writer goes on to point out with dismay that whilst previously this district has been policed under British superintendents, the police stations have been evacuated and occupied by the Japanese. The White Races are consequently alive to the fact that Japanese hegemony over China will mean not only the subjugation of the latter but their own exclusion from the Far East.

Since the geography of a country often determines military strategy, it is necessary to note the salient features in the geography of China.

China's most important lines of communication are her three great rivers: the Hwang-ho (or Yellow River) in the North, the Yang-tse in the Centre and the Si-Kiang in the South. The entrance to the Si-Kiang is controlled by the British port of Hongkong; to the Yang-tse by Shanghai, which is jointly held by the foreign powers with Britain and America predominating. The entrance to the Hwang-ho is dominated by Japan, entrenched first in Korea and now in Manchuria (Manchukuo) as well. The one practicable land route into China is that from the north. Along this route the Mongols and the Manchus entered China proper, and in the years preceding the Great War, both Russia and Japan had their eyes on it. Since 1931, Japan has been aiming at the possession of this route and the country adjoining it and since July, 1937, fighting has been going on in this area. It should be remembered in this connection that high mountains separate China proper from the western part of the Republic (*viz.*, Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan). The consequence of this is that the land route to China proper is from the north and we find that historically the power which has controlled Manchuria has always been in a strong position to dominate China. (See map I)

In order to understand in their proper perspective the events in the Far East since 1931, it is necessary to understand the broad lines of Japanese strategy. Since Japanese hegemony in China through peaceful penetration was not possible, Japan laid down her plans for a military

conquest of China, or at least for military pressure on her. To achieve this objective, Japanese strategy had to work along two lines—firstly, to break up Chinese unity and secondly, to make it impossible for any other power to come to the aid of China. This purpose could be served only if Japan could seize the entire northern part of the Republic, including Manchukuo, Mongolia and northern China proper. These territories taken together form a compact mass, cutting off Russian Siberia from China proper (the valleys of Hwang-ho, Yangtse and Si-Kiang rivers). A reference to the map will show that if Japan holds this area, she can, in the event of war with Russia, penetrate through Outer Mongolia and cut the trans-Siberian railway at Lake Baikal. (See map II) And if Russia can be effectively isolated, no other country can come to China's rescue in an emergency. We shall see how Japan has progressed in the task of absorbing this area since 1931.

It is necessary to note at the outset that Japan never lays all her cards on the table and she proceeds with her aggression cautiously, taking care that she is not attacked by any other power when her own hands are full. Moreover, she always manages to stage some "incident" in order to give her a pretext for seizing Chinese territory. The first "incident" was staged on September 18th, 1931, by Lieutenant Kawamoto of the Japanese Imperial Army who was reconnoitring along the South Manchuria Railway track. This led to the seizure of Mukden the next day and of the whole of Manchuria within a short period. At that time, the whole world was in the grip of an acute economic depression and Russia was feverishly pushing on her first Five-Year plan. Japan was, therefore, sure that there would be no effective challenge to her predatory moves. The Lytton Commission sent out by the League of Nations reported against Japan and following that, the League Assembly condemned the Japanese seizure of Manchuria. But Japan snapped her fingers at the League and walked out. This was followed by the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway to Manchukuo by the Soviet Union in 1933 and in 1934 the Russo-Manchukuo Waterways Agreement was adopted. Though Manchukuo was not given *de jure* recognition by the other powers, she obtained *de facto* recognition from most of them.

Manchukuo is a huge territory with plenty of room for colonisation, though the climate is severe, and it is rich in several raw materials including coal. Moreover, it is exceedingly useful as a jumping-off ground for Japan in the event of war with Soviet Russia. Many people thought that it would take Japan years to develop Manchukuo and in the meantime, there would be peace in the Far East. But they were mistaken. Both on economic and on strategic grounds, Manchukuo cannot stand by itself. Only a part of the raw materials desired by Japan can be found there and the Manchukuan market is not big enough for Japan. Moreover, strategically Manchukuo is exceedingly weak, there being hostile territory on all sides. Consequently, to satisfy her economic needs and to ensure the safety of the new state, Japan had to continue her aggression further.

In 1932, another "incident" was staged in Shanghai and the Shanghai War between China and Japan started. The upshot of it was that China was forced to demilitarise a certain area near Shanghai and submit to a few other Japanese conditions. The strategic importance of Shanghai was not so clear in 1932, but the present war (1937) has brought it to light.

By 1933, the consolidation of Manchukuo under the puppet Emperor, Pu Yi, was complete and Japan was ready for a further extension of her frontiers. Fighting took place in North China outside the frontiers of Manchukuo. The Japanese troops seized Jehol and a slice of Chahar and marched up to the gates of Peking (now called Peiping). Vanquished in battle, the Chinese had to bow to the inevitable and see another slice of their territory annexed by Japan. The war ended with the Tangku truce in 1933.

The year 1934 was comparatively uneventful but hostilities broke out again in 1935. As always happens with Japan, a fresh act of aggression was preceded by conciliatory speeches and a show of moderation in foreign policy. On January 23rd, 1935, Hirota delivered an address, advocating a policy of non-aggression and the adoption of a "good neighbour" policy with a view to effecting a rapprochement with China. This time, the slogan adopted by the Japanese was an autonomous North China (like an autonomous Manchukuo) and the Central Government of Nanking (new capital of China) was told not to interfere with Japanese activities and negotiations in North China. But Nanking could not wholly oblige Japan and the people of North China did not want to walk into the Japanese trap as blindly as the Manchurians had done in 1931. The result was that the Japanese plans did not succeed. Nevertheless, when the conflict was finally liquidated, it was found that China had virtually lost another portion of her territory. In 1933, Jehol and a part of Chahar had been absorbed

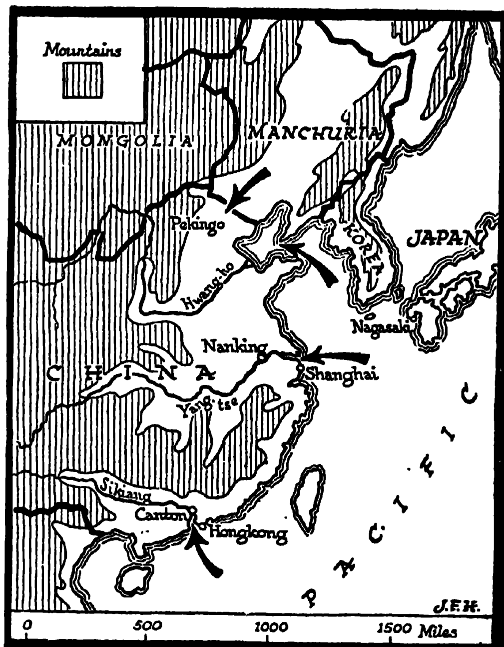
by Manchukuo. Now, a demilitarised zone was created in Hopei province with its capital at Tungchow, 12 miles east of Peiping, called the East Hopei autonomous area. In charge of this area was a Chinese renegade, Yin Ju-Keng, and the territory was under Japanese domination. (Later on, large-scale smuggling went on within this area, presumably with Japanese connivance, with a view to evading the Chinese Customs.) Further, the remaining part of Hopei (which contains Peiping and Tientsin) and a portion of Chahar were combined into a separate administrative unit under the Hopei-Chahar Political Council, headed by General Sung Cheh Yuan, the strongest leader outside Nanking. This Council, while afraid to oppose Japan openly, did not sever its connections with Nanking.

In February, 1936, there was a military revolt in Tokyo and, for a time, the Japanese Government had its hands full at home. Nevertheless, it was not altogether inactive. With a view to strengthening her position internationally, Japan entered into a Pact with Germany—the German-Japanese-Anti-Comintern Pact. Towards the end of the year, in November, 1936, an attempt was made to push into Inner Mongolia down the Peiping-Paotow Railway, but the Mongol-Manchukuo mercenaries of Japan were held at bay in the province of Suiyan by General Fu Tso I, with the aid of Nanking's troops.

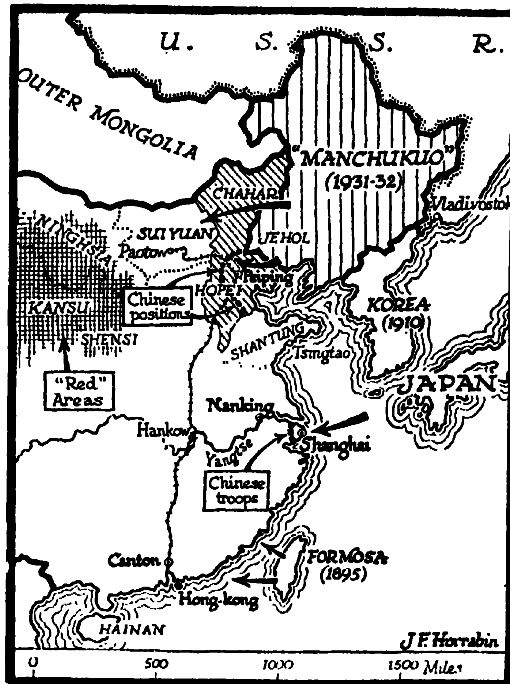
It should be clear to any student of history that since 1931, Japan has been growing increasingly assertive not only in the Far East, but in world affairs in general. If she had not felt strong in the international sphere, she would never have ventured an aggression against China. We have already referred to her withdrawal from the League of Nations after the seizure of Manchuria. Prior to this she had allowed the Anglo-Japanese Alliance to lapse, probably because she felt that she was powerful enough to do without it. In the Washington Naval Treaty, Japan had agreed to the ratio 5:5:3 in the matter of warships etc. as between Britain, U. S. A. and herself. When this treaty lapsed in 1935, Japan insisted on parity and since this was not agreed to by the other powers at the London Conference, she contemptuously walked out of it. When Britain wanted to bring about an economic understanding with Japan in the matter of world-markets, Japan refused to discuss any markets except those which were directly controlled by the former, and the London Conference of 1935 between the two powers broke up. From all these facts it will be clear that when 1937 dawned, Japan was morally and internationally prepared for a major conflict in the Far East.

But sometimes even the most well-informed are led astray. Between March and July 1937 Japan lulled the whole world into the belief that she was passing through an economic crisis and was therefore unable to launch on any military aggression against China. Articles appeared in several American journals to show that while the rest of the world was enjoying an economic recovery, in Japan it was the reverse. Owing to this recovery, the price of all raw materials had gone up considerably. Japan had to buy them at a high price and so her cost of production had gone up—making it virtually impossible for her to compete in the world-market successfully. (This statement is disproved by the remarkably low prices of Japanese textiles in India at the present time.) American journalists took pains to argue that because of this economic crisis, Japan had decided to go slow with China and was therefore offering her the hand of friendship. It was further argued that owing to the same reason, extreme militarists were out of favour for the time being and moderate politicians were getting the upper hand in Japan. It now appears that Japan's moderation was simply a cloak to hide her real intentions in order to lull her enemies to a sense of security. Japan chose this particular moment for attacking China for obvious reasons. Neither the U. S. A. nor Britain nor Russia is yet ready to challenge Japan in war. All of them are preparing feverishly and are piling up armaments and two or three years later, the outlook for Japan may be gloomy. It was therefore a case of "now or never" for Japan, and she struck. She carefully prepared for this attack by a period of sober talk and moderate action. And when everybody felt convinced that Japan was thinking in terms of peace, she launched her attack. Thus, writing on April 24th 1937, the well-known journal of New York, *The Nation*, said: "The prospects of peace in the Far East are greater than at any time since 1931." Writing on June 26th, the same journal remarked that there was a lull in Japan's offensive against China. But little did the writer know then that it was merely a lull before the storm.

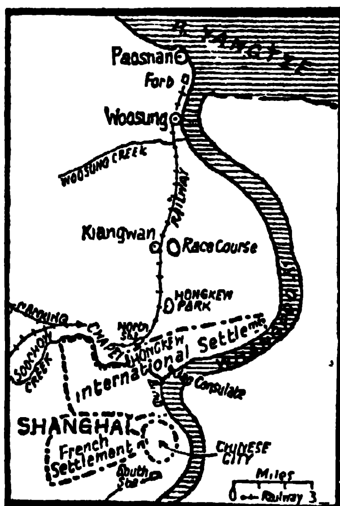
Apart from Japan's general preparedness for another drive, certain factors precipitated the present crisis in the Far East. The Scian coup and the kidnapping of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek in December 1936, prepared the ground for a "United Front" policy in China. There seems to be little doubt now that before Chiang was released by his captors, an understanding had



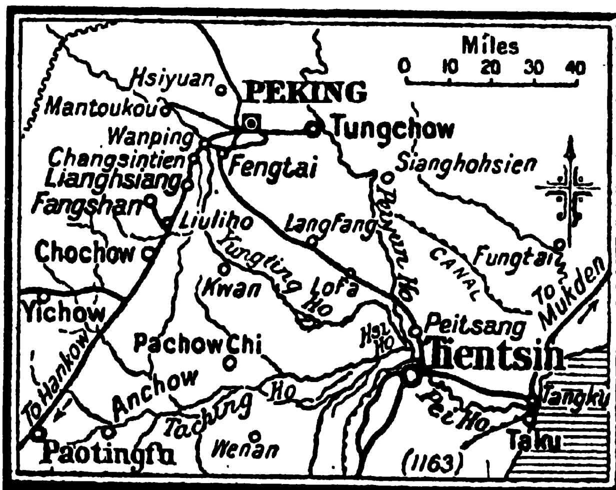
Map I



Map IV



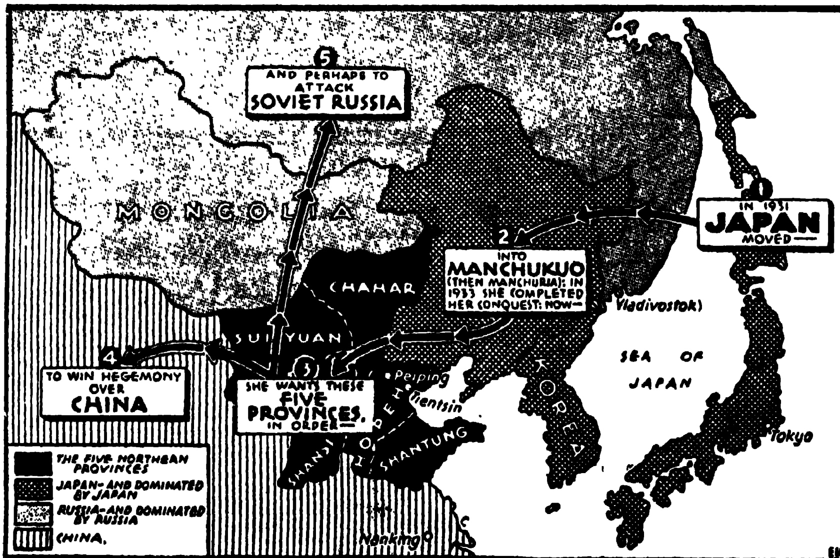
Map V



Map VI



Map II



Map III

been arrived at between the Chinese Soviets and the Nanking Government on the basis of a common resistance against Japan. This understanding meant the completion of the unification of China for the first time in recent history. The Chinese Soviets were to give up their Communism and Separatism and submit to the direction of Nanking. Chiang was to lead united China against Japanese aggression and the Communist leaders, Chow En-lai and Chiang's own son, were to fall in line with him. Japan came to know of this and attacked, before united China could proceed further with the work of consolidation.

The time is opportune for Japan in many ways. Though British, Russian and American rearmament is proceeding apace, as already stated, neither of them is yet ready for a conflict. It will still take time for Britain to complete her Singapore base. The Neutrality Act adopted by the U. S. A. is a clear indication that she wants to keep out of every international conflict. The Russian Army, according to Fascist reports, is seething with discontent and in any case is not as formidable as it appeared twelve months ago. The clash on the Soviet-Manchukuo border followed by the withdrawal on July 4th, 1937, of the Soviet troops from the disputed islands which belonged to Russia under the 1860 Agreement with China —was a further proof that the Soviet Government was not prepared for a war.

Three days after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from the Amur River, a fresh "incident" was staged near Peiping and the attack on North China was resumed on July 8th, 1937.

Man is proverbially wiser after a calamity has befallen him. It is now reported by well-informed journalists that Japan had been preparing for this war for some time past. She is not satisfied with the occupation of Manchukuo. This country is too cold for Japanese immigrants. It has contributed only a small proportion of the raw materials needed by Japanese industry. It has, no doubt, brought some increase of trade to Japan, but this has been offset by the cost of administration and the losses incurred as a result of the competition of Manchurian products in the Japanese market. On the other hand, economically North China (*viz.*, the provinces of Shantung, Hopei, Chahar, Shansi and Suiyan) offers far more than Manchukuo. There are iron deposits in Chahar, Shansi and Southern Hopei. Shansi has also high-grade coal. Moreover, tin, copper,, gold and oil are scattered throughout the five provinces. The Yellow River (Hwang-ho) valley is suitable for the cultivation of cotton which is now imported into Japan from India and America to the value of 400 million yen annually. And the climate is more favourable to Japanese immigration than that of Manchukuo, as well as to cattle-breeding. (See map III)

The Japanese drew up plans for the exploitation of this territory some time ago, but Japanese capital was loath to come in as long as the area remained under Chinese sovereignty. Hence, militarism had to come to the aid of capitalism.

Apart from the economic urge behind the present aggression, there lurks the psychological factor. American journalists were partly right when they wrote during the earlier part of this year about the economic crisis in Japan, but their conclusions were wrong. Contrary to what they wrote, economic difficulties may instigate a "totalitarian" government to launch on a war abroad in order to stave off discontent at home. (The same crisis may overtake Germany in the not distant future.) In the case of Japan, it may be averred that the economic difficulties which she encountered in the recent past as a result of her declining trade balance, made a revival of war-psychology necessary.

Further, since the defeat of the Japanese-directed expedition against Suiyan (a province in North China) in November, 1936, it became apparent that the strategic areas of Inner Mongolia could only be obtained if the whole of North China were brought into subjugation. Without controlling Chahar and Suiyan, in particular, it is impossible to push into Inner Mongolia from the direction of Manchukuo.

Why is Japan so keen about Inner Mongolia, a barren country of little economic value? The reason is strategic rather than economic. It has been remarked above that Japan has been aiming at a compact mass of territory comprising Manchukuo, North China and Mongalia. Now, in the meantime, Soviet diplomacy has not been idle and two big provinces of the Chinese Republic have passed under Russian influence—Sinkiang (or Chinese Turkestan) and Outer Mongolia (the upper portion of Mongolia adjoining Soviet Russia). (See map II) Sinkiang is not of much strategic importance to Japan (though it is to Soviet Russia owing to its proximity to India)—but Outer Mongolia is. With Outer Mongolia under her control, Soviet Russia can easily descend into North China. The only way to prevent this and cut off Russia permanently from China proper is

to seize Inner Mongolia (the Southern part of Mongolia) and North China and thereby form a compact corridor from West to East, separating Russian Siberia and Outer Mongolia from China proper. To annex this territory is at present Japan's objective. Once she succeeds in this effort, her next endeavour would be to build a strategic railway through this newly acquired territory from East to West. If she is able to consolidate her position there, she may then think of moving into Outer Mongolia. What would then happen, it is difficult to predict. At present, Outer Mongolia is a Russian sphere of influence and the Soviet Government have declared very plainly that any move on the part of Japan within this territory would be tantamount to a *casus belli*.

But Japan has not given up all hope of uniting the Mongols under her suzerainty some time in future. Hence, Japanese agents often talk of "Mengkukuo" as a worthy political ideal for all the Mongols. This plan, if it ever materialises, will be a counterpart of Manchukuo. It will give the Mongols their own state, with the Gilbertian facade of autonomy of course, but in reality under Japanese tutelage. There are approximately five million Mongols in the Far East. Two millions live in the Hsingan province of Manchkuo. A million live in Outer Mongolia—a territory half as large as the United States, but mostly desert. Another million live in Inner Mongolia, while about a million are scattered in Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan), Tibet and Soviet Russia (Buriat Republic). The nucleus of the future Mongol State of "Mengkukuo" has already come into existence with a Mongolian Political Council. Among the Mongol leaders who are under Japanese influence are Li Shouhsein and Prince Teh.

But while an "autonomous" Mengkukuo may be a future project for Japan, an autonomous North China is her immediate objective.

Since the annexation of Manchukuo, Japanese influence in North China was steadily growing and this must have led them to hope that without a major conflict, another puppet state would be set up in the near future comprising the five provinces of North China. But the absorption of Canton province within Nanking's zone in the recent past, followed by the reported understanding of Marshal Chiang with the Chinese Communists in December last must have dashed Japanese hopes to the ground. A strong and united China was, at long last, rising before the world's eyes and that China would not give up her northern provinces without a fight. Since January, 1937, Nanking began to assert its influence over North China officials. She interfered with the Japanese—protected smuggling through East Hopei. She dared to order the suspension of the new Tientsin-Tokyo air-line, established by Japan without Chinese consent. In Northern Chahar there was a small-scale rebellion of Manchukuan and Mongolian troops against Japanese domination. Anti-Japanese incidents were thus occurring with increasing frequency and not settled by abject submission to Japan's demands. To crown all, there was the report of an understanding between Nanking and the Chinese Communists which would bring into the field against Japan, the 90,000 seasoned soldiers belonging to the latter.

On July 3rd, 1937, the Japanese Ambassador, Shigeru Kawagoe, started negotiations with Nanking. Japan trimmed her sails and proposed the relinquishment of Japanese political control in North China, provided Nanking would recognize Manchukuo *de jure* and undertake "economic co-operation" with Japan Nanking is reported to have rejected this proposal and her counter-proposals fell short of Japanese requirements. No further proof was needed that a new China had come into existence which would soon exercise its full authority over the northern provinces. Therefore, Japan struck without delay and an "incident" was staged at Lukouchaio, about 18 miles west of Peiping (Peking) when Japanese troops engaged in night-manœuvres clashed with units of the Chinese Twenty-Ninth Army stationed in that area.

Looking at this incident legally, there can be no doubt that the Japanese were in the wrong. Though the Boxer Protocol of 1901 entitled them to station troops in the Peiping Legation quarter and at certain points in the Peiping-Tientsin railroad, they sent their troops outside the specified areas and obstructed, rather than maintained, communications with the sea —the purpose for which the protocol was designed. However, soon after the clash, the Japanese Government made the following demands :—

(1) Withdrawal of the Twenty-Ninth Army from its present lines west of Peiping.

(2) Punishment of the Chinese responsible for the conflict.

(3) Adequate control of all anti-Japanese activities in North China; and

(4) Enforcement of measures against Communism.

It is reported that the Hopei-Chahar Political Council submitted to these demands on July 19th and the terms of the settlement

were published in Tokyo, on July 23rd. The expectation on the Chinese side was that both the Chinese and Japanese fighting forces would withdraw from the zone and it is extremely probable that Nanking would have reluctantly endorsed the above settlement. But when the Japanese troops did not leave the area, the subordinate officers and the rank and file of the Chinese troops refused to withdraw. On July 26th, the Japanese military commanders issued an ultimatum that the Chinese troops must withdraw by noon, July 28th. The latter refused to budge and the Japanese thereupon proceeded to evict them by force. Thus the war started.

Though Marshal Chiang, the Nanking Dictator, is not ready for a war, he has stood up to Japan and it is not likely that he will give in without a fight.

Japan is preparing for a long fight and the Japanese Diet has already voted large sums for the campaign. It is reported that she will spend up to £117,650,000 in order to carry on the war till the end of January, 1938.

The latest development in the Far Eastern War is the extension of the fight to the Shanghai area. On the 9th August a fresh "incident" took place at the Hungjao aerodrome near Shanghai. Two Japanese naval officers were shot dead while attempting to enter the aerodrome. Thereupon, Japanese naval forces took drastic action to avenge the shooting and the Japanese Admiral demanded, among other things, that all Chinese troops should be withdrawn to a distance not less than 30 miles from Shanghai and that all defences prepared within the area should be immediately dismantled. The Chinese response to the demand was the movement into the Shanghai area of the 88th Division from Nanking in order to reinforce the local troops. The Japanese regarded this as a flagrant breach of the 1932 Agreement—but the Chinese retorted by saying that the Japanese themselves by posting troops in Chinese territory and provocatively bringing a large fleet to the scene, had absolved China from any obligation to observe the terms of that Agreement.

Thus the war is going on along two fronts—Peiping and Shanghai. A moot point in this connection is as to which party desired the extension of the War to the Shanghai front. In all probability the Japanese.

The Japanese, being blocked on land, as they were when Nanking troops moved into Hopei province, turned to the sea. The semicircle of armies which Marshal Chiang threw around Peiping (under Japanese occupation) based on a well-prepared line of forts, was a bold and important strategic move. The left flank of the Government Army is at Nankow, the famous pass, where the Peiping-Paotow railway cuts through the hills. The centre of the semi-circle depends on Paotingfu, 100 miles south of Peiping on the Hankow Railway. The right flank sweeps round to within 30 miles of Tientsin, also under Japanese occupation. (See map IV) The task of forcing this semi-circle—this "Hindenburg" line— is a formidable one. Hence, the decision from a strategic point of view to undermine Chinese resistance by attacking Shanghai.

If China has a heart, it is the financial and commercial centre at the mouth of the Yang-tse. Japan is attacking this heart in order to disorganize the foreign-controlled industrial, commercial and financial centre of China with a view to imperilling the economic basis of the Central Government, demoralizing national feeling and terrifying the Chinese bourgeoisie. Shanghai is virtually at the mercy of the Japanese navy and an attack on this prosperous and ever-growing city is the obvious way to bring the war to a rapid conclusion. But the effectiveness of this thrust will depend on the extent of the dislocation of trade and of the material damage accruing from the war.

The war will go on for some time. Japan will try "to paralyse the heart of China in order to amputate the limbs. China must stand or fall, therefore, by the war in Shanghai"—as an eminent strategist has declared. Will China be able to survive this blood-bath? If Canton remains open for supplies of armaments and the loss in revenue due to the fighting in Shanghai is not too serious—China may, perhaps, keep going sufficiently long to be able to endanger the social and economic stability of Japan. As against this consideration is the fact that the Japanese Navy is attempting a blockade of the Chinese ports and further, that there is a war fever among the Japanese people and there does not seem to be any difference between the aims of the military and the civilians in the Island Empire.

China has appealed once again to the League of Nations, as she did in 1931. But what is the value of this moribund League in such an emergency? World opinion is, of course, on the side of China—but world-opinion is not of much value when pitted against machine-guns. The outlook for China is gloomy indeed. The mellow view that time is on China's side is not correct any longer. Today, China is fighting against time. God grant that she may succeed.

Japan has done great things for herself and for Asia. Her reawakening at the dawn of the present century sent a thrill throughout our Continent. Japan has shattered the white man's prestige in the Far East and has put all the Western imperialist powers on the defensive—not only in the military but also in the economic sphere. She is extremely sensitive—and rightly so—about her self-respect as an Asiatic race. She is determined to drive out the Western Powers from the Far East. But could not all this have been achieved without Imperialism, without dismembering the Chinese Republic, without humiliating another proud, cultured and ancient race? No, with all our admiration for Japan, where such admiration is due, our whole heart goes to China in her hour of trial. China must still live—for her own sake and for humanity. Out of the ashes of this conflict she will once again rise phœnix-like as she has so often done in the past.

Let us learn the lessons of this Far-Eastern Conflict. Standing at the threshold of a new era, let India resolve to aspire after national self-fulfilment in every direction—but not at the expense of other nations and not through the bloody path of self-aggrandisement and imperialism.

September 19, 1937.



Abroad in the storm
By Prabhat Neogy



In the rains
By Prabhat Neogy

PRISON LIFE IN JAPAN

A Contrast with India

By CHAMAN LAL

"DONT fear! I will not take revenge upon you for your misdeed; on the contrary, I wish to lead you to good. Although I am rigorous in handling you, my heart is filled with kindliness towards you."—Motto at Amsterdam Prison.

"Prison is a place for the incarceration of criminals for chastisement. They are placed there because of benevolence towards them and not because of any desire to inflict cruelty upon them; prison is intended for chastising them and not for subjecting them to hardships. Punishment is imposed on them because it is unavoidable and because it is a means of removing evil from the State." —From the Prison Code of Japan.

The above quotations are the guiding motto of prison officials in Japan. While we hear more high sounding phrases from the lips of prison chiefs in India, but the fact remains, that crime, prison population, and riots in prisons are all increasing every year in India. The treatment of prison officials is generally such (especially in north India) that once a man gets into prison, rightly or wrongly, there is every likelihood of his becoming a hardened criminal.

I say so, not on a heresay report, but from my very intimate experience of Indian prison life gained during four short terms of imprisonment. As an "habitual prisoner" myself I can write a separate volume on prison life in India, but in this article, I will only make a few suggestions at the end. Now let me point out some special features of Japanese prison system.

Treatment of Prisoners

The reclamation and education of inmates of prisons is based on love and benevolence in Japan.

On April 4, 1924, Dr. Kisaburo Suzuki, the Minister of Justice, declared at a meeting of officials connected with prisons and criminal affairs:

"The enforcement of punishments consists in the adoption of such measures as may improve the quality of convicted persons and socialize them as good and law-abiding members of society."

Further, at a meeting of the governors of prisons and reformatory prisons for minors held on October 11, 1927, Dr. Kado Hara, the then Minister of Justice, gave the following instructions:

"The object of enforcing punishments on the inmates of prisons is to cause them to reflect on and repent their offences and to turn them into good members of society. There are many and various means of attaining this object, but they are, in the final analysis, to cultivate their character, to give them training for different occupations, and to maintain their health in good condition, while improving the circumstances which constitute the causes of their offences so as to enable them to lead a decent life. In order to realize the end aimed at, therefore, a mere confinement and watching of them is not sufficient; on the contrary, it is necessary to know their individual characteristics and their crimes, giving them thereby appropriate treatment."

Classification System

Inasmuch as punishment by the restriction of personal liberty is enforced today principally with a view to education, criminals are properly classified according to ages, characteristics, terms of imprisonment, numbers and kinds of offences, and are then confined in different prisons so as to facilitate the enforcement of adequate measures for their categories and, further, to prevent prisons from becoming breeding-places of crime through mutual contact and contagion as the result of promiscuous confinement of all grades. When it is impossible to distribute them among independent prisons and they are confined in the same area, prisoners are usually classified strictly and confined separately according to their categories. There are prisons for minors at Odawara, Kawagoye, Himeji, Okazaki, Iwakuni, Kurume, Morioka, and Hachioji and in Hokkaido for the confinement of those under 18 years of age sentenced to penal servitude or imprisonment, prisons for aged persons at Hamamatsu and Yonago and for women at Tochigi, Miyoshi and Miyazu. At Uraga, located in an old warship anchored off the port, is a branch of the Odawara prison for minors. There juvenile offenders are given training as fishermen, and sometimes engage in costal and deep-sea fishing in sailing-vessels or steamers.

In addition to the above-mentioned classified confinement, with a view to proper individualised treatment, they are examined by doctors, alienists, psychologists and educationists to find out their psychopathic idiosyncrasies, hereditary natures, physiological peculiarities, adaptabilities

to occupation, educational possibilities, etc., in different prisons previous to their confinement. Further, a "social diagnosis" is made by collecting reports on them from city, town and village offices, police stations, schools, and organizations devoted to their protection in order that they may be suitably classified for treatment.

Progressive System

A treatment on the progressive system is accorded to convicts who form the bulk of the inmates of prisons. This treatment aims at leading them to repent and their treatment is graded in proportion to their aspiration and diligence, thereby gradually bringing them to the conditions of ordinary social life. The relaxation of the enforcement of penalties not merely extends the scope of the personal liberty of convicts, but serves to cultivate a sense of responsibility on their part and strengthens their will for self-reclamation. In short, its chief purpose is not to make "good convicts," but to turn them into "good citizens." The treatment in question does not apply to persons who are sentenced to imprisonment for less than 6 months, aged and decrepit persons, and those of unsound mental or physical faculties. Any prisoner committed for the first time is kept in solitary confinement for a certain period of time and a close study is made of him. In the basis of the results he is classified according to character, physical and mental condition, number of convictions, age, nature of crimes, term of service, home, health and thought.

The Four Stages

The stages of the progressive treatment are: (1) those under investigation;. (2) those in course of correction and training; (3) those in process of improvement; and (4) those who have developed a sense of responsibility. After being subjected to a study of character, convicts are received into the first class to begin with. Those who are accorded this treatment are given fixed marks according to the terms of imprisonment and promotion to higher class is given only when a sufficient number of marks have been earned by diligence, good conduct, and growth of the sense of responsibility and of the will for self-improvement. Those belonging to the first and second classes are kept in confinement in association, while those belonging to the third class are kept in confinement in association in the daytime, but in solitary confinement at night, those belonging to the fourth class are confined in a special room.

Democracy in Prison

Governor of prisons may cause convicts in each workshop to elect some from amog them to keep the workshop in good order and look after other necessary matters. The elected ones must be popular, trustworthy and belong to the third class. Prisoners belonging to the third class must jointly, once a month, carry out the work of cleaning and sweeping of prison grounds and keeping them in order. Except in cases of special need prisoners belonging to the fourth class do not undergo physical examination or have their cells searched, and, further, are permitted to talk with one another so long as it does not interfere with the maintenance of discipline. They are also permitted to elect two representatives, who are nominated by the governor of the prison concerned from among several candidates elected by prisoners belonging to the fourth class.

Facilities to Prisoners

Prisoners of the fourth class may be permitted to take a walk within a place designated for that purpose in the prison grounds in hours of recess, or hold meetings, take a walk in a group, or hold athletic meetings on days free from labour. They give a pledge to the governor, holding themselves responsible for the physical examination of those of their own class, for the search of their cells and keeping them in order, and the maintenance of order among themselves. In case of any one of them violating the pledge, the privileged treatment will be suspended for a part or all of them. Any one of those belogning to the first class who earns more than Y5.00 for labour may be permitted to use less than one-fifth of the monthly total in buying postage stamps and in other ways that are deemed necessary; any one of those belonging to the second class less than one-fourth of the monthly total; any one of those belonging to the third class less than one-third of the monthly total; and any one of those belonging to the fourth class less than one-half of the monthly total. While those of the first class are not permitted to change the kinds of labour they engage in, those of the second class and up are permitted to do so. Those who have superior skill or high efficiency and belong to the third class are charged with the task of directing industrial work and those who are similarly qualified in the fourth class are given the task of directing and supervising it. Those of the third class who have particularly superior skill and high efficiency are permitted to work for their own profit in time other than working

hours, but that time is limited to two hours per day.

Moral Education

Prisoners belonging to the first and fourth classes are chiefly given individual moral and religious instruction, while those belonging to the second and third classes receive the same instruction *en masse*. Listening to music broadcast on the radio and listening to the playing of gramophone records is permitted to those belonging to the second and higher classes. The time for the enjoyment of this privilege is fixed at twice a month for those belonging to the second class, which may be increased to three times and four times for those belonging to the third and fourth classes respectively. The governor may permit members of the third and fourth classes to hold moral cultural meetings, the number of times being limited to once for those fourth. Prisoners of the fourth class are permitted to read books or see pictures in the prison library on days free from labour and may also borrow suitable newspapers and magazines from it. Those of the third class and the fourth may be permitted to play athletic games, the number of times for such amusements being limited to once a month for those of the third and twice for those of the fourth class. While those belonging to the first class are permitted to interview or send letters only to their relatives and those who are concerned with their protection, those belonging to the second and higher classes are permitted to interview or send letters to those who do not interfere with their moral instruction, besides their relatives. The number of times of interviews and of writing letters increases in proportion to advances in class.

Provisions, drinks and other articles for the maintenance of the health of prisoners are uniform and do not differ according to classes. Those belonging to the fourth class are given white garments, are permitted to decorate their cells with flowers or pictures, and are lent tableware and other sundry articles for common use.

Suspension of Progress

In case any prisoner violates the prison regulations, the treatment on the progressive system may be suspended for up to a period of 3 months, but, in case it is recognized that there are certain circumstances which have to be taken into consideration before the suspension or in case the prisoner shows signs of sincere penitence, the enforcement of the sentence of suspension may be postponed for a fixed period of time. If he further violates the prison regulations during that period, the sentence of suspension will be enforced, but, if he passes the said period without any further violation, it will not be carried out. Further, in case a prisoner shows marked signs of penitence after the sentence has been delivered, this will be taken into consideration and the sentence repealed in full or in part. In case a prisoner, who has been punished with suspension of the treatment, again violates the prison regulations, he may be transferred to a lower class according to the circumstances of the case. When a prisoner who has been punished with such degradation shows marked signs of penitence, he will be restored to his former category without reckoning his marks.

When any persons of the fourth class have served one-third of his terms of imprisonment and the prison governor considers him fit for provisional release, his case should be reported on to the Minister of Justice. Even one who belongs to lower classes and who has served one-third of his term and shows notable signs of penitence and is considered to be fully adapted to social life—may be specifically granted provisional release, subject to the approval of the conference for provisional treatment on the progressive system.

Prison Industries

Industrial work in prisons is managed on three systems, *viz.*, the public account system, the "made-to-order" system, and the contract system. Under the public account system, a prison itself purchases materials, provides itself with the necessary machinery, implements and tools and makes prisoners manufacture or repair articles or carry on labour under the direction of prison officials, and sells the products. Under the "made-to-order" system, the chief materials are supplied by the outside buyers and prisoners either manufacture or repair articles under the direction of industrial work experts and assistant industrial work experts on the prison staff, and, when the articles are either manufactured or repaired, the wages of the workers and the cost of requisites in the manufacture or repair are calculated and the prices of the articles fixed by the standard of current prices. The articles are then delivered to the buyers on payment of the account. Under the contract system, applicants have to supply not only materials, machinery, implements and tools, but also experts for the direction of work, a prison only offering the labour of prisoners and receiving their wages in exchange. In the contract system now in force in Japan, the

prison authorities undertake the supply of provisions, etc., to prisoners as well as their supervision and selection for work and nothing like the lease system that was in vogue in South American countries at one time is recognized.

Among the above-mentioned three different systems, the public account system does not permit any third party other than the prison officials to direct prisoners in the prosecution of their work as in the case of the contract system, and moreover, enables the prison authorities to select and impose on prisoners such kinds of work as are suited for their moral instruction and vocational education. In these respects, it is considered to be the most desirable for the enforcement of penological measures and its adoption is greatly encouraged.

At the present day, the prisons principally adopt the "State use system," namely, a policy of manufacturing articles needed by the Government offices and public organizations and are taking pains to avoid competition with private undertakings as much as possible.

Training for Occupation

In imposing work on prisoners, the most suitable kinds of work are given them not only by taking into consideration health, economy, terms of imprisonement, ability, occupations in free life, and future means of livelihood, but also by scientifically examining their individual adaptabilities to occupations. Industrial work in prisons is the most suitable means of giving moral instruction to prisoners; in particular, to train them in certain lines of work in the course of detention is the best way to prevent their again perpetrating crimes. Since 1926, therefore, houses for the training of prisoners for occupations have been erected in different prisons throughout the country and there prisoners have been trained for occupations requiring special skill, such as those of carpenters, joiners, furniture-makers, tinsmiths, plasterers, timber-millworkers, painters, smiths, shoemakers, etc. The term of training is 5 months, during which fundamental theories and practice are taught.

Ample Rewards

Working hours are from 12 to 13 hours a day and differ according to months. It is permitted to give educational or moral instruction to prisoners or allow them to take exercise within these hours. A time of recess—15 minutes in the morning and 25 minutes in the afternoon—is given them. All the income from the work of prisoners goes into the national treasury, irrespective of whether it arises from work or from wages. A prisoner who has worked may receive a reward as a favour. This gratuity varies from Y 0.20 to 10.00 per month and the sums are fixed according to conduct, character, kinds of work, and the results of the work done. Any one who does particularly superior work is given an additional reward not exceeding Y. 10.00 a month or more, and the money is needed to support his father, mother, wife, child or to other necessary articles, one-third of the amount may be given him while in confinement, and in case it is particularly necessary to do so for the sake of a prisoner, the entire reward may be handed over to him, irrespective of its amount and the way of spending it. In case, a prisoner has been injured or has fallen sick while at work, and has died in consequence or has become unable to carry on any work, he may be entitled to a pecuniary reward according to the circumstances of the case. This reward is fixed within the limit of from Y 50 to Y 180 according to the details of the case.

The Hito

Prisoners are given moral instruction *en masse* on national holidays, in the first two days of January and 31st December, or on Sundays. The same instruction is also given to prisoners individually in case it is deemed necessary. It is chiefly given by chaplains appointed from among priests of the Shinshu sect. Adult prisoners who are uneducated and those under age receive an elementary school education. The latter are also given military training, which gives very satisfactory results in the way of moral instruction. Prisoners are permitted to read books and look at maps and pictures, unless it is injurious to the good order of the prison, but writings concerning current topics are forbidden. As however, it is needful to keep them acquainted with changes in the condition of society, lest they should fall behind the times, a specially edited newspaper *Hito* (Man) is issued and distributed among them.

Suggestion for Prison Chiefs
(By an habitual prisoner)

Towards the conclusion, may I dare to make the following few suggestions for the sympathetic consideration of Indian prison chiefs, legislators, and the press.

Basic Needs.—(1) No uneducated person should be employed in prisons even as a warder and within the next five years all the present uneducated prison staff should be either educated or replaced by educated men.

(2) Besides, being literate they must undergo training in a special course as to how



Three Jail-birds on boat : Mr. and Mrs. Chaman Lal and their daughter Vina. The writer, his wife and baby often exchange prison experiences

to treat prisoners with a view to convert them to good citizens.

(3) Use of abusive language (which is shamefully disgusting to observe in every prison) and use of physical force by jail officials should be treated as a crime and offenders be brought to book.

(4) Non-official visitors to jails should be selected by provincial legislatures (and by municipality in the case of Delhi) and they should be men of independent character and in no case be recruited from among the honorary magistrates and title-holders, as it is done at present. They exist to whitewash the offences of jail officials in most places.

(5) A committee of non-official visitors should meet every now and then and see that the reports made by visitors are carried out by jail officials and the Minister-in-charge in prisons should dismiss such officials who do not remove the due complaints pointed out by non-official visitors.

(6) The Minister-in-charge and not the Director of prisons should have direct relations with the committee of non-official visitors of every province.

(7) Non-official visitors should be expected to devote more time and energy to their task from the point of view of a public duty; and should not visit prisons simply to get their allowance.

(8) *Special Officer's Job.*—In every prison a special official (directly under special provincial prison department) be appointed to watch other prison officials and warders that they do not extort bribes from prisoners. All letters sent and received by prisoners should be scrutinized by him so that they do not write to their relations to send money to be given for bribes to jail officials.

All the money orders received for prisoners should be under the direct supervision of this official and he should use the money for buying books, soap, oil, shoes or other necessities of prisoners (permitted under the jail rules).

This particular official should also see that full ration is issued for the prisoners' kitchen and the storekeeper does not do any dishonesty in the matter.

It is common knowledge in India that prison officials fulfil their requirements at the expense of prisoners. Flour, ghee, vegetables, sugar, carpets, embroidery work, shoes, suitcases, furniture, stationery, and even tailoring, laundry services are all made available from inside the prison walls. And these corrupt practices have become so common that jail officials have come to regard them as their birthright.

Most of the troubles often ending in fatal riots take place in prisons, because the prisoners are underfed and ill-treated.

"Shortage of fuel, oil and vegetables" are the universal complaints in our prisons everywhere (there may be some rare exceptions, where the jailor belongs to a noble family).

The prisoners can only be expected to behave well, when they are properly fed. The only remedy lies either in appointing public-spirited special officers of high character or giving over the entire management (including supply of provisions) to committees of literate prisoners elected by the prisoners themselves, but this may not be possible in some prisons.

Appointment of special officers be limited to persons belonging to good families (I don't mean the families of professional jail officials or title-holders or honorary magistrates that may be the official definition of "good family"). And a special recruit must be made for the purpose. Such good men as are at present serving the jail department should be given first opportunity to join this service and they should be given decent salaries.

(9) Salaries of prison superintendents should be reduced to a maximum of Rs 500 and the savings utilized in giving promotions to low-paid staff.

(10) Special rewards (in money and land) should be conferred on those officials whose record is clean from bribery, and who help prisoners in becoming good citizens.

(11) *Treatment of Prisoners.*—Classification system, such as current in Japan, should be introduced to induce prisoners to be of good behaviour to secure promotion to higher grades and early release.

Education.—Every prison should be provided with proper facilities for educating prisoners. Two hours a day should be devoted to making them literate, and teaching some elementary arithmetic, and moral education should be an essential feature.

Labour assigned to prisoners should not be based on vindictive motives and every prisoner should be assigned the task for which he is fit.

Putting people to oil grinding and heavy flour grinding should be discouraged, as it is nothing but inhuman. There are more than 50 cottage industries which can be profitably taught to prisoners who will become self-supporting. The prisoners generally take interest in labour, if they are handled with tact and love.

Rewards and Favours.—Energetic prisoners who carry out their duties faithfully and show some industrial skill should be rewarded with cash and special favours, such as the right of special interviews, more letters and some fruits. Every prisoner should be paid some monthly allowance for labour. The allowance stopped as economy measure in recent years, should be revived with some increment.

Smoking should be banned in prisons, as it is the basic cause of several feuds and riots in prisons on many occasions. It is disgraceful to mention details of how dozens of young prisoners (even among politicals) are demoralized by elders with temptation of a smoke and then quarrels ensue over "pets," and there is an endless and ugly party strife giving handle to jail officials to divide and rule.

Physical Exercise should be made essential for every prisoner for at least 15 minutes every morning, but weak prisoners may be exempted if their health does not permit their taking exercise.

Music Competitions should be held once or twice a month and prisoners should be encouraged to develop this art. (I have known some very good musicians—vocal—and even poets in prisons.) Moral and healthy songs, and books should be provided to them and the use of immoral songs be forbidden.

Making Good Citizens.—Special pains be taken to make prisoners law-abiding citizens by persuasion, education and love. Instead of wasting money on uneducated, useless pandits, Mullas and Granthis (who are well paid for every visit), one special moral instructor or more if possible be employed for every prison to impress on the prisoners the need of good morals. Special story books, songs, etc., should be written to inculcate morality among prisoners.

Training School.—A training school for moral teachers should be opened in every province and public-spirited young men should be encouraged to take up this job after 6 months training.

Solitary Cells.—The life of solitary cells should be made humane by improving sanitation, lights, reducing hours of confinement and chance to express regret for violation of prison rule (if the prisoner really feels that he was at fault). Vindictiveness should not be the guiding factor in keeping prisoners shut in solitary cells for months as is often done against the rules. (I personally love the life of a solitary cell, since it gave me opportunities for quiet study, disciplined time-table, increase in weight and enough opportunities for concentration of mind.)

I have a great regard for those prison officials who are doing their bit to help the prisoners in becoming good citizens and I appeal to such officials to consider my suggestions and adopt them with necessary modifications they think fit.

TWO SINGERS

By DILIP KUMAR ROY

"All great poetry is moved vision"—Sri Aurobindo : *The Future Poetry*

Croce's definition of art is not less satisfactory for its being so delightfully compendious. "Art is intuition and vision," he suggests, after due apology to the effect that the observation is not new (any more than would be if some other thinker were to say that time was old). Here I am reminded of a saying of Sri Aurobindo that what matters most about a thesis is that it should be true, no matter if it were not new. For surely, truth could not stand ultimately to lose were it convicted of being old.

Bhismadev Chatterji's singing must needs give rise, in most of us, to such reflexions leading up to the pregnant inference of the philosopher. For Bhismadev is nothing if not a man of vision, of imagination. I include intuition in the word vision, as the latter must imply the former.

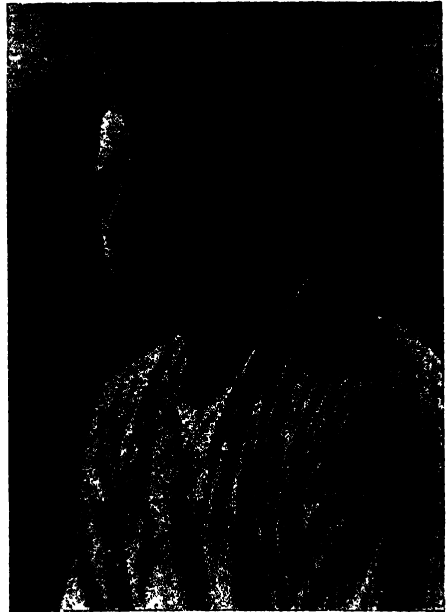
It may be contended that every great artist must be dowered with vision, with imagination. Just so. But here-anent the epithet 'great' is cogent. To restate the proposition : One might simply say that an artist gifted with vision and imagination must be great in that his gifts resistlessly goad him on to create forms and evoke emotions that are *worth while*. Bhismadev's music is *worth while*, which is, alas, more than can be said of most singers the world over. Flashes there are in a considerable number, but little more than still-born flashes, butterfly iridescences. Bhismadev's music is not of such brittle stuff. It is redolent of the glow of *vision*. There is no ignoring it. One has either to fall in love with it or else to react violently against it, as many doubtless do. I heard of one—he too happens to be a classical singer—who, expressly invited to hear Bhismadev, said that he would not have materialised had he not been under the impression that it was Tarapada Chakrabarti who would entertain. I mention this as it is typical of the antipathy among many to Bhismadev, who has detractors galore. He must have. It is only the naive who enthuse with Pope :

> "Truth has an appearance of so charming a mien
> That to be loved needs only to be seen."

It is not thus that truth voyages on through rippling waters ensuring plain sailing : it gathers impetus from the very obstacles that impede. To quote Croce once more:

> "The conqueror, instead of losing strength through the blows that his adversary inflicts upon him, acquires new strength through these very blows, and reaches the desired eminence, repulsing his adversary, yet in his company."

The reasons for the blind opposition to Bhismadev, however, are far from baffling. In the first place, he is not a singer of the orthodox school and as such must lash those who are, into a fury. His very imagination and vision would militate against his aligning with the styles that

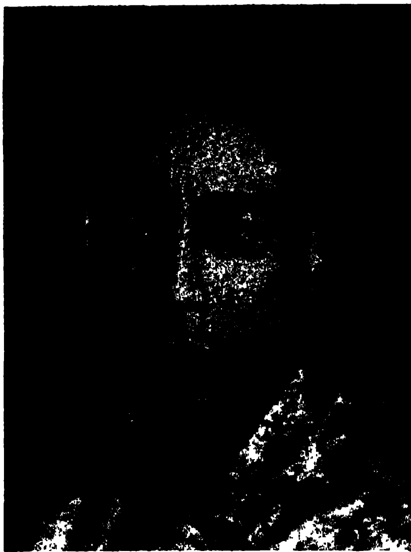


Bhismadev Chatterji

are meticulously *comme il faut* : the highbrow of classicism cannot brook this. In the second place, he declines to plump for the stagey and the florid, being in inner harmony with the music that wells up in him like to a warm spring : the lover of cheap effervescences cannot stand this. And lastly, Bhismadev has a fund of musical radiance which, far from petering out as it goes on coruscating, deepens almost into an incandescence : the weak-sighted cannot enjoy this.

I may be charged with indulging the luxury of superlatives. But when our amazement at

the virtuosity of an adept vies with our quivering delight at the incredible magic of the beauteous forms that at his touch burst into bloom like flowers at the touch of spring, it is



Kumar Sahindra Dev Burman

difficult to be chary of praise, to weigh our words. And it is not connoisseurs and lovers of music only who feel the impulse to be excessive. I have seen people, who are lukewarm about classical music, grow warm as Bhismadev weaves his delectable chequers of *tans* and novel patterns of *sargams*. I have heard fossilized grave-diggers break to spontaneous acclamations as this youthful genius (he is only five and twenty) unleashes his waves of *mindhs* and surges of rhythmic variation. To touch upon just one among the many features of his musical eminence. The *sargams* of Abdul Karim of Ratanjankar are prodigies of sweetness : but those of Bhisma create a wonderland of romance—thanks to the niceties of rhythmic *decors* he introduces. It would take long to explain what I mean; besides, it would necessitate going beyond the scope of this brief tribute. I would therefore confine myself to quoting Rabindranath when he wrote long ago of *Mandra*, Dwijendralal's first book of verses :

"I would far rather invite flower devotees to enter the author's garden than attempt the impossible : try to exhibit his gardened treasures by plucking sample flowers."

All great art *is* a feat in that none but a great artist may reach up to it. But the converse, that every great feat is art, is not true. Apropos I recall a conversation I had with Romain Rolland in Switzerland ten years back. I had asked his opinion of his contemporary composers like Schonberg for instance.

"They bring home to me again and again," he had said shaking his head dubiously, "the tragedy that underlies the conception of art among so many talented men. I mean the modern conception that the essence of art lies in a clever decoration, a reasoned stringing together of elements that would please the senses. by their meretricious glamour."

"It is not so," he had smiled sadly, "that great art is manufactured. For great art shines because it must—out of an inner effulgence lit by an inner awakening." "What about pruning and selection then? Are they suspect?" I had asked "By no means," he had said. "No inspiration is absolutely flawless and the consequent deficiencies must need vigilant correction, defects in form chiselled out of existence and all that kind of thing. What I mean is simply this that all these revisions are relatively non-essential compared with the essential, which is the stir and urge of a living fire deep down our being."

To come to Kumar Sachindra Dev Burman. His music has a charm all its own. It would not be inaccurate to dub him a Romanticist, if Bhismadev were dubbed a Classicist. But it isn't perhaps quite safe to give artists any such cut and dried names. Every artist is a meeting-point, more or less, of different tendencies, a sum-total of different movements, a whole composed of disparate parts. The poet Hemendra Kumar Roy has described the movement in modern Bengali music by the name "Romanticism." It is a fairly good name, so far as names go and may be accepted. Only, with reservations. To explain why, we could not do better than take Kumar Sachindra. His orientation is indubitably towards a new form of Bengali songs. But he may be achieving something so new in the near future that the name Romantic may cease altogether to apply to his music. Let us try to analyse his creative tendencies which will best illustrate my drift.

In a sense, however, our Bengali composers are all more or less romantic. Romantic and gifted with vision. But nevertheless Bengali songs still betray the classical *Raga* texture. It could hardly be otherwise : no art is self-sufficient, weaned since infancy from the milk of its natal traditions. Art is a fabric of life and as such must show a line of evolution. Kumar Sachindra's music does show such a development. I had heard his music years ago.

I heard it again this year. And I noted with great joy how he has evolved and that, happily, on the right lines. He has, because he has the intuition of a creative artist superadded to his inbred sincerity, though he has yet to travel far with his pilgrim-staff of quest, if he is to win the boon of the summit-vision. But that is not the important thing. The important thing is that he has the fire in him—the inner flame without which no radiant creation were possible. He has one of the finest of voices and for this he is to be heartily felicitated. He has imagination, a flair, almost, for the right combinations. He is delectable, to say the least. He has besides what so many lack: a sense of form. He has been collecting folk songs side by side with trying (of late) to compose, I mean compose new melodies for new Bengali songs—some of which are fine—for instance a few love-songs of Ajay Bhattacharya—and all this is doubtless a move in the right direction. That is why I am somewhat loth to limit him, to finish him with a label. I mean he may indeed be a Romantic, but he is, I suspect, much more besides. He is a *sadhaka* of music, a devotee of songs, a budding composer of new melodies and lastly, a personality of an indefinable charm and savour, a personality that counts in that it can bear down a deal of opposition almost imperceptibly. In this achievement he must be helped greatly by his innate urbanity and delicate refinement. This is not irrelevant, for his music does hold a mirror to these various strands of his fine-flavoured nature. But what is perhaps the most captivating feature of his music is that the gentle harmony of his inner being blends spontaneously into his music and musical aspirations. He has his defects, (which of us hasn't?) but these are not serious. I have an innate reluctance to point to what I look upon as shortcomings in an artist. I feel that Emerson was entirely right when he said that self-criticism was the best criticism, signifying that one profited most by one's own vigilance, provided, that is, one was sincere. Anyhow Kumar Sachindra is a sincere seeker; so I feel that his life's experiences will take care of the rest and see to it that he doesn't stagnate. I will offer only one criticism—of his Bengali songs—with humble hesitancy, as I have long felt that the line of evolution of Bengali songs has been somewhat unique in this respect. To be more explicit.

One of the loveliest traits of modern Bengali songs is doubtless this that there is a structure or rather a melodic architecture behind our best melodies. We are against all petrification of such fluid movements as our melodic music. In other words, we do welcome improvisations on the theme using the basic melody as a sort of refrain, so to speak. But these improvisations and variations have to be executed in such a way that they would sound like a part and parcel of the fundamental structure, a limb from the whole body. In other words, they must be welded into the basic melody, the melody of the composer that is, so that they seem to belong to an organic growth. An instance will explain what I mean.

Kumar Sachindra often improvises (as they do in Hindustani music) on the vowel *ah* in the midst of his songs. That is, he executes *tans* on *ah* which is divorced from the song itself. This leaves an unpleasant impression, because it does sound alien to the melody proper, not being of a piece with the latter. This sort of *tan* used to be tacked on to the Bengali songs— *a la* Hindustani—in the early 'eighties and nineties' and has been, unhappily, continued to our day. It is getting rarer, because our artistic sense (rightly) clamours for a new, shall we say, inevitability, in modern melodic variations. Surendranath Majumdar was one of the first who showed how to take *tans* in Bengali songs. He welded them into the vowels of the words—sometimes middle vowels, but most often the end vowels. For instance when he used to sing "*ranga jaba ke dilo tor paye*," sometimes he took *tans* on *ra*, at others on *lo*, at others on *ye*. The result was that the *tans* seemed an organic portion of the melodic whole. If however he were to sing "ranga . . . . dilo—" and then suddenly, stopping dead, rocket off with an *ah* (this is exactly what Kumar Sachindra does), then our artistic sense would be a little hurt. Inevitably. For there is little rhyme or reason behind such a procedure, it being a relic of an unlovely archaism. To put the matter in a nutshell, *tans* should be so *woven* into the texture of the songs, so welded into the vowels of the *words* that they will seem natural and at home with the friendly support of the words, and not sound as though they had been grafted like unsympathetic colonists on to a foreign soil.

I touch upon this, as I feel that Kumar Sachindra has a very bright future before him. He is cut out to take rank with first-class musicians of Bengal and since he is besides taking to composing for Bengali songs (that is, setting tune to Bengali songs), he cannot afford to ignore this most important trait in the character of our beloved Bengali music, which expects not a little enrichment at his hands. It is unlikely that his Helicon will fail him provided he persists in his aspiration.

KISAN SABHAS AND GOVERNMENT

By Prof. N. G. RANGA, B.LITT. (Oxon.), M.L.A.
President, All-India Kisan Sabha

"The present condition in India and the very dynamics of the situation are leading to the organisation of the peasantry, . . . therefore it seems to me inevitable that peasant organisations will grow up."—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: quoted from his statement to the press, on 29-7-37, concerning the relations between the Congress and Peasants' and Workers' Organisations.

The more a democratic Government approximates itself to real democracy and places itself nearest to the masses, the greater is the use it makes of the various functional and other voluntary organisations of citizen. It is agreed by all political thinkers that since modern industrial and civilised life has become so complex as to need greater state activity and bureaucracy, it is most essential that the machinery of state is brought into as great an intimate contact with the people as possible through their voluntary and democratic organisations in order to prevent petrification of its institutions and bureaucratisation of its working. It is with this view that in England active and energetic steps have come to be taken, especially since the Armistice, to put the Board of Trade, the Departments of Agriculture, Labour, Education, and Housing in close touch with the various Trade Unions, the Agricultural Organisation Society and its branches, the Farmers Unions, the Workers Educational Association and other institutions interested in education etc. Similar steps are being taken by President Roosevelt to push through with his reconstruction programmes and the various industrial and labour codes are worked out in close co-operation with the industrialists, labour and farmers concerned. All over the world Governments have all along taken care to recognize the corporate entity of industrial, commercial interests and to decide upon their action concerning their interests in close collaboration with those representing those interests.

It is when we come to the much more important but less organised and powerful interests of workers and peasants that we find that Governments not so very ready either to welcome their organisations or to encourage the growth of corporate life and unionism among them or to recognise their organisations.

Trade unionism has taken root in most of the countries in the early years of this century and has received great impetus and recognition from the state during the last war in most of the countries. In fact barring America where it was so vehemently opposed both by the employers and the State, all other countries have come to recognise the utility and need for recognising the existing trade unions and also for encouraging their growth, because they have found that it is easier to deal with organised labour, get the contracts between employers and employees scrupulously adhered to, and maintain industrial peace and at least minimise the risks and losses due to strikes, if there were a strong trade union in every trade and industry. Even in our own country the Government of India has thought it fit to pass the Trade Union Act of 1926 to regulate and facilitate the working of trade unions. The Labour Commission and the Franchise Committee have recommended that active steps be taken to encourage the development of trade unionism in India. Ever since 1921, Government have nominated to the International Labour Conference only those to represent labour as were recommended by the Trade Union Congress and latterly by the National Federation of Labour. It has also nominated Mr. N. M. Joshi a member of the Central Legislative Assembly, although he has consistently maintained his independence to speak and vote as he thought a real spokesman of labour ought. The various Provincial Governments also had nominated some people as M. L. C.s to speak for Labour. Labour was represented at the Round Table Conferences and the Joint Parliamentary Committee, and the new Government of India Act has provided for special representation for labour in all the Legislatures of the land.

It is at the same time true that so far Government has shown only step-motherly regard to labour when compared to its solicitude towards employers and merchants. For instance the Finance Member of Government of India

pays an annual visit to Bombay to meet the merchants of that place, and the Viceroy and Commerce and Industries Members attend the annual gathering of Merchants Chambers. The Commercial and Industrial interests are invariably consulted on almost all occasions such as the Ottawa Conference, the Indo-Japanese Trade talks, and the Indo-British Trade negotiations, when questions relating to industry and trade are discussed and sought to be settled.

Coming to peasants, we find so far Government has taken no steps whatsoever either to recognise existing Kisan Sabhas or to foster their growth. In fact many Kisan Sabhas of the Punjab, U. P., and Bengal were banned. From the District Collector or the Commissioner to the Members of the Government, everyone has so far insisted, in pratice, upon dealing with peasants severally and not collectively, barring the planters, who are fairly well organised, and whose organisations are recognised mainly because a majority of them are Europeans. No section of peasants have been recognised in their corporate capacity, either by the Government or by the Legislatures. This naturally resulted in keeping the Government out of touch with the corporate life of the peasants and their needs, grievances and demands, as formulated and expressed by their organisations.

There are many occasions and institutions on which peasants' co-operation is supposed to be obtained by the Government. But owing to its unwillingness to recognise any of our Kisan Sabhas, it has so far satisfied itself with nominating some big land-holders or others, who have tip-toed in submission to its political commands. This naturally has led to its being badly informed of the real temper of the masses and prevented it from benefiting from their experience, suggestions and other creative contributions. For instance, the debacle over the anti-Japanese dumping duties, the consequent Japanese threat of boycotting Indian cotton and the final Indo-Japanese Trade Pact of 1933 were necessitated because of the failure of the Government to consult Peasants' organisations. Similarly the Ottawa Trade Pact would have been different, and met with another fate, if Kisan Sabhas were consulted and the present Indo-British trade talks too would secure better results for India if our Kisan Sabha representatives had been consulted and taken into confidence. The Indian Railways would have showed much better financial results if representation had been provided for the Kisan Sabhas on the local Railway Advisory Committees. The untenable position adopted so far by Government in regard to our peasant organisations can be understood from the fact that neither the main Imperial Council of Agricultural research nor any of the fifteen or more Sub-committees, including those for paddy and wheat, neither the Indian Central Cotton Committee nor any of the Cess Committees (for coffee, tea, lac and sugar), contains even one represenntative of any of our Kisan Sabhas. This neglect of our Kisans by the Government has gone to the extent of not officially inviting their several and collective opinions upon the various bills that Government has sought to introduce and sponsor in various Legislatures.

Since the Provincial and Central Governments in our country had been till now, both bureaucratic and autocratic it was somehow possible for them to drag on their existence with such a defective system of 'mass contacts.' But as from now on, we are to have some kind of democratic administrations both at the Centre and in the Provinces, our Governments will do well to establish as much mass contact as possible and welcome the co-operation, assistance and collaboration of various voluntary popular organisations as possible, and among such institutions, Kisan Sabhas bid fair to be the most important, and surcharged with greater potentialities. As the Provincial ministries are to be responsible to the masses, they have to seek the co-operation of the Kisan Sabhas, so as at least not to be taken by surprise by any resort to direct action by our peasants.

It is therefore meet that our Provincial ministries take the earliest possible opportunities to publicly recognise the Kisan Sabhas, welcome their collaboration and co-operation, and substitute corporate responsibility and representation for the present individual choice and nomination of functionaries to various positions and responsibilities, who can never be called the real representatives of the ryots.

The following are the institutions on which the present basis of representation of rural or peasant interests has to be changed immediately and replaced by the functional representation on a corporate basis.

(1) Imperial Council of Agricultural Research and its Sub-committees;
(2) Central Advisory Committee for Education;
(3) Central Advisory Council of Public Health;
(4) Central Indian Cotton Committee;
(5) Coffee Cess Committee;
(6) Lac Cess Committee;

(7) Sugar Research Committee.
Provinces :
(8) District and Provincial Economic Councils, or Development Committees;
(9) Cottage Industries Committees; and
(10) Local Railway Advisory Committees.

For the development of future mass contacts, there ought to be a Central as well as District Advisory or Consultation Committees of peasants to better the work of the following departments and help the Government in doing greater service and rendering greater assistance to our peasants : (1) Irrigation, (2) Forest, (3) Police, (4) Agriculture, (5) Cottage Industries, (6) Land Revenue, (7) Education, (8) Local Self-Government, (9) Veterinary and Cattle-breeding, (10) Nutrition.

There is going to be a radical difference between the kind of contacts that the Government had till now with our peasantry and the contact that our ministries will have from now on. The difference consists not only in consulting peasants in their corporate capacity instead of meeting a few of them, but also in reaching the really poor and more numerous of them in preference to touching a few rich confreres of theirs. Not only have our Ministers to consult Kisan Sabhas but also to encourage the really poor Kisans to capture these Sabhas, and to assist them through their Sabhas. They have to do all this in their own interests, as otherwise they can't hope to adequately understand the peasant's view-point, and give as much satisfaction to them as possible. If the P. W. D. forests and the police departments are to be less of a nuisance than they are at present, and avoid being the cause of the growing and uncontrollable dissatisfaction of the masses, then the ministries have to associate every officer of these and similar other departments with a democratic Kisan Sub-committee to guide and control him and report upon him to his higher officer, and also to the higher Kisan Sabhas.

Moreover, the modern ministers owe it to their Kisans, who form the majority of the voters and who yet are not so well organised as others, to bend the resources and energies of the State so as to foster their organisations, as soon and as much as possible. All that they may try to do through their Development and Social Services can only touch the fringe of the peasant's problem and needs, bound down as they are by their limited and inelastic tax-revenues and the inexorable and unbendable services, thanks to the Act. But even those inadequate resource can be made to go a very long way in strengthening the masses and improving their morale if the co-operation of the peasants and workers can be obtained. Such co-operation is possible only through the Kisan Sabhas. Hence my plea that Kisan movement must be encouraged, Kisan Sabhas recognised and Kisans corporate co-operation welcomed.

The needs of the Kisans are too great, their sufferings too unbearable and their demands too unresistible and they can be met half-way, with mutual advantage for all and with the surety of forging an anti-Act force, only if at least Kisan Sabhas are recognised and given as much consideration and respect as the Chambers of Commerce.

As contrasted with the neglect of the Kisan Sabhas by our Government, the policy of Canadian, English, American, French and Danish Governments stands in great relief. Those Governments have all along recognised unions of farmers, and taken them into the closest possible consultation. Not a bill is drafted, as has not been previously discussed by a joint gathering of Government's spokesmen and those of peasants. Every new economic move of the State affecting the peasants is shaped after giving peasants the fullest possible opportunity to influence Government through their reasoning and discussions.

The Irish Government of the Imperial regime first led the way in recognising the Agricultural Organization Society, started and guided by the late Sir Horace Plunkett, and in using it as the State's agency to develop co-operative movement, and to carry on agricultural demonstration work. The State was financing these operations of the great farmers' associations, which in every other respect was thoroughly independent.. A similar policy has come to be followed by the Government of Great Britain in regard to her Farmers' Unions which are made responsible to carry on demonstration work. Yet it is not uncommon to find the Farmers' Union vehemently opposing the policies and programmes of the party in power.

In France, the State has taken the initiative in fostering and stimulating the growth of Agricultural Syndicates which are to discharge the functions of our village Panchayats, farmers' social clubs, and nuclei of co-operative and agricultural demonstration work. A number of laws regulating their co-operative credit activities specify their functional responsibilities and indicate their propaganda work.

In all the Western democracies adequate representation is provided for peasant organizations on all the important and relevant committees and councils of state, so far no

complaint has been made or heard in any of these countries against the inutility of these peasant organizations and the State's contact with them. Indeed, the U. S. A. has given a new fillip to the Kisan movement by offering it much encouragement and dealing with the Kisan Sabhas just as dignifiedly as with all other Sabhas.

SEPARATION OF EXECUTIVE FROM JUDICIAL FUNCTIONS

By Prof. NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A., Ph.D.

On the 21st of August last Mr. Birendra Kishore Roy Choudhury speaking on a cut motion in the Bengal Legislative Assembly raised the question of separating judicial from executive duties in our districts. He observed that this subject had hung fire for long and should not be given a cold shoulder by the new Government. Responsible as the Ministry now was to public opinion, it was expected to do away, at an early date, with the practice of combining the functions of the thief-catcher and the thief-trier in the same hands and to remove thereby a long-standing grievance of the people.

Unfortunately, however, the Home Minister made some observations, in course of his reply, which require a careful scrutiny and demand a dispassionate criticism. Sir Nazimuddin attached little importance to the demand for the separation of the two incongruous and conflicting functions. He rather went to the length of practically denying the usefulness of such separation. He cited in support of his contention the practices which, he thought, obtained in the civilized countries of Europe and America. He gave it out that it was only in the United States of America that such separation of functions was once emphasised and worked in practice. But even in this country, he observed, the sparation of powers was now being cast off as unsuited to the changed environments and altered conditions of life.[1]

The opinion Sir Nazimuddin expressed in regard to the relations which now subsist between the executive and the judiciary in the U. S. A. is, however, not tenable at all. His speech appears to have conveyed a wrong impression to his audience about the position of the judiciary in the U. S. A. In that country the principle of the separation of powers was regarded for long "as almost a political maxim which should lie at the basis of the political organization of all civilized states."[2] Accordingly its Constitution provides for a clear separation of legislative, executive and judicial functions from each other. It is true that although in theory the executive and the legislative duties are still in separate hands and are supposed to be exercised independently of each other, actually some collaboration between the two authorities has now become the rule. Not unoften executive influence is predominant over the legislative sphere. But, although the doctrine of the separation of powers may have been modified to this extent in practice in the U. S. A., otherwise it still remains in force in that country.

The executive and the legislature may have in practice come closer towards each other but the judiciary still stands aloof in supreme independence. It is not in any sense dependent upon the executive. The federal judges are appointed no doubt by the President with the approval of the Senate.[3] But this right of appointment on the part of the executive does not and cannot in the least make the federal judges dependent upon the President. These judges are, under the constitution, appointed on a permanent basis and hold their office during good behaviour.[4] They cannot be removed from the bench except by impeachment. Enjoying a permanent tenure of office as the judges do, they are not required to consult the wishes and convenience of the executive in trying the cases before them. They issue their judgments only after consulting the facts of the case, the laws of the land and the dictates of their own conscience. They may be swayed on occasions by their own social prejudices and inhibitions. But never can they be suspected of looking to the White House for inspiration.

Recently, of course, an attack was made

1. *See* the Report of the two speeches in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of 22nd August, 1937.

2. F. J. Goodnow—*Comparative Administrative Law* Vol. I, p. 20.

3. Article II, Sec. 2 of the Constitution.

4. Article III, Sec. I of the Constitution.

upon the judiciary from influential and powerful quarters. President Roosevelt was exasperated by his New Deal Laws being declared *ultra vires* the constitution by the Supreme Court. Constituted[5] as this Court usually was by 'elder statesmen,' it took almost invariably a conservative view of different measures passed by the Congress. It was not surprising, therefore, that the New Deal laws which were expected to undermine, to some extent, the existing social and economic ideals and practices in the U. S. A. would be interpreted by the Court as inconsistent with the provisions of the Constitution and therefore invalid. The President found, to his chagrin, the system of social and economic reform which he was rearing actually toppling down under his eyes. His anger therefore knew no bounds. And as he became re-elected to the White House by an overwhelming majority, in November, 1936, he girded up his loins and proceeded to plan an attack upon the Supreme Court. A Bill was introduced, under his inspiration, in the Congress. If any judge on his attaining his seventieth year did not voluntarily retire from the bench, he could not of course be forced to do so. But the new Bill empowered the President to appoint a new judge so as to balance his opinions on the bench. Subject to the total strength of the Supreme Court Bench being fixed at fifteen, the President was thus given the right to appoint new judges against all the existing occupants who attained the seventieth year but still refused to retire. If this Bill became an Act, it would have opened out the possibility of the Court being packed by the executive. Of course it could not be assumed that the new judges appointed by the President on the basis of a tenure of office during good behaviour would have been a mere catspaw in his hands. But still it might have given out the impression of the Court being packed. Fortunately, however, the Bill was so modified in the Congress that as now passed it would provide for no alteration in the old position of the Supreme Court. All that the Act now provides for is the addition of a few more judges to the lower Courts.

So it is not true to say that even in the United States, where alone, in the opinion of Sir Nazimuddin, the judiciary was once separate from, and independent of, the executive, such separation has been given the go-by and such independence has been undermined. The judiciary in the United States is as independent of the executive today as it was in 1789 when the federal constitution of that country was first framed.

Nor is it true to say that the judiciary is an indedpendent institution only in the United States of America. In Great Britain also, it is an independent factor of Government. It is true that theoretically the judicial organ may not be separate, in every respect, from the legislative and executive factors of the constitutional mechanism. Some association betwen the three factors may not escape our notice. But really such fusion is ineffective. The House of Lords is par excellence a branch of the legislature. But it will be pointed out that it has judicial functions as well. Theoretically, therefore, legislative and judicial functions are not separate, but combined. Actually, however, the House of Lords itself never now-a-days sits in judgment upon any case forwarded to it on appeal. It is the Lord Chancellor and the Law Lords who alone, as a rule, constitute the supreme judicial tribunal for Great Britain.

It is true again that the Lord Chancellor who is the highest judicial functionary in Great Britain, is also, at the same time, a member of the supreme executive body of the State, namely, the Cabinet. It cannot be denied that to this extent there is a fusion between executive and judicial duties. Such fusion, however, has no practical repercussions. Theoretically it may be expected that as a result of the Lord Chancellor being the connecting link between the executive and the judiciary, executive influence would be brought to bear upon judicial decisions. But as a matter of fact the exercise of such influence is out of the question, because of the traditions of independence of the judicial bench, which have been built up for the last 250 years. Besides, it should be known that other judges of the superior courts in England including the Lord Chief Justice have not only no executive affiliations and are concerned only with judicial functions but they hold their office, like the federal judges of the U. S. A., during good behaviour. They can be removed from their office only by the King on an address of both Houses of Parliament. As removal from office by this method is impossible except in cases of grave dereliction of duty which may cause a public scandal, the judges have no reason for looking up to the executive and currying favour with its agents. The old principle that the judges should be lions but lions under the throne, has been in fact long given the go-by in Great Britain. The tradition which grew in the time of the Stuarts that the judges should

5. At the time New Deal Laws were declared unconstitutional, six of the nine Judges of this Court were above seventy.

be but a convenient instrument in the hands of the executive was thrown overboard with the expulsion of the last member of this family. Since the Act of Settlement was passed in 1701 the English judges have been absolutely independent of the executive. This independence is true as much of the higher judiciary as also of the county courts. The judges presiding over these latter tribunals are no doubt appointed on the responsibility of the Lord Chancellor and hold office during the pleasure of the Crown (not during good behaviour). But in practice, tenure of office during pleasure is as good as tenure during good behaviour. Such has been the force of public opinion and such has been the strength of the tradition which has been built up during the last 250 years, that the executive finds it impossible to take advantage of the tenure of office during pleasure of the county judges.

It is thus not true to say that the principle of the separation of executive from judicial functions is not in operation either in the United States of America or in Great Britain. This principle is, in fact, sacrosanct in both the countries.

The Home Minister of Bengal spoke in a vein on the subject of separating the two functions in the Legislative Assembly, which may give out the impression that the Government of which he is a member, regards such separation not only as impracticable and inconvenient, but also as unnecessary and uncalled for in principle. It is a pity that after an agitation has been carried on in India for one century for the separation of executive and judicial powers, the Home Minister of Bengal should come forward to create an impression that the existing arrangement is sufficiently wise and any change is uncalled for. It has been the demand of the Indian people since 1838 that the officer who has anything to do with the prosecution of a person, will not only not sit in judgment upon his case himself but will not also have anything to do with the exercise of supervision and control over the officer who may be entrusted with the trial. The Bengal Cabinet cannot be oblivious of the fact that both the Government of India and the Government of Bengal had in the past to admit the wisdom of such clear demarcation of duties. It was about three decades ago that the spokesman of the Government of India was compelled to admit that, "criminal trials, affecting the general peace of the district, are not always conducted in the atmosphere of cool impartiality which should pervade a court of justice." He also announced on the floor of the Indian Legislative Council that the Government of India had "decided to advance cautiously and tentatively towards the separation of judicial and executive functions."[6] The principle of separating the two functions was thus accepted by the Government in 1908. It is true that during the next twelve years the Government of India did nothing towards applying the principle. But still it cannot be denied that this principle was accepted.

Early in 1921, district administration became a provincial subject under the Government of India Act, 1919. The demand for the separation of the two incongruous functions was therefore, now made in the provincial legislatures. In Bengal, a resolution recommending "the total separation of the judicial from executive functions" was passed on the 4th April, 1921, by the Legislative Council.[7] Though Sir Henry Wheeler, the spokesman of the Government of Bengal, made indeed a "haulting, hesitating and ambiguous speech" in course of the debate, still he had to admit the theory that the exercise of judicial duties should not be subject to executive interference. He advocated the necessity of appointing a competent and expert committee so that an authoritative opinion might be secured not as to the wisdom of such separation but as to the actual methods of carrying out this reform. The committee he proposed was to elaborate a practical working scheme for separating judicial duties from executive agency and to estimate the expenditure which the operation of the scheme would involve. Accordingly a Committee was constituted with Justice Sir Ewart Greaves as the Chairman and with Sir Asutosh Choudhury, a retired justice of the Calcutta High Court, Mr. F. C. French, a senior member of the executive branch of the Indian Civil Service, Mr. G. Morgan, the representative of the European interest in the Legislative Council, Dr. Abdulla Suhrawardy and Raja Sir Manmatha Nath Ray Choudhury as members. The Committee constituted by such experienced and level-headed members and presided over by such an impartial and independent judge of the High Court as Sir Ewart Greaves, submitted its report in January 1922, and pointed out therein that there was "no practical difficulty in effecting a separation of judicial and executive functions."[8] The Committe also drew

6. *See* the speech of Sir Harvey Adamson, the Home Member of the Government of India in *The Proceedings of the Legislative Council of India*, Vol. XLVI, pp. 248-49.

7. *See Proceedings of the Legislative Council*, Vol. I, No. 6, pp. 268-90.

8. Report of the Greaves Committee, p. 6.

up a scheme for carrying out such separation at a cost which was by no means exorbitant. It was estimated that the non-recurring expenditure would be, for giving effect to this reform, Rs. 1,53,000 and the recurring expenditure would be Rs. 4,48,650 a year.

After the submission of such a report by the Greaves Committee, it could not be imagined that there was still any doubt as to the wisdom of separation in this province. It is also to be noted in this connection that in other provinces of India also this question came in for consideration and there also similar Committees were appointed for framing schemes and estimating the expenditure for giving effect to these schemes. In the Punjab this Committee, which was presided over by Mr. Justice LeRossignol, estimated that the non-recurring cost would be Rs. 5,89,860, and the annual recurring charges could be Rs. 8,21,976. In Bihar and Orissa the Committee was presided over by Justice Sir B. K. Mallick. It came to the conclusion that for carrying out the reform the capital expenditure of Rs. 5,95,000 would be necessary and the recurring annual cost would be Rs. 1,90,650. These would illustrate that expert opinion in every part of India was not only in favour of separation of the two functions but was definite with regard to the comparatively small expense at which the reform could be carried out.

It may, of course, be pointed out by some persons that the reform is not really so urgent as it is given out to be. They may observe that miscarriage of justice on account of executive interference cannot be cited in many cases today. But it should be known that interference by the executive head of the district in criminal trials was never very open or brazen-faced. It has become less so today than it used to be in the 19th century. Since the late Mr. Monmohan Ghosh collected in 1896 a number of such cases of open interference and cited them as a definite proof of the evil which arose out of the combination of two incongruous functions, the executive has become more careful with regard to the way that it may interfere in criminal trials. But simply because the interference of the executive is not open and public, it need not be assumed that criminal justice is administered in an impartial manner and in an independent atmosphere. The case for separation does not rest upon the illustrations of open executive interference in criminal trials. It rests upon the fact that human nature being what it is, the magistrates serving under executive officers and themselves being interested in the executive administration cannot try the criminal cases as dispassionately and independently as they may be expected to do.

A mere description of the magisterial organisation in our provinces may bring out into clear relief the mischief that is being done every day to the cause of justice. Lower criminal justice is administered by the Magistrates of different classes. Some of them may not have any executive duties at the time they discharge judicial functions and try criminal cases. Some other Magistrates however may combine directly in their own hands both executive and judicial functions and powers. The Sub-divisional Officers, especially, have simultaneously to exercise both duties. They have to maintain the peace of the area under their charge and take direct interest in the apprehension and prosecution of alleged miscreants. They have also to try, in many instances, these cases themselves. If the same functionaries, under whose supervision and control some persons are taken into custody, are required to sit in judgment upon them, it may be easily imagined what kind of justice we may expect at their hands. It is not again merely in the courts of these Magistrates who have direct executive duties to perform that impartial justice cannot be expected. In the courts of the other Magistrates also, it becomes difficult to obtain justice in those cases in which the executive is interested. The Magistrates may not be engaged, for the time being, in executive duties. But they are par excellence executive officers and have to work under the supervision and control of the District Magistrate who is the chief executive officer of the district. The District Magistrate is responsible for the maintenance of the peace and tranquillity in the district under his charge. He is directly interested therefore in the apprehension and prosecution of persons who are alleged to have disturbed the peace. Now-a-days he himself may not usually sit in judgment upon these persons. But the Magistrate who try these cases are his immediate subordinates. The promotion and other official prospects of these functionaries depend largely upon his attitude towards their work. If he takes an unfavourable view, their future becomes blighted. It is not therefore surprising that the Magistrates while presiding over their courts do not merely look at the facts of the case and the provisions of the law. They do not, in delivering the judgment, consult simply their own intelligence and conscience. They consult more the opinions of the chief executive.

The judge is the task-master of the executive. He has to scrutinise the acts of the executive and in case they are found to be at

variance with the law, his one duty is to nullify them outright. But the judge can give an impartial verdict only if he is not himself interested in the decisions of the executive and is not under the influence and control of the executive. To make the judiciary in any sense subordinate to the executive is therefore, as Professor Laski observes, "to make impossible the performance of the most urgent function within its province."[9] Every day the performance of this urgent function is being made *impossible* in the districts of India and sooner the existing arrangement is replaced by a more reasonable system the better.

9. *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 298.

BRITISH VESTED INTERESTS IN INDIA AND THE NEW CONSTITUTION

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The new Constitution of India once more unmistakably demonstrates that India exists, and must continue to exist for the benefit of the Britisher, and that no constitutional advance in this country will be permitted to endanger even remotely the essential British Service and commercial interests, and British trade in India. The numerous provisions in the Constitution Act, which are intended to prevent any possible discrimination against British vested interests reveal the true character of the new Reforms, and merit a careful perusal. These may be regarded without exaggeration as so many fetters on the future Legislatures in India, imposed exclusively for the benefit of British trade.

The pretexts for the introduction of the provisions against discrimination were easily available, but they are neither adequate, nor convincing. Firstly, it was urged that the Fiscal Convention which resulted from the recommendations of the Joint Committee on the Bill of 1919 had not succeeded in removing the doubts as well as suspicions regarding the rights and duties of the two parties to it. The precise scope and effects of the Convention have been still a matter of controversy, and so it was considered necessary to define and clarify the fiscal relations between India and Britain, and place them on a statutory footing as far as possible. Secondly, it has been pointed out that the Fiscal Convention itself would lapse after the enforcement of the new Act, and so it was essential to put specific provisions in this connection in the Statute itself so that there might not be any uncertainty in regard to the future relation of India in fiscal and commercial matters with the United Kingdom. Thirdly, the authors of the Joint Committee Report refer to the atmosphere of misunderstanding both in India and England. They complain rather vaguely :

> "Statements of a very disturbing character have been made from time to time by influential persons in India which have aroused suspicions and doubts in the United Kingdom."

It is difficult to understand how an indefinite insinuation like this could form the justification for the sweeping concessions incorporated in the Act for the British vested interests. Lastly, the authorities pleaded that the public services had reason to suspect that their existing rights might not remain inviolate in the new regime, hence these must be safeguarded by Statute to secure their co-operation and contentment.

The authorities appear to have been further convinced that the Indian Legislatures, unless statutorily prevented, would surely cut down the emoluments of the public services, impose prohibitive tariffs on British goods, and pass discriminatory measures against European traders and residents in India with the object, not of improving the economic condition of the country, but of ousting or injuring the Europeans. That this apprehension is unduly exaggerated needs no mention. It may be pointed out that the Indian 'Delegates' to the Round Table Conference gave assurance that there was no desire in India to use the Constitution for the purpose of excluding either Britishers or British trade. For example, in the Second Round Table Conference in 1931,

a resolution was passed to the effect that there should be no discrimination between the rights of the British Mercantile Community, firms, companies trading in India, and the rights of Indian-born subjects. The British-Indian Delegation, in their joint memorandum, expressed their agreement with this principle. But, the advocates of the British commercial interests claimed a fair field for themselves in India, and warned the Government that statements had been made which were bound to create suspicions and doubts. Evidently, the assurances of the Indian Delegates had no effect, and the authorities thought it prudent to reassure public opinion in England by including suitable provisions in the Act.

The provisions relating to discrimination and the public services are to be found in various chapters of the Act, and unless they are judged as a whole it is difficult to visualize their cumulative effect. Let us now analyse and regroup the relevant portions under convenient heads.

1. RIGHT OF ENTRY, TRAVEL, AND RESIDENCE

Section 111 provides that British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom shall not be subjected to any restrictions regarding the right of entry into British India, and shall be exempt from any law that imposes any restriction by reference to place of birth, race, descent, language, religion, domicile, residence, or duration of residence, any disability, liability, or condition in regard to travel, residence, the acquisition, holding, or disposal of property, the holding of public office, or the carrying on of any occupation. It is, however, provided that undesirable persons may be excluded by the Governor-General or the Governor in his discretion.

2. TRADE AND INDUSTRY

Under section 113, a company incorporated by or under the laws of the United Kingdom, and the members of the governing body of any such company and the holders of its shares etc., and its officers, agents, and servants shall be deemed to comply with any law imposing in regard to companies any requirements or conditions relating to the place of incorporation, the currency in which its capital is expressed, the place of birth, race, descent, language, religion, domicile, and residence of the members or servants of a company. If and in so far as any total or partial exemption from, or preferential treatment in respect of taxation is decided, a company incorporated in the United Kingdom and carrying on business in India will be entitled to the same equally with Indian companies. Section 114 entitles a British company incorporated in India to all the aforesaid privileges. It may be noted that there is to be reciprocity between India and the United Kingdom to some extent in these matters. For example, if a United Kingdom law imposes restrictions upon Indian subjects, or Indian companies, any exemption enjoyed in India by British subjects or Companies in similar matters would cease to have effect. Such reciprocity, however, will prove unreal, because it would be impossible for Indian companies to trade in England and compete with the English companies. Under section 116, companies incorporated in the United Kingdom shall be eligible for any grant, bounty, or subsidy for the encouragement of any trade or industry to the same extent as companies incorporated in India will be eligible. Under section 12, the Governor-General has the special responsibility to prevent action which would subject goods of the United Kingdom imported into India to discriminatory or penal treatment, and secure in the sphere of executive action the purposes which the provisions of Chapter III of Part V of the Act are designed to secure in relation to Legislation. It is interesting to note that the White Paper did not specify the responsibility to prevent penal treatment of British goods. This was subsequently added at the instance of the Joint Committee.

3. PRACTICE OF PROFESSIONS

Sub-section 1(B) of Section 111 provides that British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom will be entitled to carry on any profession, subject, however, to the condition of reciprocity between India and the United Kingdom in this matter. Under Section 119, no bill or amendment which prescribes the professional or technical qualifications to be requisite for any purpose in British India or imposes by reference to any such qualifications any disability, or restriction in regard to the practising of any profession, the carrying on of any occupation or business shall be introduced without previous sanction of the Governor-General or the Governor in his discretion. Section 120 provides that a British subject domiciled in the United Kingdom, who is entitled to be registered in the United Kingdom as a qualified medical practitioner, shall not be excluded from practising medicine, surgery, or midwifery in British India on any ground other

than the ground that the diploma held by him does not furnish a sufficient guarantee of his possession of the requisite knowledge and skill. Aggrieved parties may appeal to the Privy Council for their decision as to whether the diploma in question does or does not furnish a sufficient guarantee of the possession of the requisite knowledge and skill.

4. TAXATION

Under Section 112, no law shall be valid which imposes any liability to taxation by way of discriminating against British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom, or against companies incorporated in the United Kingdom. A law shall be deemed to be discriminatory, if it would subject the aforesaid to greater taxation than to which they would be liable if domiciled in India.

5. AIRCRAFT AND SHIPPING

Under Section 115, no ship registered in the United Kingdom shall be subjected by or under any law to any treatment which is discriminatory in favour of ships registered in British India. This Section is applicable to aircraft also.

6. PUBLIC SERVICES

Security of tenure and inviolability of salary, pension, and emoluments are provided by the Act to the services under Sections 12, 52, 240, 258, 259, etc., while Sections 270 and 271 guarantee a full indemnity for past acts and protection against future prosecution and suits. Under Section 248, the right of independent appeal against orders affecting conditions of service is secured. Under Section 244, the supreme authority in the matter of control and recruitment of the key services of the country is vested in the Secretary of State.

* * * *

From the above analysis it will be apparent that precautionary steps have been taken to prevent all kinds of discrimination. Lest a mere prohibition of discrimination should prove ineffective, the Governor-General and the Governors in their respective spheres have been entrusted with a special responsibility for the prevention of discrimination, and have been empowered to interfere in all cases of proposed discrimination and, if necessary, either to reject the advice of the Ministers or to use their special powers. Though the Statutory Commission had admitted that it is not practicable to define discriminatory legislation in a constitutional document, the Federal Structure Committee in the Fourth Report, which was adopted by the Second Round Table Conference, saw "no reason to doubt that an experienced parliamentary draftsman would be able to devise an adequate and workable formula, which it would not be beyond the competence of a Court of law to interpret and make effective." Lest even the specific provisions drafted by the parliamentary draftsmen should prove inadequate, the Joint Committee recommended that the Governor-General and the Governors should carefully use their discretion in giving or withholding their assent to bills which might be *discriminatory in fact though not in form.* This is why the Instrument of Instructions provides that if the Governor-General or the Governor feels any doubt whether a bill is in fact discriminatory or not, he is to reserve it for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure. The Joint Committee frankly confess in their Report that this precaution is necessary in view of "*the scope which ingenuity might find for complying with the letter of the law in a matter of this kind while violating its spirit.*" (Italics ours). No commentary is needed on this statement !

From what has been explained above it would be clear that the statutory provisions against administrative and legislative discrimination will constitute a thorny problem for the future Legislatures and Ministries. It can hardly be denied that the economic interests of the country will demand ultimately measures which may prove prejudicial to British vested interests. That the interests of the United Kingdom and India cannot always and in every matter harmonise needs no elaboration. It is therefore, difficult to understand how the Indian ministries will continue to avoid the almost inevitable conflict of national interests, which is bound to arise sooner or later under a Constitution which has been manifestly designed not in the interests of India but of the British vested interests.



MY FIRST VISIT TO ENGLAND

By BEPIN CHANDRA PAL

I

In September, 1898, I left for England with a scholarship granted by the British and Foreign Unitarian Association to mission workers of the Brahmo Samaj for helping them to take a two years' course at the New Manchester College in Oxford. This College had been established originally at Manchester for training for the Unitarian Ministry. From Manchester it was transferred to Oxford to be in close touch with the life of that old British University. Though it was not recognised by the University its students could attend the lectures of the University and generally share the intellectual and moral life of that ancient seat of learning. The University of Oxford was attached to the Church of England. Nonconformists had no rightful place in it. But the Nonconformists' Theological Seminary, the Mansfield College, that trained Nonconformist Ministers, was, like the Unitarian College, located in Oxford and for the same reason. The Manchester New College and the Mansfield College thus came to be, in an informal way, associated with the intellectual and moral life of Oxford.

In 1888 Pandit Sivanath Sastri had been to England. He was naturally received with friendly greetings by the English Unitarians and Theists. From the days of Raja Rammohun Roy the Brahmo Samaj had received the fraternal sympathy of British and American Unitarians. When Keshub Chunder Sen early in the seventies went to England, the earlier relations between the Brahmo Samaj in India and the Unitarians in England were revived and strengthened. The visit of Sivanath Sastri, however, led to fresh developments in the relations of the Brahmo Samaj with the Unitarians of England. Dr. J. T. Sunderland was deputed by the British and Foreign Unitarian Association of England to come on a missionary visit to India and study the Brahmo Samaj movement here with a view specially to find out if there was any opening for the establishment of regular and closer co-operation between the Brahmo Samaj and the Unitarian organisation. Dr. Sunderland spent about a year in India. On his return, the British and Foreign Unitarian Association deputed another Unitarian Minister, the Rev. Mr. Fletcher Williams, to follow up the work initiated by Dr. Sunderland. He was followed by the Rev. Mr. Harwood. These visits led the British and Foreign Unitarian Association to offer a scholarship of the value of £100 a year to workers and missionaries of the Brahmo Samaj who would desire to take a course in the Manchester New College at Oxford. A committee of elected representatives of the three sections of the Brahmo Samaj was set up for the selection of these scholars. The first was the late Bhai Pramatha Lal Sen, a nephew of Keshub Chunder Sen, who, though not then ordained as a missionary of the New Dispensation, had consecrated his life to the ministrations of that Samaj. This was, I think, in 1896. In 1897 the choice of the Brahmo Samaj Committee fell on a friend, who was not able to accept this scholarship and go to England. So in 1898 there were two vacancies. To one of these I was appointed; the other was given to Babu Hem Chandra Sarkar, who, having taken his M.A. degree in the Calcutta University, had joined the Sadhan Ashrama of Pandit Sivanath Sastri. The Unitarian Association undertook to pay only for the expenses of these scholars in England but they would have to find money for their passage and outfit. After I was elected I made a somewhat extended tour to collect this money. During this tour I, for the first time in my life, made the acquaintance of some English officials. When I went to Silchar in course of this missionary tour, my English lectures were attended by Captain Herbert, the Deputy Commissioner of Silchar. Captain Herbert and other officials of the place took very kindly to me and collected a small purse towards my passage fund. From Silchar I went to Shillong. Sir Henry Cotton was at that time the Chief Commissioner of Assam. I had known him in Calcutta, when he was Chief Secretary of the Government of Bengal. Sir Henry, though a member of the Indian Civil Service, and, therefore a "bureaucrat," was, however, a very genial man. As soon as I arrived at Shillong I wrote to him announcing the fact saying that I did not want in view of our old acquaintance that he should learn of my presence in his capital from the public notices of my lectures. Sir Henry immediately replied that he would be glad to see me at the

Government House the same afternoon at 3. My visit to the Chief Commissioner disturbed the dovecotes of his official entourage. His Private Secretary turning up at the Government House when the Chief was closetted with me commenced to run up and down the verandah wondering who this native was who had been received by his chief without his knowledge.

On Wednesday, the 21st of September, I left for Bombay by the B. N. R. to sail by the mail boat S. S. *Egypt* on the following Saturday, the 24th. Next day arriving at Nagpur I found myself impelled to send a wire to Pandit Bijoy Krishna Goswami, who was then living at Puri. I felt sorry that I had not asked his blessings on this enterprise of mine. Having sent the wire I forgot all about it. On going into my cabin, when the steamer was already on the high seas, I saw a telegram on my wash-stand. The sight of it frightened me, because I thought that this telegram must have been from my home and perhaps it called me back for some serious illness in my family. With trembling fingers I tore open the cover and found it was a telegram from Pandit Bijoy Krishna Goswami, who in reply to my wire from Nagpur wrote : "God bless you." He passed away when I was in England. On my return, however, I learnt that when my telegram was taken to him he sat for a while in *dhyana* or devotional abstraction, and then dictated the terms of the reply to me. My telegram, however, caused some little flutter among his close disciples, and they commenced to talk about my visit to England. Bijoy Krishna asked what was it that was troubling them. They said, how would it be possible for me to observe the regulations regarding food and drink of the disciplines of his *sadhan.* Bijoy Krishna replied, "Bepin Babu has been freed from those restrictions." This showed how my *Guru* looked upon the disciplines of his *sadhan* as mere externals and they were not absolutely binding upon every one regardless of his mental state and outer conditions of life.

Leaving the boat at Marseilles I travelled overland and crossed the English Channel from Calais to Dover. Mr. Harinath Dey sailed by the same boat with me from Bombay and we both travelled by the same train from Marseilles to London. He was then studying at Oxford and was returning to his University after spending the summer vacation with his people in Raipur. We travelled second class and the second saloon was crowded by Anglo-Indians, mostly assistants in the mercantile offices in Calcutta and Bombay. During the first part of our journey from Bombay to Suez these Anglo-Indians held themselves aloof from us, but after we entered the Suez Canal they commenced to thaw until by the time we crossed the Mediterranean and arrived at Marseilles this caste feeling completely disappeared. This led me to give a new name to the Mediterranean; I described it as the waters of Lethe. Englishmen and Europeans coming out to India forgot the native suavity of their character as soon as they entered the Suez Canal and found themselves in Asiatic waters. Similarly Anglo-Indians, as soon as they crossed the Suez Canal and entered the Mediterranean, all their caste pride dropped from them as the yellow leaves in autumn.

Landing at Marseilles, travelling through France I was struck by the difference between our rural areas and those of Europe. The hand of man was in everything that I saw; there was no rank vegetation, but the whole land by the railway was carefully cultivated. Even the pumpkins, of which we take absolutely no care, seemed to have been lovingly tended so that every side of the fruit could have the rays of the sun beating on it and painting it with its red colour. The whole country-side was a thing of beauty created by man. Arriving at Paris the next morning I could not manage to have time for breakfast at the railway station, but going to my train I bought a pear the like of which I had never seen or tasted before. I paid 10 francs for it and it was sufficient breakfast for me. Another experience of my travel from Marseilles to Calais was the absolute want of drinking water. There was a jet of water coming from a tap in the lavatory of the railway carriage, but it was not drinking water. Frenchmen, I discovered, do not drink water. Bottles of light wine could be found in all the buffets or roadside refreshment rooms. This was the only drink available on the train, but I had never in all my life tasted wine. I could not follow the custom of the country. All that I did to quench my thirst was to suck oranges and grapes. But these did not satisfy my native thirst for water, and I passed a rather painful time until I crossed the Channel and found myself on English soil.

It was already dark—in October the lighting up in London is generally between 3 and 4—when I got down from the train at Charing Cross. I had been advised by the Secretary of the Unitarian Association that if I arrived in London on any week-day, some one from his office would meet me. If it was a Sunday I was asked to take a cab and drive to Anderton's Hotel on the Strand. A room had been secured for me there, and I would get everything that

I wanted. Anderton's was a decent, though not very costly place. No such feeling stirred within me when I first saw "the lights of London" as I had read of in English books describing the first visit of people from the provinces to their chief city. The next morning, however, I had a new experience. I was an early riser, but early in England is not what we call early here. I woke up a little after six, and feeling very cold I wanted the fire in my room to be lighted, and I rang for the maid in charge of my room. I rang and rang and rang, almost interminably for some time. But nobody answered my bell. This somewhat put me out. I took it as deliberate inattention, and asked myself if it was due to my colour. At about 8 o'clock the maid came to my room, and I asked her how was it that though I had been ringing my bell for more than an hour, nobody attended to it. She said, the servants were not up before half past seven. This was my first experience of the way of servants in English hotels and homes.

Besides the officials of the Unitarian Association, I had two old English friends in London, whose acquaintance I had made in India. One was Mr. W. S. Caine, the well-known temperance worker and Liberal politician: the other was his Secretary, Mr. Grubb. Mr. Grubb was sent by Mr. Caine to my hotel, asked to render such help as I might require in the matter of sight-seeing and shopping. Mr. Caine, I think, was not in London at that time. I stayed in London for two or three days before going to Oxford.

The Manchester College was not at that time a residential college. Students had to live outside in licensed apartments or boarding houses. Babu Pramatha Lal Sen, who had just finished his course in the Manchester College, recommended me tô his landlady, Mrs. Campbell. Her husband was a tailor, and they added to their income by taking in one or two students of the University. Mrs. Campbell was a very decent woman, reasonable in her charges, and not at all of the type of English landladies. The Principal of the College was the Rev. Dr. Drummond. Dr. Drummond's was a very quiet personality. He was really a scholarly divine, regarded even in University circles in Oxford as an authority in New Testament theology. He represented the old and orthodox school of Unitarianism. He did not, of course, believe in the dogma of Incarnation. To him Christ was not God, but he was the most perfect man; none superior to him, neither among the ancients nor among the moderns. The character of Christ made Christianity the best, the highest and the most spiritual of existing world-religions. His reverence for Christ lent to Dr. Drummond's Unitarianism a somewhat narrow outlook, but at the same time it contributed to his character and personality a depth and spirituality which was not found in the vast majority of the members of his denomination. There was, no doubt, a tinge of mediævalism in Dr. Drummond, but while it deepened his faith it did not detract from his loyalty to the fundamentals of his denomination and church. Dr. Drummond was a man of very few words and it stood somewhat in the way of his popularity with his students.

Dr. Estling Carpenter, the Vice-Principal, was a very different type of man, far more modern in his mind and outlook than the Principal. Dr. Carpenter was a nephew of Miss Carpenter, who had come to India, I think more than once, as Secretary of the National Indian Association, London, which was established for the promotion of social reform, particularly female education, among Indians and the liberation of Indian women from the thraldom of caste and customs. Raja Rammohun Roy, during his visit to Bristol, became very friendly with the Carpenters, and Miss Carpenter had written a book on *The Last Days of Raja Rammohun Roy,* which was in the early seventies of the last century practically the only available record of the Raja's life and mission. Dr. Carpenter was Professor of Old Testament history and religion and Comparative Theology. His interests were, however, not confined to these studies. He was a somewhat powerful speaker, and had high literary tastes and talents. He loved to freely mix with his students and invited them to his house every now and then on Sunday afternoons, where they had tea and literary discussions. The Professor of Philosophy was Dr. Upton. I think he was the oldest of the professors in the Manchester New College when I went there. Dr. Upton also was a very genial person, simple and unostentatious like our Pandits of the old school. Dr. Upton lived outside Oxford in the old house which had been the residence of Cardinal Newman at one time. It was a very old house and I could never enter it without the memories of that learned and saintly person crowding into my mind, particularly his immortal hymn, "Lead Kindly Light, Lead Thou me on," with all the well-known associations that had inspired it. Like Dr. Carpenter, Dr. Upton also used to invite the students of the Manchester College singly to his home. He loved to have quiet discussions with them on matters pertaining to the special subject of his lectures. I

did not, however, attend his lectures. After his friendly talk with me he himself told me that there was no need for me to attend his lectures. Dr. Upton was, I think, a fellow student of our friend, Dr. Prasanna Kumar Roy. Both of them had read their philosophy under Dr. Martineau. One experience of my life in Oxford has always come to my mind whenever I have thought of Dr. Upton. Dr. Upton had a retired English Civilian as his neighbour. He shall be nameless in this record. He had been a District Judge near Calcutta. When I went to Oxford some of my missionary friends in Calcutta who had known me as a temperance worker wrote to their friends in London and Oxford about me. This gentleman also received one of these letters. One day he came to see me in my lodgings, I was not then in. On my return I found my landlady in very high spirits because a baronet had called on me and had left his card for me. She particularly asked me to pay a return visit to him. Before doing so I wrote, however, acknowledging his kindly call, and telling him that when next I went to his village I would drop in. This I did one Saturday afternoon. I spent, I think, about three hours with him. He evidently loved to talk of his old friends in Bengal. His wife and children had gone out at that time. When they returned after 4, and he had to go to them to take his tea, he thanked me for my visit and asked me where I was going. I told him that I would look up Dr. Upton before going to my lodgings. At this he seemed to be greatly relieved and remarked, "Will Dr. Upton give you a cup of tea?" I said, "Certainly. He never allows me to go back from his house without it." That was my first and last visit to this British bureaucrat from India.

I was in Manchester College only for a year or more correctly, only for one session from October, 1898 to June, 1899. During this time I spent most of my week-ends preaching from different Unitarian pulpits. The Rev. Mr. Travers, who was Minister in charge of the Unitarian chapel in Carlisle, was at that time a student in the Manchester New College, taking a course of philosophy and theology with a view to better equip himself for his work. During the Christmas recess of 1898 he invited me to his pulpit. Report of my service and sermons was published in the official organ of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, and this created a great opening for my preaching and lecturing in the Unitarian centres all over England and Scotland. I was paid a guinea and sometimes also my actual train fare from and to Oxford in addition to this fee. Though this financial help was not negligible, considering that I had to provide for my family in Calcutta by my contributions to the press in India and my earnings in England, the extensive and intimate knowledge of the British Isles and the middle classes of English society which I had through my preachings of the Unitarian pulpits, was exceedingly valuable. I discovered during my English visit that we can never really know and understand any people by reading their literature or stories of their life. I had a fair acquaintance with English novels, but I could not visualise the scenes and characters of these works before I had been brought into direct contact with English life. The picture had, of course, its light and shade. There was both good and evil in English life and society as there is in our own, but while I was not blind to the dark side of English civilization neither could I honestly ignore the bright side of it.

The very first thing that impressed me at Oxford was the lower level of the education and culture of the general run of under-graduates and graduates of that famous British University. I felt that if we took at random a dozen students from Oxford and a similar number from our University for instance, in Calcutta, (of the old days with which I was familiar), the latter would not at all suffer in comparison with the former, particularly so far as their general knowledge went. For one thing, I found out that we in Calcutta knew the English poets more intimately than did the ordinary Oxford student. But take these two sets up again after 10 years, and we shall find a very wide difference between them, the English graduates standing intellectually head over shoulders above the Indian. The reason of it is the difference in the surroundings of the two sets in their after-life. This fact made a very deep impression upon me, lending a new strength and inspiration to my life-long loyalities to social reform and political freedom.

Mr. W. S. Caine also procured many public engagements for me during my stay in Oxford, in connection with the propaganda of the British Temperance Association. I had first met Mr. Caine in Calcutta during the Congress in 1891 at a temperance demonstration in Wellington Square, where I was invited to speak. Mr. Caine had started a special association for the promotion of temperance in India, the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association. Mr. Caine next met me at the house of my old friend, Babu Sashipada Banerjee, in Baranagore. Sashipada Babu had got up a small function in the Baranagore Workingman's Institute, which

was housed in a special hall built by Sashipada Babu in the compound of his dwelling house. After the public meeting we had tea with Mr. and Mrs. Banerjee. I remember it particularly because of Mr. Caine's great liking for our *sandesh,* which he took liberally. It was here that Mr. Caine invited me to work for his Association in Bengal as a paid worker. I refused his kindly offer telling him that the moment I accepted any payment for my work the moral appeal of it would be lost, and my people would class me with the paid agents or lecturers of the Christian missions in the country. We had known one of these gentlemen, who used to ask us whenever we met, how was our soul. A few years later one of my friends met him, but he no longer enquired after his soul. My friend asked how was it that he did not repeat his old enquiry. He replied; "Don't you know I have resigned from that work." I could not afford, I told Mr. Caine, to be identified with the paid workers of our Christian missions. I had my mission work to do in connection with the Brahmo Samaj movement. The moment I accepted any salary from him, I would lower myself in the estimation of my people. But I agreed to make temperance as a part of my Brahmo mission work. Later on, I suggested that as I had to depend for my itinerary upon invitations from the mufassil Brahmo Samajes, who paid all my travelling expenses, I could do temperance work even when no such invitations came if his Association agreed to pay my actual travelling expenses. Mr. Caine agreed to do so, and offered to make a fixed monthly contribution towards my travelling expenses in the mufassil. Of course, it was clearly understood that my temperance propaganda would be a part of my general Brahmo propaganda. Mr. Caine had taken so kindly to me that he once wrote in the *Abkari,* the official organ of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, London, that he would like some day to invite me to England for a lecture tour in the British Isles under the auspices of the British Temperance Associations. When, however, I went of myself to England, he offered to utilise me during the recess in my college for temperance work. During Christmas 1898 and Easter 1899 I went about with Mr. Caine to various temperance gatherings in England, Wales, and Scotland. Mr. Caine not only paid my travelling and hotel expenses but also a decent fee for every meeting that I attended. He paid these out of his own pocket, but he had a way of his own in these matters. Wherever he went for temperance work, he charged his expenses to the local organisation; but while presenting his bill he also paid a cheque covering the amount of it to the treasury of the organisation concerned. He did the same thing in my case also. I asked him why did he do this. The reply was characteristic not only of Mr. Caine personally but of the business habit of the race to which he belonged. He said, "If I don't charge anything for my services they are not recorded, and my contributions towards the expenses of the organisation are not acknowledged; but here my cheque goes into the account of the organisation, and is recorded and acknowledged."

I have referred already to my first visit to Carlisle. Here I was the guest of one of the leading members of Mr. Travers' congregation, Mr. Marchent. Mr. and Mrs. Marchent's was one of the most valuable friendships that I made during my first English visit. Mr. Marchent came, I think, of French stock. He was employed, if I remember aright, in the local bank. Mrs. Marchent was a highly spiritual-minded lady. She had theosophical tendencies, and was something of a mystic. The mystic element of the theism of the Brahmo Samaj naturally appealed to her, and this was the principal bond of our friendship.

Another Unitarian congregation to which I was invited off and on because of the prolonged illness of its Minister was that of New Castle on the Tyne. It was a much bigger congregation than that of Carlisle. Here also I made intimate friends in Mr. Coysh and his family. Mr. Coysh was a leading member of the New Castle Unitarian church; and whenever I was invited to preach there Mr. and Mrs. Coysh offered me hospitality. Their home became almost like a home to me. Mr. Coysh had a young daughter, about the age of my eldest daughter, whom I had left at home and this added to the affection which I felt for this family. Mr. Coysh was almost like a brother to me, and when in the summer of 1899 my college was dismissed and I had a number of engagements in the North, in Carlisle and Kendal in the Lake District, and other neighbouring places, Mr. and Mrs. Coysh asked me instead of running to and fro between London and these places to make their home my permanent quarters until I had finished all my engagements in the neighbouring districts.

The annual meeting of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association was held at the beginning of the summer recess in our college. This is the annual festival of the British Unitarians, something like the Maghotsava or the anniversary of our own Brahmo Samaj. There were various functions during this week

in London; one of these was a public dinner in Essex Hall. It was at this dinner that I first saw Sir Rufus Issac, who was pointed out to me as a prominent member of the English Bar, and a supporter of the Unitarian movement. He subsequently rose to be the Lord Chief Justice of England and came out later on as Lord Reading as the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. Of course I had no part in the functions of this anniversary; as a mere student I could possibly have none. If I had gone to England as a representative of the Brahmo Samaj in India it might have been different, as I found next year, when I crossed over to the States. But as a student in the Manchester New College I could not expect to be treated as a spokesman of the Brahmo Samaj. Not that I did not feel it, but I had no right to do so. In fact, it is doubtful whether in accepting the generous help of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association towards the preparation of our men for the Brahmo Ministry, the Brahmo Samaj has not sacrificed somewhat of its legitimate self-respect. Of course, I know that we have many things to learn from our British friends of the Liberal religious group, but we ought not to forget that we have as much, if not more, to give out of the spiritual treasures of our race and culture to the advanced religious thought of the other nations of the world. In accepting the generous offer of the Unitarian Association of pecuniary help to our work we have, whether consciously or unconsciously, very seriously hurt, I felt, our right to help them also in the realisation of the ideal of the Modern Liberal Religion. This fact was very strongly brought home to me during the anniversary week of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association.

There are two Unitarian congregations in Birmingham, and I was invited to one of these many times; because at that time it had no regular minister. This chapel was, I think, a workingman's chapel. The other chapel belonged to the wealthier and more aristocratic section of the community. I was invited to this latter congregation, I think, only once. I became very friendly with the family of one of the officers of the former congregation, modest, homely, comparatively poor people. I say comparatively, because they would not be really counted as poor in our society. Theirs was a small but fairly well-appointed house with a back flower-garden; the windows in front were adorned with flower-pots, and the sitting or reception room had a piano. The master of the house was an engine-driver. This was my first experience of the home of a British working man and it made a profound impression upon me by the general culture and refinement of the comparatively better-off sections of the British working classes, bringing it home to me that the British workingman lives not by bread alone. One incident in connection with my visits to this Unitarian congregation in Birmingham may be recorded. I was presiding over the Harvest Festival of this congregation one Sunday morning. The church was decorated with greens and flowers. Sheaves of ripe wheat and barley and fresh vegetables and the fruits of the season were heaped upon a table. The congregation also, particularly young boys and girls, came in their gala dress. The whole scene presented a mass of colours. It was really a gay and festive gathering. I took the service and preached the sermon, the subject of which I do not remember. A local pressman had been, I understood afterwards, going about the Birmingham churches, and giving his impressions through a local paper. His impressions of my service was somewhat singular. One phrase of his has stuck to my memory throughout all these years. After giving a brief summary of my sermon, he said: "When the Minister had finished his subject, he sat down like a gentleman without a word of peroration."

As I have said, I was invited once to the pulpit of the other Unitarian chapel in Birmingham situate in the aristocratic quarter of the town. The morning service was rather poorly attended. I had never found such a poor audience in any chapel where I had been advertised to preach. The audience was poor, and the whole service was uninspiring. On my return from the chapel my host consoled me with the remark that the attendance was poor, but I had "quality" in the morning, and he assured me that I would have quantity in the evening. This remark revealed the mentality of the higher classes of even British Unitarians. Their liberal religious creed notwithstanding they had not been able I felt to escape the general attitude of the wealthier classes of their society towards the poorer classes. These experiences brought home to me the very wide difference in regard to the attitude towards man as man between India and England. The humanity of the British people is skin-deep. They have no castes, it is true. But the class feeling among them is really even worse, from the humanitarian point of view, than our caste feelings. In fact, until recently we had really no caste feeling. Caste did not or could not destroy the inherent ideals of Humanity or man as man of our ancient culture. People accepted the distinctions of caste without question or

criticism, as something that has been ordained by Nature herself, like the physical or physiological distinctions in the vegetable or animal kingdom. There was no sense of superiority in the so-called higher castes nor any sense of degradation or inferiority in the so-called lower castes. This had been my experience in my boyhood and early youth. A new caste consciousness, creating caste conflicts, has however been gradually developed, and this has revolutionised the ethics of the Hindu institution of caste by introducing the European class consciousness and class competition into our caste institutions. It was inevitable. Nor can we say that in the interests of our social evolution towards the highest modern ideal, this new development was not necessary and desirable. But still the unconscious manifestation of class pride in British society repelled me.

This was brought home to me for the first time during my first Christmas in England. There was a Christmas dinner to the poorer classes somewhere either in or near London. It was given by some rich people. It was held in some public hall or chapel. While the poor people and their family sat at tables in the body of the hall, the children and the members of the family of the host and their friends took their place on the gallery looking from above into the poor people's dinner. Such a thing would not be tolerated in our caste-ridden community, in any case, in Bengal. Even the most orthodox Brahmin is taught by his scripture to look upon his guests, whoever they might be, as his god. And in our distant rural areas the poorest of the poor, even among the so-called untouchables, would not stand the kind of treatment which was meted out to his poorer guests by the British wealthy. As I read of the description of this Christmas dinner, I asked myself how did this benevolence affect the youthful mind of the boys and girls of the host. Real democracy can never grow, I said to myself, in an atmosphere of class pride and class consciousness like this. I was even tempted to cry, comparing all this with my experiences of our own institution of caste, "blessed be caste." These experiences threw a new light upon the frank partiality of some of the most cultured British officials in India for our own mediæval social institutions of men, like, for instance, Sir George Birdwood.

TWO CASES OF THE PUNJAB HIGH COURT CONSIDERED

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At present, the great problem of Indian politics is the decisive influence that is exercised in the determination and administration of policy by the members of the Services. Ever since the organisation of the Indian Civil Service or more particularly since the transfer of the Government of India from the Company to the Crown, the Government of India has been in truth a bureaucracy.

That description of Indian government has been repeatedly controverted[1] by the representatives of the Services themselves. They are heard to say that the Services in India are no more than trained agencies for the administration of the country. Since the country is still in a disorganised and unformed condition, their task is perhaps a little more onerous and, therefore, necessarily more comprehensive in its character than the task of administrative services, for instance, in England; but the Services in India do in no sense form or work the government as a bureaucracy would normally be expected to do. Doubtless, some of the members of the permanent Services have risen to positions, where they have a lot of share in formulating the policy, but these people are there in their personal capacity, and therefore their existence cannot justify the description of the Indian government as a bureaucracy at all. How far this argument is justified is the purpose of this paper to investigate.

Bureaucracy has been defined as a system of government, in which governmental authority is concentrated in the hands of a body of

1. L. S. S. O'Malley: *Indian Civil Service*, 1931, Page 158. "To speak of Indian Civil Servants as 'sun-dried bureaucrats' is a common cliche of Indian politicians and journalists, who frequently also refer to the whole system of government as bureaucracy. The term is sometimes used to create prejudice or enlist English sympathy, in the belief that officialdom and bureaucracy are synonymous . . . The Indian Civilian himself has no objection to being called a bureaucrat . . . He knows that in its true sense of a body of trained administrators, bureaucracy is necessary for the conduct of administration in every modern state."

officials. Its essential elements are three: (1) that the formulation of policy is dependant ultimately upon the bureaux or departments, (2) that the execution of policy is entrusted to the same class of officials as are responsible for its formulation, and (3) that pervading the whole horizon of government there is an attitude of mind, which is exceedingly autocratic, irresponsible and formal, an attitude of mind which, in short, may be called bureaucratic. In the Indian government, as it has been conducted during the last century, all these three elements have been noticeable with a marked degree of force. Particularly the bureaucratic mind has penetrated so deeply in the administration of the country that even though the new Government of India Act, of the year 1935, has, at least to a certain extent, made the formulation of policy dependent upon the will of a popular ministry, yet it seems to be a matter of some time before the Indian government will get really de-bureaucratised.

Looking first to the question of the formulation of policy, before 1909, when the Executive Councils, both of the Governor-General as well as the Provincial Governors, were closed to Indian public men altogether, they would naturally be monopolised by the members of the Indian permanent services. Sometimes, indeed, certain Englishmen, mostly lawyers and finance experts, were brought from England to help the government of the country; but they were almost always technicians, and devoted themselves, more or less completely, to their own departments. They concerned themselves rather less with the general policy of the government, but even when they did, they were either guided by the opinions of the Service officials, or they found their policies defeated or badly worked out. As an instance one has just to recall to mind the infamous Ilbert Bill controversy. But even after 1909, although the membership of the Executive Councils was theoretically opened to Indian public men, yet the presence of the Service men in them has still been very predominant. The figures are rather interesting. Eliminating as out of our consideration a large number of temporary appointments, which have practically always been filled by the secretaries of the departments, universally members of the Indian Civil Service, out of the permanent appointments to the Viceroy's Executive Council, the members of the Services have claimed at least 50 per cent. The number of Indian public men, who have held permanent appointments, is only 11, that is 20 to 25 per cent of the total number, and perhaps one would be justified in saying that no one of them has been in charge of any of the 'key' departments. The Home Department, for instance, has all along been a preserve of the Civil Service. One might also mention that at least two, out of these eleven Indian public men, have had to resign their office, for some unexplained reason or other, before the termination of their term.

But beside the regular appointment of so many Service men to the membership of the Executive Council, the Services have had another venue of influence in the determination of policy. Although by the Government of India Act, 1919, the secretaries of the various departments were made definitely subordinate to the members in charge of these departments, who were supposed to be working like a cabinet under the leadership of the Governor-General or the Governor, as the case might be, yet the right of private personal advice by the secretary to the head of the government, as distinct from the head of the department, was retained as of old. The result, therefore, was that the Secretary, as a matter of course, gave his advice to the Governor-General or the Governor over the head of the member in charge of his department, and as in this supposed cabinet the Governor-General or the Governor was the real arbiter of policy, the secretary's point of view must presumably have had decisive influence in the determination of policy in many cases, to the exclusion of the member's point of view.

Surely, in the face of these facts, it cannot but be admitted that the Services in India have had a very real influence in the formulation and determination of policy.

But not only have the Services formulated the policy, they have also been charged with the carrying it out into practice. As administrative agencies, the Services in India have had a much larger and more comprehensive scope of functions than any administrative agencies anywhere else in the world, with perhaps the possible exception of France. Even in France, however, the spirit in which those functions are exercised is different from that of the administrative officers in India. The French prefect, who is the nearest analogy to the Indian district officer, is appointed and is therefore dismissible by the popularly controlled government, and therefore, however large his powers, in the exercise of them he is necessarily guided by a spirit of moderation and by a sense of public duty and public opinion. But there are no such restraints on the action of the Indian administrators. The Indian Civil Servant is recruited by the Secretary of State, on the basis

of a certain well-defined contract, and although in theory he is dismissible by him, in practice he is really undismissible. The responsibility of the Indian Civil Servant to the popularly constituted Indian Government is extremely meagre and even non-existant. The Secretary of State, to whom the Indian Civil Service is technically responsible, has no responsibility at all to the Indian public; he is subject only to the control of the British Parliament. In other words, this means that the administrative services of India are controlled by and are, therefore, the agents of, from the Indian point of view, an irresponsible foreign authority. No wonder then that the attitude of the Indian administrators is autocratic and irresponsible.

The Indian administrative services carry on not only the administrative and executive functions of government, which in India means the all-sided rule of a piece of territory rather than the administration of any particular subject or matter, but some of their members also hold judicial posts. At least one-third of the judges of all Indian High Courts are members of the Indian Civil Service; a large majority of the District and Sessions Judges are also Civil Servants, who have at one time or other been concerned with the administrative functions of government; and below them there is a whole class of district and subordinate magistrates, who combines criminal judicial functions along with their ordinary administrative and executive duties. This confusion of executive and judicial functions often results in a deplorable miscarriage of justice. For this, there are two reasons. Since the Indian Civil Service is recruited on a very general course of qualifications, which does not require any technical knowledge of laws at all, and since those officers who ultimately are given judicial charge are not necessarily required to pass through a course of careful judicial training, therefore they often fail to develop what is called a judicial mind. But more than this, miscarriage of justice springs from that irresponsible attitude, which the members of the administrative services often tend to exhibit. As a class, the Indian bureaucrats consider themselves above the law, and therefore are often guilty of the inclination to act upon their preconceived conclusions, whatever the law may warrant.

That this attitude of the Indian Services is quite real will be clear from an examination of two cases that came for decision before the Panjab High Court quite recently. Both these cases are reported in the *Indian Law Reports, Lahore series,* one in volume XII of the year 1931, and the other in volume XV of the year 1934. The cases are eminently important, because they show the bureaucratic attitude of mind in action.

The first case arose out of certain incidents in the Lahore Conspiracy Case, which was being tried by a special court of three Commissioners. A few of the accused in this case had turned approvers; but as approvers they were detained 'in the Lahore Fort, in the custody of the Superintendent of Police, C.I.D'. To this objection was taken by the rest of the accused, who thereupon filed an application to the Commissioners that, as a matter of law, the approvers should be kept in judicial lock-up rather than in police custody. The Commissioners justified the action of the government on the ground of 'balance of convenience.'[2] A revisional appeal was accordingly made to the High Court, which decided,[3] on the 18th of April, 1931, that the law on the subject did not permit of the construction that had been put on it by the Commissioners, and that approvers in criminal cases must always be kept in judicial custody and in no case in police custody. The judgment of the High Court was duly communicated to the Commissioners, who issued orders for the transfer of the approvers to jail immediately.

But it seems that the Government did not comply with the directions of the High Court issued to them through the Commissioners; for after some time the accused made another application 'asking the High Court to enforce obedience to its directions, as the Commissioners had expressed their helplessness in the matter.' Before the Commissioners, the attitude of the Public Prosecutor, who was conducting the case on behalf of the Government, was very 'curious.' On receiving the application of the accused that the approvers were still in police custody, the Commissioners asked the Public Prosecutor to explain to them as to where the approvers were. In reply, the Public Prosecutor asked for an adjournment of the case for four days 'in order to give him time to obtain instructions' from his client, the Government. The adjournment was accordingly granted, but when the court of Commissioners met again on the 28th of April, 'instead of supplying the

2. Refer *I. L. R., Lahore series,* Vol. XII, page 607.

3. The appeal was heard, in the first instance, by a Judge sitting alone, Justice Bhide, who, in view of the importance of the question involved, made an order on 18th March, 1931, referring the case to a Division Bench for decision. The Judges of the Division Bench, Justices Bhide and Tapp, delivered a concurrent judgment on the 18th April, 1931. *See* pages 604-622, *I. L. R.. Lahore series,* Vol. XII.

information relating to the custody of the approvers, as he was expected to do,' the Public Prosecutor made a curiously irresponsible statement that 'he had no information and was not therefore in a position either to admit or to deny the allegations of fact contained' in the accused's application. The Commissioners, who must have been provoked at the insolence of the reply, however, contented themselves with just expressing their inability to resolve the question as to the custody of the accused, in these circumstances.

As a result, the High Court was moved by the accused. In the High Court, the Government Pleader stated that,

"He had been instructed by the Local Government to say that he had no information to give to the Court, and that the Crown Counsel was not concerned with the affairs of the Jail department."

As the judgment of the High Court pointed out:

"This was obviously an untenable position to adopt, because the learned Counsel was appearing before the Court neither in his personal capacity nor on behalf of a private person, whose sources of information are limited, but represented the Local Government, to whom the Jail department as well as its officers were subordinate, and could supply, and must have supplied, all the necessary information."

This attitude, unfortunate as it is, reveals the true nature and character of the spirit, in which the Services work the administration of India today.

Fortunately, however, for the Government, the conflict was not pushed further. Better counsels prevailed in the Government, and soon after, realising that the High Court might, in the circumstances as they had been allowed to develop, 'be constrained to take all legitimate steps to enforce obedience to its orders,' the Local Government hastened to submit an apology to the High Court through the Government Pleader, in which they supplied full information relative to the custody of the approvers and also expressed regret for their attitude.

The Government, hovever, and this further shows the unreasonable length to which the Indian administrators can go in the attempt to maintain their sense of false prestige, did not rest satisfied with this. On the same day as the High Court issued its judgment, the Government managed to get an application filed in the High Court on behalf of one of the approvers praying that

"the order passed by the High Court in his absence and without his knowledge may be set aside, and that he be remitted to the police custody in which he was previously detained."

It is a little amusing to note that this application was made on behalf of the approver by the Government Pleader himself. As the counsel for the accused contested, the procedure adopted was really unusual

"that the leading Counsel for the Local Government should come forward to condemn as illegal the custody which has been pronounced by the High Court to be perfectly legal, and should ask for a writ of habeas corpus on behalf of a private person against a Jail Officer, who is subordinate to that Govenment."

The application was of course rejected by the High Court. But this case is very important, for it shows:

(1) That the bureaucracy in India is prepared to adopt a quite irresponsible attitude, even where its position is legally untenable. This preparedness proceeds from a misguided sense of self-importance, that makes it look upon its action as infallible and final, free altogether from the necessity of having to defend or answer for them to anybody.

(2) That there is a curious lack of practical wisdom in the Indian bureaucracy, coupled with a tenacity of effort, somehow to keep up its face and sense of dignity, even by the adoption of obviously ridiculous and indefensible methods.

While this case reveals the attitude of Indian bureaucracy collectively, the second case exhibits it in the case of a particular individual. This second case came to the High Court in the form of an appeal from the judgment of a District Magistrate, and reveals some of the most irregular and high-handed acts that the Indian bureaucrat is capable of in the administration of his charge. In another way also are the circumstances of this second case of peculiar interest, for it shows that the irregularities and the high-handedness of the Indian administrator may often proceed, not from the necessity of having to administer an inconvenient and unpopular policy alone, as in the first case, but simply from a, however unreasonable, personal prejudice that an individual officer may conceive against a citizen.

The incidents leading up to the case took place in 1918, seven years before the case was actually instituted. The accused, a Zaildar, had accompanied the Tahsildar on the latter's visit to a certain village in the Shahpur district. The villagers, who were for some reason or other dissatisfied with the Tahsildar, attacked him with bludgeons and hatchets, so that the Tahsildar was fatally wounded. The accused also got hurt. On this there was a stampede; the whole village was deserted. However, the Magistrate, who came to investigate the riot, took the statements of the few people that could be found. Among them was the state-

ment of the accused, who said that he could recognise three of the assailants.

Seven years later, these assailants were caught, and now

"the question of their guilt depended upon their identification by the persons who claimed to be eye-witnesses of the assault."

The accused was called in as one of the witnesses to identify. He failed to do so, and made a statement, which conflicted with his earlier statement of seven years ago. This statement was alleged to be false, and the accused was prosecuted and convicted, by the District Magistrate, of perjury and awarded the highest possible punishment for the offence, seven years' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 5,000.

Actually, as the judgment of the High Court pointed out in the appeal instituted against the District Magistrate's orders:

"The evidence on record did not warrant the conclusion that the deposition made by the accused was false, much less intentionally false."

In the handling of the case, the District Magistrate showed not only an utter lack of the knowledge of law on the subject but a deplorable tendency to hasten to the conclusions that he seemed even already to have made his mind about, and

"in the conduct of the trial, the District Magistrate did not maintain that freedom from bias which was incumbent upon him, and committed some characteristically unjudicial acts."

For instance:

1. "After framing the charge against the accused, the District Magistrate declined to summon all the witnesses cited on his behalf and took upon himself the duty of arbitrarily selecting only a few witnesses who were to be summoned to give evidence for the defence."

2. The venue of the hearing of the case was fixed at a place, which was 'unconnected by rail or by any other vehicular traffic with the rest of the district.' The accused requested for changing the place of hearing, but finding his request of no avail, made an affidavit to the High Court. The High Court, thereupon, issued an order 'directing the Magistrate to give every reasonable facility to the accused to produce his defence evidence, and to hold the trial of the case either at the headquarters of the district or at a place which is either a railway station or easily accessible from a railway station;' but even in the face of this order of the High Court, the Magistrate persisted in holding the trial at the same place; and, funnily enough, this was the last hearing of evidence in the case.

3. "The climax was reached on the last hearing when the District Magistrate came to the Court room, called the case, and then went inside his retiring room, where he remained closeted with the Court Inspector and Sub-Inspector, who had been investigating the case, for about an hour and a half. The Extra Assistant Commissioner of Gujrat, who was the witness to be examined on that date, was also summoned to the retiring room, and some sort of consultation held with him."

4. Lastly, "the learned Magistrate went so far as to call the accused and his counsel in the middle of the night, and pronounced judgment at 1 A.M., inflicting upon the convict the maximum term of imprisonment permissible under law. He was then taken into custody, and had to remain in jail before he was admitted by the appellate Court to bail."

All through the course of the trial, the accused kept on complaining against 'this improper procedure of the Magistrate,' and at one stage made an affidavit in the High Court that the prosecution against him had been instituted, in fact, at the instance of the District Magistrate himself. The High Court forwarded a copy of the affidavit to the District Magistrate in order to enable him to submit his explanation; but

"instead of submitting to the High Court his explanation, stating in clear and unequivocal terms whether he admitted or denied the correctness of the allegation, the learned Magistrate sought the intervention of the Commissioner."

In his letter to the Commissioner, he urged that (1) the observations which he had to make were 'largely of an official and confidential nature,' and could not properly be sent to the High Court, in view of sections 123, 124, and 125 of the Evidence Act, without previous reference to the Commissioner, and (2) the consultations between a magistrate and the police, with regard to the conduct of a case, are confidential, and therefore no magistrate should be forced to disclose before any Court the details or results of his consultations.

It need hardly be emphasised that by making this plea the Magistrate put himself in a throughly false position, and simply exhibited the true nature of his bureaucratic mind. The plea was rightly criticised by the High Court in its judgment, in terms that, in their boldness and strength, are perhaps unequalled in the annals of Indian judiciary. Says the judgment:

"Now I fail to understand how the District Magistrate expected the Commissioner or the Government to interfere in a matter which dealt primarily with the question whether the Magistrate had taken such interest in initiating the criminal proceedings as to disqualify him from adjudicating upon the guilt or otherwise of the accused. It is obvious that the Magistrate was labouring under a misconception of his duty which he, as a subordinate judicial officer, owed to the High Court . . . I cannot too strongly deprecate the attempt of the Magistrate to invoke the aid of the executive officers in trying to evade the duty of submitting to this Court his explanation in respect of the allegations made by an accused person against him. Nor do I see how sections 123, 124 and 125 of the Indian Evidence Act have any bearing upon the question. Section 123 prohibits a witness from giving evidence, derived from unpublished official records relating to any affair of state, without the permission of the head of the department concerned: section 124 forbids the Court to compel a public officer to disclose communications made to him in official confidence, when

he considers that public interests would suffer by the disclosure. Similarly section 125 does not allow the Court to compel a Magistrate or a police officer to say whence he got any information as to the commission of an offence. It appears that the sections were quoted by the Magistrate in a haphazard manner without taking the trouble of understanding their meaning, and it is clear that none of them could be invoked for the purpose of avoiding to answer the simple question as to whether he had given instructions to the Public Prosecutor to take steps to prosecute the appellant for perjury. It is futile to suggest that there was in this case any privileged communication received by the Magistrate which he could not disclose."

Again, with reference to the fact of his holding a private conference, says the judgment :

'The Magistrate does not deny the allegation, but seeks to justify his conduct. It is a matter for surprise that a judicial officer occupying the position of a District Magistrate does not see the impropriety of holding private conferences with the prosecuting officers in respect of a criminal case upon which he has to adjudicate. This practice. followed by him, offends against the elementary principle governing the administration of criminal justice, and the learned counsel for the Crown had no alternative but to admit that it was indefensible.'

The judgment ends by remarking that

'It is incontrovertible that one of the most important duties of a Court of Law is to create and maintain confidence in the administration of justice and to conduct itself in such a manner as to produce in the minds of the parties an impression that nothing but absolute justice would be done to them. The proceedings taken by the Magistrate show that he did not hear the case with that judicial detachment which should characterise the trial of a criminal case, and that he allowed his executive zeal to outrun his judicial discretion.'

CINEMA IN EDUCATION

By Miss USHA BISWAS, M.A., B.T.

THE cinema plays an important part in the education of both children and adults. The progressive educationists of the day have ceased to believe in abstract and mechanical teaching, which fails to interest children. Today, attempts are therefore being made at every good school to make the class-room lessons as concrete as possible. Such subjects as lend themselves to concrete illustration are made real and vivid to children by means of pictures and models, whenever actual objects cannot be shown. If deep and abiding impressions are to be produced on the minds of children, they must needs be appealed to through more than one sense. Pupils should not only listen to what their teacher is saying, but they should also see with their own eyes the actual things that they are learning about. So an important place must be assigned to pictures and models, which serve to represent actual objects, when the latter are not available. But the difficulty is that pictures and models can seldom give children a very accurate and exact knowledge of the things that are being taught. Three dimensions can hardly be represented in the still, motionless pictures, wanting in the stir and bustle of real life. On the other hand, wrong notions are often formed of the actual sizes of things through models. In this respect, the cinema is a more faithful copy of real life, as not only the three dimensions but the exact sounds and movements of living beings and real objects can also be reproduced on the screen. So motion pictures appear to be much more real and life-like much more impressive and appealing than the inert, motionless pictures and models, which are ordinarily used in the class-room. We all know that children are very fond of variety and activity. They are terribly bored, if they are made to sit still for sometime without any work to do. The rapid succession of scenes in the moving pictures can catch their imagination in a way that stationery objects can never do. The activities and movements of other people on the screen therefore absorb their attention and interest in no time. Pictures also help to visualise the things that children read about and to fix things in their memory. It is very difficult for both children and adults, whose first-hand knowledge of things is only limited, to overcome the tyranny of their familiar surroundings. They are inclined to think in terms of what they have actually seen, and can hardly conceive of anything, not tangible to the senses. Pictures thus provide ample food for their imagination and enable them to recall things to their minds' eye, with the minimum of effort.

INSTRUCTION IN THE VARIOUS SCHOOL SUBJECTS CAN WELL BE IMPARTED THROUGH THE CINEMA

Geography is one of the worst taught subjects at the average school in Bengal.

although attempts are being made, at the present time, to rationalise the mode of teaching as well as the teaching appliances. Pupils are often required to commit certain dry facts to memory. The learning of facts cannot but prove intolerably dull and boring, if it is pursued for its own sake. The mental drill that children are thus subjected to may be of some help to them in securing "logical accuracy" in the matter of information, at the later stage of their education. But, at the earlier stage, accuracy had better be attained by repetition and interest, as otherwise the subject-matter is likely to be rendered exceedingly disagreeable and distasteful. Besides, very few school children can be afforded the opportunity of travelling widely on the face of the earth. So their knowledge of the very world they are inhabiting is bound to remain incomplete, if they are unable to see certain things, for themselves. They fail to grasp and imagine many things, unless those are seen with their own eyes. The stories of great explorers and travellers of the world may well be dramatised and reproduced on the screen, so as to let children have a vivid idea of life in those strange and remote lands. In this way, the flora and fauna of different countries—the physical characteristics of the principal races of mankind—scenes from the stories of interesting peoples in far-off lands, their mode of living, main occupations and the means of livelihood, arts and crafts, manners and customs, sports, pastimes and festivities—the various means of transport in different countries, the present-day activities of the school children in other civilized countries of the world—the chief physical features of the earth and certain important natural phenomena—all these can be filmed and shown to school children. The instruction can thus be made interesting and agreeable. Very often cramming is found to be encouraged in schools, with the result that children's memory is unnecessarily overburdened. The definitions of certain geographical terms, such as mountains, hills, valleys, falls, lakes, capes, islands, deserts, plateaux and the like are learnt by heart, without really understanding what these things are actually like. Neither can every child be expected to have a first-hand knowledge of the things that are taught in the class-room. No amount of drawing or clay-modelling will help to vivify the things as the motion pictures do.

History seems to be a bugbear of childhood, as it is seldom well taught in schools. Ordinarily the subject is treated as a mere catalogue of facts to be memorised by children. It gains immensely in interest, if taught by means of suitable cinema films. Historical plays by standard authors may well be selected and adapted for film purposes. The interesting stories and anecdotes of notable figures in history—the tales of great monarchs and conquerors of the world—the memorable events of history, the great battles fought, the glorious victories won and the crushing defeats sustained—the rise and fall of nations, their pomp and splendour in times of peace and prosperity. their utter ruin and misery in times of wars and bondage, their hard and bitter struggles for freedom, power, and supremacy, the diversity of their manners and customs—arts and crafts, arms and the weapons of war as well as the various modes of fighting, the pageantry of the dresses and costumes in vogue in different countries in different ages, may be presented to children in a panorama of moving pictures. Children's natural love of stories and pictures can thus be appealed to. In this way their historical judgment may be formed from their very childhood, and they may be trained in the sense of right and wrong. The inanity of worldly glory and fame—the senselessness of the cruel, inhuman bloodshed and loss of human life involved in wars—the tragedy and pathos underlying the fates of famous heroes—the grandeur and the nobility of their characters, as well as their human weaknesses—their follies and fateful blunders—their remarkable deeds of cruelty and magnanimity and self-sacrifice—all these can be brought home to children through suitable films.

As the history of the world is still in the making, *current topics* should form an important part of the curriculum in the present-day schools. Education should, by no means, be made entirely synonymous with schooling, divorced from the practical world in which the pupils live, move and have their being. Efforts should be made to broaden their mental horizon and general outlook on life. They should never remain ignorant of what is happening in the different parts of this vast world, they are living in. Their knowledge should not, therefore, be confined merely to the information contained in the few prescribed text books Some of the current news, generally circulated through the newspapers, may be conveyed to children in a much more effective and impressive manner, by means of the cinema, which can thus be made a delightful source of general information. Through this, children can be acquainted with all the modern inventions, as well as the great events that are taking place all over the world, at the present moment.

Many important facts, relating to animal and vegetable life, such as sowing and harvesting, the rotation of crops, the flowers, fruits and vegetables of different seasons, the life-history of the interesting animals of different countries and the like, may be taught on the cinema, which can thus be an invaluable means of teaching nature-study to town-bred children, weaned as they have been from Mother Nature.

A good deal of *health propaganda* can be carried on through the cinema. The importance of the hygienic ways of living and the need of developing certain healthy habits, which make for the well-being of a nation can be impressed on the minds of both the young and the old, through cinema shows.

The cinema can also be the medium of *moral instruction.* In ancient days, the Jatra performances, which were very popular among all sections of people in Bengal, used to serve this purpose. Preaching defeats its end, if the object of the preacher is too evident. Any amount of sermonising will, perhaps, fail to achieve what the cinema can do in the way of fostering and developing certain cardinal virtues. What is seen on the cinema leaves indelible marks on the minds of children and adults. The cinema can thus aim at holding up certain ideals and standards of morality and stimulating thinking on the right lines. In this way the ultimate triumph of truth over falsehood, of virtue over vice, of the good over the evil, the beauty of truth, purity and goodness and the ugliness of sin and vice can be borne in upon the spectators, both young and old. Undesirable social customs and practices may also be denounced and held up to censure and ridicule on the screen. Virtues can thus be inculcated by the right training of people's emotions and sentiments.

The cinema can be a vital agency for *rural reconstruction and adult education.* The ideas as to what should constitute a model village can well be propagated through the pictures. The modern and up-to-date methods of agriculture and horticulture, dairying, poultry-farming, bee-keeping, the care-taking of livestock and the like may be demonstrated in a series of cinema shows, through which valuable suggestions for some important home industries to be pursued may also be circulated among the ignorant masses. The acquisition of knowledge may thus be made delightful and fascinating.

There is no denying the fact that the cinema has a great educative value. The stage and the screen can do incalculable good to the country by promoting the moral and intellectual education of its people. It is a pity that, at the present time, there are very few films, designed to meet the educational needs of children and adults. Very little effort has yet been made to adapt the screen to the needs of school children. It is high time that the educationists as well as the leading film-producers of the world should seriously tackle the problem, with a view to supplying a long-felt want. Such a scheme—if it comes into operation at all—will, no doubt, entail considerable initial expenditure. But this is sure to be amply made up for by the subsequent economy of time and labour to be effected in teaching. If people are thus made to learn things, by the force of their own desires, without any compulsion imposed upon them from outside, the learning is rendered all the easier. In that event they are able to learn with less fatigue, there being no "constant strain of bringing back a bored and reluctant attention." Mr. Bertrand Russell has truly observed :

> "Knowledge which is felt to be boring is of little use, but knowledge which is assimilated eagerly becomes a permanent possession."

So the lessons taught on the cinema are naturally, much easier to remember than the information imparted through the dry pages of books.



JYOTIR MATH (JOSHI MATH)

The Celebrated Monastery in Northern India

By GOVIND PRASAD NAUTIYAL

HEDGED in between the lofty ranges of the mighty Himalayas, Joshimath lies on a projecting spur, in north latitude 30° 33′ 46″ and longitude 79° 36′ 24″ at an elevation of 6,107 feet above the level of the sea and about 1,500 feet above the deep gorge where the Dhauli and Alaknanda rivers unite at Vishnu Prayag. It is sheltered on every side by a circular ridge and especially so to the north where a high mountain intercepts the cold blasts that rush down from the Himalayas. It is only 19 miles southwards from the principal Hindu shrine of holy Badrinath.



The mythological mulberry tree at Joteswar, said to be planted by Swami Shankaracharya two thousand years ago

Joshimath is an ancient shrine and a seat of Vaidic culture and was one of the greatest places of learning. *Skanda Purana* (*Kedarkhand*) discloses several legends that it was an ancient mythical seat. Sri Swami Shankaracharya after rescuing the Sanatan Vaidic faith from the abyss of heresy into which it had fallen, founded four pontificates in the four corners of India to serve as centres of spiritual influence and control, namely, Goverdhan in Puri for eastern India, Sarada in Dwarka for western India, Shringeri in Mysore for southern India and Jyotirmath in northern India. He himself

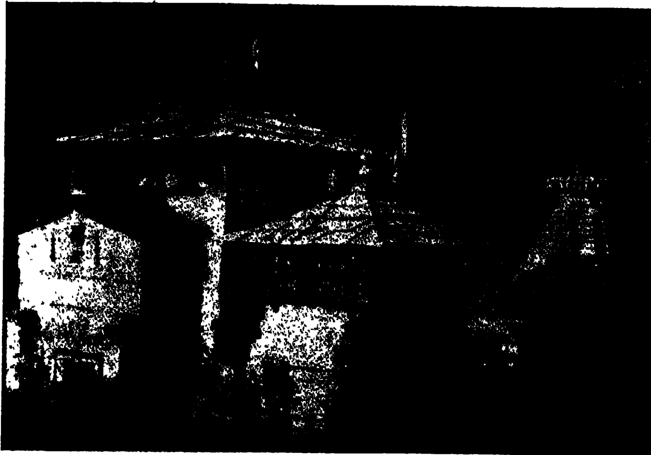


Vishnuprayag

assigned a premier position to Jyotirmath. Many of his illustrious successors were brought up here, which is unfortunately now in ruins. A lovely thatched hut, near a mulberry tree, however, marks the site of the original Math

and temple. The tree, it is said, was planted by Swami Shankaracharya which stands there for the last two thousand years.

The great Swami, after restoring the holy shrine of Badrinath and establishing the Jyotirmath monastery, proceeded to Kedarnath, where he left off his mortal coil, at the age of 32. Before proceeding to Kedarnath, he appointed a Sannyasi head in charge of the monastery. For several centuries, the heads of the Jyotirmath continued to be Sannyasis. A brahmin of the Namboodri community was appointed to perform the worship of the deity and general supervision, and management was entrusted in the hands of the Sannyasi-in-charge of the Math.



The Temple of Joshimath

There are various famous temples here. The principal and impressive temple of Nárasinha is built with gable ends and covered in with a sloping roof of plates of copper. In front of it, there is a large open square having a stone cistern, supplied by two brazen spouts, called Narasinha-dharas, which yield a never-failing flow of water. It has a group of seven temples as buttresses, dedicated to Básudeo, Narayan, nine forms of mother (the blessed goddess 'Nava Durga'), pre-Sankaracharya Siva, Ganesh and others, which bear marks of great antiquity and extends along one side of the square, being ranged along a terrace ten feet high. In the centre of the area, is a temple sacred to Vishnu in a walled space 30 feet square. The statue of Vishnu is of black stone in a very superior style of workmanship. It is about seven feet high and is supported by four female figures. There is another image of brass with wings attached and wearing the sacred Brahminical thread, which some assert to be of Bactrian-Greek workmanship. The image of Ganesh is two feet high, well carved and polished.

Historical Importance

The Katyuras, whose name is still perpetuated in the Katyur valley in the Almora district, were, according to the local tradition, for many years the ruling family of Kumaon. Their first capital was Joshimath, anciently called Jyotirdham, in the Upper Alaknanda valley. In about 1,200 A.D., the Vaishnavas covered the Alaknanda valley with Vaishnavite temples and made the Raja give them rich grants of land. The Katyuras, who were staunch Saivites, must have opposed the doctrines of Ramanujacharya but without success, and this change might have made them

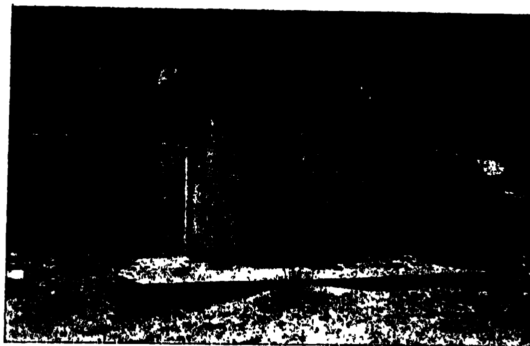


A view of Joshimath

quit their capital at Joshimath and flee to Kumaon.

A curious legend is related in connection with the temple of Narasinha :

A descendant of Basdeo, an early Raja of this region, went to hunt in the jungle one day, and during his absence Vishnu, in his man-like incarnation as Narasinha, taking the shape of a man, visited the palace and asked the wife of the absent prince for food. The Rani gave the man enough to eat and after eating he lay down on the Raja's bed. When the Raja returned from the chase, and found a stranger



The half-finished temple of Joteswar, constructed By Bharat Dharam Mahamandal

asleep on his bed, he drew his sword and struck him on the arm, but lo! instead of blood, milk flowed forth from the wound. The Raja was terrified at the omen and called his Rani to counsel. She said : No doubt, this is a god; why did you strike him? The Raja then addressed Narasinha and asked that his crime might be punished. On this the deity disclosed himself and said : (I am Narasinha. I was pleased with thee and therefore came to thy durbar; now thy fault shall be punished in this wise : thou shalt leave this pleasant place Jyotirdham, and go into Katyur, and there establish thy home. Remember that this wound which thou hast given me shall also be seen on the image in thy temple, and when that image shall fall to pieces, and the hand shall no more remain, thy house shall fall to ruin and thy dynasty shall disappear from amongst the princes of the world.

When the arm falls off (it is said to be diminishing daily) the road to Badrinath will, it is foretold, be closed by a landslip, and a new Badri will appear at Tapoban in the Dhauli valley. According to another local legend, the Katyur dynasty however came to an end with Birdeo, a foolish and tyrannical monarch, and on his death the kingdom was divided, and as far as can be ascertained, the paramountcy of the Katyuras in Upper Garhwal vanished.

Joshimath is the winter residence of the Rawal of Badrinath and is 127 miles from the nearest motor head, Ranikhet. From there the journey can be undertaken by pony, or dandy. It is a pleasant march, too, on one's feet by easy stages.

Joshimath also occupies an important trade route to Tibet and is the gateway of Badrinath. The two paths here bifurcate to Kailas and Mansarovar *via* the Niti pass (16,600 ft.) and the Mana pass (17,890 ft.).



Mr. M. P. Gandhi, formerly Secretary of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, and of the Indian Sugar Mills Association, has now taken up the position of Chief Commercial Manager, Rohtas Industries Ltd., and Dalmia Cement Ltd. at Dehri-on-Sone.

A PALLAVA SCULPTURE OF KIRATARJUNAMURTI

By C. MINAKSHI, M.A., Ph.D.

SUCCESS has been the ear-mark of the career of those who have known the secret of perseverance, prayers and penance. Arjuna, the mightiest of the five Pandava brothers is no mean example to cite.

The Vanaparvam of the Mahabharata narrates the story of how Arjuna attained the *Pasupata*. On the advice of Indra, Arjuna went



A photograph of Kiratarjunamurti in the Kailasanatha temple at Kanci

Northward to the Himalaya mountains and observed severe austerities on the Indrakila hill, with the hope of pleasing Siva and obtaining his powerful *Pasupatastra*. Siva, as usual, wished to test the sincerity and the might of Arjuna before granting the favour. He assumed the form of a Kirata (a hunter) and set up an Asura to go and attack Arjuna in the form of a boar. Arjuna, at the sight of the boar advancing towards him, aimed an arrow at it, but the Kirata disputed the right of Arjuna to shoot at the animal which he himself was aiming at. Arjuna would not recognise the claims of the Kirata and the result was that they both shot at the boar simultaneously and the animal died. Arjuna condemned the Kirata



A drawing of Kiratarjunamurti

and denounced him as not being a sportsman. Then ensued a fight between the Kirata and Arjuna which ended with Arjuna's complete exhaustion and subsequent discomfiture. When he was on his feet again, he found in the person of the Kirata, Siva himself. And Arjuna fell at Siva's feet and holding them in humble

supplication, uttered words of praise and prayer. In admiration of the courage and might of Arjuna, Siva vouchsafed to him the use of the *Pasupata*.

Kiratarjunamurti is one of the 108 aspects of Siva and there are a few sculptural representations and bronze images of this Murti in South Indian temples.

Archæologists, interested in Pallava Art, tried to interpret the remarkable bas-relief on the rock at Mamallapuram as a representation of Arjuna's penance. However, recent investigations have enabled them to realise that it is a representation of the austere penance of Bhagirata and the descent of the Ganges—an episode in the other epic, Ramayana. This has led to the belief that "there is no representation of Kiratarjunamurti among the Pallava stone-sculptures."[1]

The Pallava sculptors of Kanci who were keen enthusiasts in selecting scenes portraying the prowess of Siva, have not failed to represent the fight between Arjuna, the mighty Kshatriya, and the powerful Rudra in the form of a Kirata, which has formed the thrilling theme of the masterpiece of the poet *Bharavi* who adorned the Pallava court. In the Kailasanatha temple at Kanci, there is a sculptural representation of *Kiratarjunamurti* on the wall of shrine No. 12 of the Southern corridor. Alexander Rae describes the above panel in the following words :

"Shows Siva—as a hunter--fighting with and slaying the king who was afterwards turned into a pig. Two figures are shown with right and left legs advanced. An animal on the under right side of the panel seems to represent Varaha ".[2]

The author has not only given a meagre description of the panel but has also missed its significance.

The Kailasanatha sculpture does not bear out the textual descriptions of *Kiratarjunamurti* as contained in the Agamas. It clearly illustrates, on the other hand, the actual dual between the Kirata and Arjuna emphasising the heroism of the Kshatriya against the might of Rudra.[3] The feature depicting the dual is thus a menacing attitude in which their legs are crossed against each other. The Kirata holds a long bow in his left hand and has a quiver on his back which is attached as part of his hunting accoutrements. The typical hunter is minutely portrayed with his professional headgear; and the poniard stuck up at his waist. Arjuna is at once recognised by the mark on his forehead which, however, seems to be a later ornamentation. He looks comparatively younger than the other. He holds a sword in the brandishing attitude and wears a crown. An excited mood can be easily inferred from this posture. There is also a quiver attached to his person signifying the frequent use he made of the arrows and suggestive of the particular boar-hunt that he made. Behind Arjuna's left leg we see the boar which was the direct cause of the dual.

Unfortunately, the sculpture has been badly touched up by later plaster-work which has spoilt the original beauty and charm of the sand-stone relief. Where the plaster-work has peeled off, the skilled hands of the Pallava workmen do not fail to attract the onlooker.

1. *Journal of the Annamalai University* : April 1934. *Vide* article 'South Indian Metal Images' by T. B. Nayar p. 43.
2. Rae's *Pallava Architecture* p. 31.
3. Rajasimha the builder of the Kailasanatha temple has been in several places compared to Arjuna for his might. S. I. I., Vol. I., *Kailasanatha Inscriptions of Rajasimha.*



PARIS THROUGH EXHIBITION LIGHTS

By MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK, D.SC. (Rome).

SEVENTY years have rolled by since the first World Exhibition of Industrial Art and Technocracy was held in the historic Trocadero Palace in Paris. The Trocadero which stands between the Seine and the Bois de Boulogne, the famous Parisian pleasure gardens, was built specially for holding this Exhibition and now faces the Eifel Tower across the river. The Trocadero has since then served on many occasions as the premises for different art exhibitions until it was reconstructed this year for the present International Exhibition of Arts and Industries.

Between 1867, when the first exhibition was held, and today, France has undergone vast changes—social, political and economic. Still there is one subtle similiarity in the atmosphere of Paris in these two distant epochs, which may very well be missed by the casual tourist or sight-seer. In 1867, France was on the eve of a revolution. In 1848, the monarchy of Louis Philippe which lasted for eighteen years, perished, as it had been born, in a Paris revolution. Louis Bonaparte, nephew of Napoleon, a needy exile but an ambitious adventurer, was nursing an imperial dream, and his *Idées Napoléoniennes* was finding some support for the programme of a Liberal Empire. But the most dominating current was the republican and the socialist. The Treaty of Westphalia was tottering under the threat of Bismarck whose dreams of German unity were realised several years later by the Franco-Prussian war of 1871. Does not the atmosphere of Paris in 1867, therefore, resemble that of the French metropolis in 1937 from the historical point of view? The Treaty of Versailles has been defied by Hitler and the threat of a German revenge has brought desperation in French politics. Complete disintegration in political leadership reflects the chaos that pervades the French party system today. The communistic preferences of the workers and socialistic inclinations of the French *petit bourgeois* are manifested everyday in the streets of Paris, sometimes in the cafés and hotels as during the strikes of last July, without much economy of ostentation. What Heine wrote of the atmosphere of Paris in 1842, applies equally well to that of today, though not in exact details but in spirit. He wrote: "For here in the workshops I found several new editions of speeches by old Robespierre, Marat's pamphlets at two sous a copy, Cabet's *History of the Revolution*, Cormenin's poisonous little works, and Buonarotti's *Baboeuf's Doctrine and Conspiracy*—all writings which smell of blood. The songs I heard them singing seem to have been composed in hell and had a chorus of the wildest excitement," and so on.



The Statue of Liberated Italy

I recalled this historical analogy not as a pedantic introduction to a rather light subject, but with a purpose. And it is just to demonstrate that life inside the Exhibition grounds this summer, though it was contributed largely by an international crowd, vibrated with the eternal spirit of Paris itself—the spirit of pleasant disorder, methodical chaos, and

irresponsible fun. There is something in the French temperament which is so near to anarchy that has given the history of France such a peculiar character and has made France a land of perpetual revolutions, a springhead of disorder and an inspirer of political conflagrations abroad. The French genius for anarchy, however, has not been so condemned as the Russian genius for conspiracy, since there is some charm, some romance about the French genus which its Russian species lacks. The French temperament is soave even in its ruthlessness, but the Russian one is bitter and has an appearance of naked brutality. Historians say that the reasons for such a volatile and anarchic temperament of the Frenchman are to be traced back to the French wars of religion during the later half of the sixteenth century, in which Catherine dei Medici, wife of Henry II, played such a significant part. H. A. L. Fisher characterises her as

"the first of all the rulers of France to organize immorality as an instrument of political power, discarded her policy of indulgence, and helped to engineer the massacre of St. Bartholomew."

Napoleon was the only figure in French history who had tried, and successfully too, to reconcile the conflicting groups in French society,—priest, émigré, Jew, Protestant, Jacobin, republican and royalist. But the work of Napoleon was washed away before the fresh tides of socialist revolution which later on established the Third Republic, and his Voltairean convictions were ridiculed by the biting wit of Paris. It is a commonplace of modern political experience that Soviet Russia, so far as the doctrine of revolution is concerned, is an offspring of France, and Lenin acquired the technique of revolution rather from the pages of French history than from those of his own country. Paris must be seen through this ideological and historical background. Those visitors in Paris who in their eagerness for making an intimate acquaintance with the night life of Montmarte and Montparnasse loose themselves in easy frolic miss much of that intellectual tension which is inherent in French political and social organisation.

It was a soft and sunny July this year in Paris. I happened to be in the French metropolis at a particularly exciting time in early July last. I was travelling by the Brussels-Paris fast express and bought a copy of the *Paris Soir* at the Brussels station. It contained the two most exciting news: the further devaluation of the Franc and the strike in Paris hotels and cafés. On getting down at Paris, I hesitated to take the risk of going to those modest hotels with which I was familiar on previous occasions for fear of finding them closed. So I drove straight to the Grand Hotel and secured my lodge with the greatest difficulty on account of the tremendous rush there. In the morning I woke up with the cries of *Vive la Révolution* (Long Live Revolution) accompanied with the beating of drums in the Opera Square on which my winow opened. By noon the demonstrations were in full swing, the dominating feature of which was the noise made by a lorry-load of brats waving the red hammer-and-sickle banner. Nowhere else and never before the affinity of temperaments and the identity of ideological interests between the French and the Russian were so vividly presented before my eyes than on that unforgettable morning in Paris. The *Café de la Paix*, the largest café in the heart of Paris, where it is ever so difficult to secure a chair, was deserted, and a hundred others offered the same spectacle.

Next I directed my attention to the Exhibition. It extended from the *Place de la Concorde* to the Eifel Tower on both banks of the Seine with an adequate number of entrance and exit gates. Some new bridges were constructed over the river in order to facilitate pedestrian traffic. The pavilions of different countries rose just from the Seine with their delightful verandahs as restaurants where their different national diets were served. All the pavilions were not yet complete, but the life in the Exhibition was running in full swing as the summer was already advanced. The most striking and impressive pavilions were those of Russia, Germany and Italy, which at once reminded me of Mon. Leo Blum's boast when, as the Premier of France, he declared that the Paris Exhibition would be a tribute to the triumph of the *Front Populaire* over fascism. This statement was so strongly resented in Germany and Italy that there was already a talk of the withdrawal of these two countries from the Exhibition. But later events have not justified M. Blum's boast, and the success of the Paris Exhibition was subscribed more by the disciplined efforts of Germany, Italy and Russia than by the superior merits of the Popular Front. Still it must be admitted that the real charm and the attraction of the Exhibition, the synthetic effects made on the visitor by its grandeur of illumination, the pleasant lines of its edifices, the exuberance of the Trocadero fountains and the extravagance of colours all round, were all typical of the French artistic genius. I can imagine how widely different would the same Exhibition look in London or Berlin, in Vienna or Budapest. In

Paris Through Exhibition Lights



The Norwegian Pavilion



The Russian Pavilion



The German Pavilion







Top : The New Trocadero - Facade and Fountains *Middle* : The Italian Pavilion
Bottom : Place de l'Opera—The Opera Square







Top : An aspect of the Exhibition from the river. *Middle* : The French House of Labour.
Bottom : The Russian Pavilion dominating the Exhibition

[*Photo* : *by the Author*

The Art and Archælogy of Cambodge



Bayon. Towers crowned with human heads



Prah Ko. Details of decoration on passages

[Courtesy : *Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-O*

London, the visitors would perhaps drink more than talk or laugh, in Berlin no visitor could get lost even if he wanted to; in Vienna the visitors would perhaps watch one another more than the exhibits; and in Budapest, inspite of my uncompromising preferences for the *tokaji* and the gipsy music, no visitor would go to the exhibition twice. Herein lies, in fact, the secret why Paris is so different from all other continental capitals, and as a matter of fact, from all other metropolitan cities of the world. That profound sense of space and proportion which is embodied in the squares, streets and constructions of Paris is really typical of all that is grand in French art and architecture. London is incongruous in this sense; the grandeur and magnificence of Westminister mocks at the filth and modesty of Willesden whereas no part of Paris is a reproach to the other. If you are dropped at any place in the city you can at once say that it is Paris. The heights of palaces, the breadth of streets, the gaiety of cafés are all uniform throughout Paris. Is there any place in London where one can breathe as freely and as joyfully as in the Concorde ? Leaving aside the historic associations of that famous square, *La Place de la Concorde* is the most glorious realisation of that sublime artistic vision which was bequeathed to Europe by Greece, imitated by the Romans, but was perfected only by the French. And the *Champs Elysées*, with the faulty pronunciation of which by the English the Parisians amuse themselves so much, is the last word in grace and without any parallel in the whole of Europe. The French drive their cars more rashly, but they commit less accidents than the English do. Berlin again is cleaner than Paris, but nobody would stop in the *Unter den Linden* to greet a friend that is passing by or ask for an appointment in the evening. Berlin is almost disappointing as a metropolis. There is neither the noise of London, nor the abundant *negligée* of Paris. The Berlin taxi-driver is undoubtedly more honest than his comrade in Paris, but the stranger in Paris is compensated by the pleasant *nonchalance* and the innocent small dishonesties encountered occasionally here and there. Paris is the only capital in Europe where real cosmopolitanism still reigns. During the strikes in July last I have seen the streets of Paris being policed by the French colonial troops, and the coloured man was often obliged to chastise the unruly Parisian. This is unthinkable in London or Berlin. The International Exhibition too, in its essential details as well as in spirit, was like the city of Paris. It absorbed all the motley crowds in such a way that the Russian and the German, the Italian and the English, had all merged into one single fraternity of man.

One of the most significant at the same time amusing features of the Exhibition was the spectacle of the Russian and the German pavilions standing vis-a-vis across a big square and shooting their heights into the sky in proportion to their respective national pride. Two colossal figures of a factory-man and a factory-woman holding aloft the hammer and the sickle respectively dominate the entire *Place de Varsovie*, the principal square of the Exhibition, and succeed in deriding the German eagle brooding over an ambitious tower which stands in no decent proportion to the flat German Exhibition hall. The spectacle was typical of the mutual political relations of these two great Powers of Europe. Judging from the point of view of architectural achievements, the Russian pavilion surpasses every other in its simplicity of design, elegance of lines, and in the grandeur of a faith manifested so remarkably in each of its stones. So far as the interior is concerned, the highest credit must go to the German pavilion with its infinite variety of technical wealth, with its fine specimens of inherited craftsmanship, and with the enticing allurement of its exquisite beer. The Italian pavilion, though designed by Piacentini, one of the greatest living architects of contemporary Europe, is not so impressive from outside as the Russian or German ones. It appeared to me, (I am not an expert of architectural art), to be a curious mixture of the late renaissance style and what in Italy is now called the *novecento*, that is, the 20th century style. But in the courtyard of the pavilion there is a remarkable statue representing Italy liberating herself from the yoke of foreign dictation and breaking the bonds of economic slavery imposed on her by the countries possessing the essential raw materials. Besides that, the Italian restaurant was the most frequented of all. The British pavilion was so dismal looking that I had not the heart to enter it. I searched in vain for an Indian pavilion. It was not there. Who will answer the question why India was not represented in the International Exhibition of Paris, where all other Dominions had their own pavilions, however magnificent or modest they might have been ?

I would not go further into details of the Exhibition, but propose to conclude this article with a brief reference to the question of French decadence which is today a very familiar subject of discussion in the continental press. Is there any real decadence in France, and if

so, in what does it consist? In the continental press, particularly in those camps which are politically opposed to France it is frequently argued that France has fallen from the leadership of European politics, and she is defending her Empire not through her War Office, but through the *Quai d'Orsay* which has spread over the world a network of diplomatic alliances that have succeeded in keeping as yet the wolf of German aggression at bay. Her falling birthrate, the aversion of her youth to war, have rendered the supreme diplomatic interest of France identified with the maintenance of peace, and it is a fact that the entire course of post-war French diplomacy has been characterised by the politics of alliances rather than that of constructive leadership. It is not the place to discuss the details of this diplomacy, since it is too long and too complicated, but one thing is certain that the moral preparedness of the French youth for war is very insignificant. This in itself does not constitute a decadence. But the effect of the threat of German revenge on this mentality has been rather discouraging. I had the opportunity of having known quite a number of French young men very intimately, and it has been my impression that the perpetual danger of a war with Germany has brought a certain amount of desperation in the French youth.

They used to ask me,

> "What for should we dedicate ourselves to intellectual endeavours if we know that our end is going to be a meaningless one in the battlefield?"

This is indeed very discouraging for a nation whose intellectual and scientific tradition is second to that of none in the world. If the youth of France today shirks the responsibility of carrying on that glorious tradition of intellectual leadership in Europe for the mere threat of a possible German revenge realised through war, the future generations in France will pay its price. If there is any real decadence in France, it consists in this desperation among the youth. This desperation is again encouraged by the appealing ideologies imported from Moscow that have taken deep roots among the French masses and also, to a considerable extent, among the French intelligentsia. France today can reply to these charges not by invoking the leaders of disintegrating revolutions, but by invoking Napoleon who gave to France the leadership in Europe and who stabilised French society. When the sentiment of religion had been laughed away and the long descended traditions of France had been considered as the irrational survivals of a tyrrannical past, Napoleon established unity and cohesion in the country through championing religion and maintaining good government. The fall of France or her defeat at the hands of Germans would be a disaster for the entire European civilisation, since it may again loosen the tides of ruthless repression and sentimental intolerance that have so many times tainted the pages of history with stains of blood and agonies of unredressed cruelty. It would not be an extreme disaster for France to go communist, but even then, let the Frenchmen of today, like their precursors of the last century, shout with more than half a heart, *Vive la Guerre* (Long live war)!

MAKE PETROL FROM SUGAR-CANE

India's Most Vital Need for Transport and Industries

Will India Benefit from American Discovery?

By CHAMAN LAL

POWER petrol is the most urgent need of India today. Japan with petrol selling six annas a gallon can afford to have a small motor in every industrial cottage and thus flood the world with cheap goods. It runs cheapest taxi cabs in the world. Six anna taxi has made Japan very popular among foreign tourists. I often enjoyed one or two mile taxi rides for two or three annas but recently the rates went up and four annas was the minimum fare for a short trip until I left Japan in June.

And this is all possible despite the fact that Japan imports petrol from foreign countries and sells it at about 6 annas per gallon. It used to be five annas a gallon until last winter.

WHY COSTLY IN INDIA

Then how is it that petrol costs four to five times the price in Delhi (Rupee 1-9 and sometimes 1-11 per gallon). It is due to heavy Government tax and prohibitive railway goods rates. In Bombay we can also have petrol at

5 annas per gallon if no duty be levied by Government.

Why Legislators Sleep

Our legislators who move a dozen adjournments a day have never cared to compel the Government to abolish or reduce this tax, which is far more injurious than salt tax. If petrol be sold as cheap in India as it is in Japan and America, we can run best sleeping motor cars, more comfortable than first class trains and yet three times cheaper, but our leaders and legislators have no time to think of constructive things. Petrol is not only necessary for industries, transport, agriculture and commerce, but is also a very material necessity for our silent revolution in India.

During the last elections, the heaviest item for every candidate was petrol bill or lorry fares which went up four times in rural areas. If we had petrol at 5 or 6 annas a gallon or even ten annas a gallon, how much saving could be effected or how much more tours could have been organized?

37 Dollars for 4,000 Miles

Believe it or not, America is providing very cheap travel because of cheap petrol and best roads. For a journey of 4,000 miles from Pacific to Atlantic it costs only 37 dollars (American rupee) for a ride on the most comfortable Greyhound Bus, which also carries 350 pounds (five maunds) of free luggage for every trans-pacific passenger.

Now compare the rates in India. The personal luggage (five maunds) alone would cost more than 100 rupees from Kashmir to Ceylon (about 3,000 miles). The buses in America are as comfortable as our second class and cushioned like first class compartment. A fare of 37 dollars for a journey of 4,000 miles is only possible because of petrol selling at 12 cents (5½ annas) per gallon.

In India the third class fare for 4,000 miles will come to more than fifty-five rupees, and if you add the charge for baggage it will be about 150 rupees or more, while in America it is only 37 dollars. (Do not convert dollars into rupees, since dollar in America is just like our rupee.)

America Finds the Way

To cut the story short, we need cheap power petrol and America has found the way. Alcohol from sugar-cane is no longer a theory, it has been made a practical proposition and alcohol mixed with petrol will supply several million gallons of power petrol. Why can't our scientists and research scholars (who spend millions in experiments in laboratories) give lead to our industrialists in this behalf?

Here is the latest American discovery published in today's papers:

"Sugarcane shortly may provide 'sweetening' for America's motor mileage as a result of chemical research by the Louisiana Farm Chemurgic Council.

In a report the council announced that the tops of the cane from the state's annual crop of approximately 4,492,525 short tons provide a potential source of more than 5,820,000 gallons of industrial alcohol which mixed with gasoline (petrol) provides high powered motor fuel.

Power alcohol can be obtained from blackstrap molasses and sugarcane bagasse as well as from the tops of the cane, according to chemical experts, who declare that 1,600,000 gallons of industrial alcohol would not be too great a supply for the world's present needs.

Working in co-operation with the state's recently launched program of industrial expansion sponsored by Gov. Richard W. Leche, the council is investigating possibilities of developing new industry to utilize all by-products of sugarcane, one of Louisiana's most important sources of supply. In addition to power alcohol, chemical experts also declare that cane tops can be converted into citric acid for which the United States is now spending more than two million dollars annually in foreign markets."

Japan Leads

Japanese scientists and industrialists are producing dozens of by-products from sugar-cane. Card-board is one of the most important items. Several chemicals are being manufactured at very nominal prices.

Recently I met Professor Takahashi of the Imperial University (who is a reputed scientist), and he expressed his willingness to share the results of his achievements. In fact he at once sat down with pen and paper and wrote down several tried formulæ for my friend, Chaudhuri Makhtar Singh, Ex.-M.L.A. and General Manager of Daurala Sugar Works, Meerut. Mr. Singh also visited Formosa and I am sure he will benefit the country with his investigations into by-products of sugar-cane.

We need many like him to go to different countries and study practical working methods of utilizing our so-called "waste materials."

I am a layman and can only make suggestions to those whom God has blessed with power to utilize them. I claim no technical knowledge, but I just want to persuade our legislators, our industrialists and research scholars to devote their attention to securing cheap petrol for India.

Will they listen?

Washington

INOCULATION AGAINST WAR

BY MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

EVERY now and then, amidst the welter of public utterances, something is said which stands out from the rest. If it is true it explains a lot of things. Such an utterance surely was that made by General Smuts at Johannesburg this week. He said :

> "The position of the world, is sound and improving in spite of a good deal of political trouble. There is war in Europe and war is beginning in Asia . . . It seems to me that *the world is getting inoculated against these* attacks on its peace . . . It absorbs shocks, formerly considered to be fatal."

This strange contention, that war will not spread because the world is getting so used to war, is all the stranger for its origin. The General spoke of war in Europe and Asia. He did not mention the war on his own continent of Africa ! Yet the Italian war in Africa, in Abyssinia, is closely related to the present war in Europe. In many aspects indeed it is the same war. Italian imperialism is the evil genius of both. But General Smuts says nothing of this. His confidence that the world, and presumably his own Africa, is inoculated is astonishing. For not only does Italy give the lie to him, Germany is for ever returning to the subject of her lost colonies—and these lost colonies are in Africa.

None the less there is something in this idea of the modern world. It does absorb shocks which in other days would have proved fatal. But is it a matter so much of inoculation as of indifference ? The truth is that we do not care very much what happens to the Chinese, or to the Abyssinians, or to the Spaniards. Provided there is no immediate threat to British interests, we are ready to pull the wool over our eyes. This policy at any rate came in with Sir John Simon, when we declined to join the United States in a very mild repudiation of Japanese aggression in Manchuria ; continued with Sir Samuel Hoare, when we played Italy's game and put forward the Hoare-Laval Pact; and drags out its ineffective life today in the form of Non-Intervention. (In every case the result has been to strengthen the hands of the disturbers of the peace. Japan, Italy, Franco—we have smoothed the way for all the freebooters.)

At the moment of writing it is difficult to understand how there can be half an hour of life left in the idea of Non-Intervention. The Non-Intervention Committee met at the end of last week. On the same day General Franco telegraphed his thanks to Signor Mussolini for his part in the capture of Santander. Twelve Italian generals took part and there were 2,017 Italian casualties. Signor Mussolini telegraphed back that he was especially happy that the Italians had made "a powerful contribution to the victory of Santander."

How can we wink at these things in the guise of non-intervention ? There are said to be already 100,000 Italians and 10,000 Germans fighting for General Franco against the Spanish Government. What is there to prevent the Italian and German Dictators pouring more and more men into Spain until the Government forces are overwhelmed ?

There is the same story of Italian intervention at sea as there is on land. Eighteen ships so far, and the number is being added to daily, have been attacked in the Mediterranean. A frantic effort is being made to prevent supplies from reaching the Spanish Government. But it is not rebel Spanish ships which are engaged. Skippers have stated that before they were sunk their craft was trailed by Italian warships.

An Italian submarine is operating in the Eastern Mediterranean to the annoyance of Turkey and Greece. It masquerades as a rebel Spanish ship, the C3. But it carries two medium-calibre guns—and reference to the Spanish list has disclosed that the C3 carries only one such gun. Anyway, its identity may soon be beyond doubt. The Turkish Dictator, Kemal Ataturk, has announced that in future "any foreign submarine in Turkish waters which refuses to disclose its identity when challenged will be blown out of the water."

Indeed there is some hope that this latest phase in the Spanish war, this attack by Franco and his allies on all shipping, neutral or otherwise, which is carrying supplies to Spanish Government ports, may bring to an abrupt end the policy of Non-Intervention. So long as Italy and Germany confined their intervention to sending troops to Spain, to fighting on Spanish soil against Spaniards merely, it was possible to pull the wool over our eyes. But it

is a different story if we are to be expected to ignore attacks upon ourselves. Attacks upon our shipping bring us in as an interested party. (But it is amusing to notice that, since the British Government made its protest, attacks on our ships have been made not by submarines but by "unidentified aeroplanes"!)

At this juncture of affairs, when British has at last made some sign to the Dictators that they cannot have everything their own way, it is altogether baffling to realise that Italy and Britain are soon to embark on "friendly conversations" with one another in Rome. How can we possibly entertain any feelings of friendship with Fascist Italy? The most that any lover of Italy can do these days is to hope that somehow there may rise up an Italian who can deliver his country from its present fevered leadership, from its "boy-scout imperialism" as someone has unkindly described it. Is there no one in Italy who can laugh at Signor Mussolini? Surely never before was there a leader who received such fantastic messages from his generals. Listen to this telegram from General Terruzzi, dispatched after Santander:

"The Duce's orders have been carried out. Once more the Blackshirts wore, as always, the same warlike expression which was shaped for them by your will. . . ."

Is it possible to hold intelligent conversation, let alone friendly conversation, with such a swaggerer?

These conversations are the more to be regretted in that they should come at the present time. For there is reason to believe that Signor Mussolini has discovered that he has overreached himself. All the news from Abyssinia goes to show that the Italians cannot hold the country they conquered (conquered with poison gas). During the past week the Abyssinians succeeded in cutting the road built by the Italians between Massawa and Addis Ababa.

Writes one Diplomatic Correspondent,

"With this news, there has also come news of a widespread re-establishment of tribal authority in different parts of the country where the Italians are unable to make any impression on the people. One tribal chief has set up government again only 50 miles from the capital, independent of the Italians. Despite the Italian occupation, vast stretches of the country remain out of Italian control and hostile . . . Actually, only tiny areas have been occupied by the invaders, who claim to have conquered all Abyssinia, and there is obviously no government at all able to collect taxes and 'pacify' the land."

So non-plussed, indeed, are the victorious Italians that they have been making overtures to the Emperor Haile Selassie to return as a puppet ruler (just as the Japanese have a puppet Chinese Emperor in Manchuria) . . . And it is at this juncture that we are to make friends with Italy! Is Italy asking us, her chiefest critic at the time of the invasion of Abyssinia, to help her now to pull the chestnuts out of the fire? And, if she is, why in heaven's name should we listen to her? . . . But it is to be feared that our pusillanimous leaders are thinking along these lines. The League Assembly is soon to meet at Geneva. It is said that the Abyssinians will continue in their resistance so long as the Italian conquest is not recognized by the Great Powers. The recognition of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia is of urgent interest therefore to Signor Mussolini. Indeed it is said to be Britain's trump card in the forthcoming friendly conversations. Can we really sink so low as to use that card—can we really, for any fancied advantage, take all the heart out of those heroic Abyssinians? The Emperor will not go back to his country on Italian terms. The Ethiopian Legation has stated that he "has not the slightest intention of renouncing the throne or abandoning his efforts to secure the independence of his country, which he is confident will ultimately be obtained with the help of the League of Nations." If *we* go back on the Emperor, it will be in face of our plighted word. Only last May, Mr. Baldwin said that there would be "no recognition of Italy's conquest and that no monetary loans would be permitted."

Indifference to the fate of others is certainly a poor guide in a changing world: Anyone who doubts this has only to consider now the case of China. For years we have stood aside while Japan made war in the north of China, annexing Manchuria and going on to Jehol until today she is even at Pekin. We were not content merely to stand aside. We even gave encouragement to the invader! And this is true not only of the *Daily Mail* and its kind—which, as someone has said, are always ready to applaud the latest bully in sight—but is true even of the *Times*. In this connection it is worth referring to two well-informed articles which have appeared in the *New Statesman and Nation*, in the issues of May 22nd and August 28th of this year. There it is pointed out that,

"the Japanese, guided by their experience in Manchuria, assume that their advance in Northern China is approved by Britain and in support of this view they can cite the *Times* and other Conservative papers as well as Mr. Eden's carefully phrased replies to questions in the House of Commons."

The *Times*, it seems, gave the game away when it referred to the *special position* which (in its view) Japan has in China. The signi-

ficance of such a phrase of course could not be lost on the Japanese. Of course Japan believed that Britain was ready to do a deal with her in China.

But man proposes and God disposes. And the Japanese raid on China is not turning out as Japan and Britain had anticipated. Japan has made a miscalculation. In time-honoured fashion she provoked an "incident," and, following on this incident, she proposed to help herself to the rest of the Northern Provinces. She thought she could do this without war—but she has found that she cannot. Britain thought she could too. It is amazing, but it is true, that Britain actually intervened on the side of the Japanese and urged the Chinese Government to take it lying down! Says the *New Statesman*:

"The *Asahi* reported in the third week of July that the British Ambassador in China had pointed out to Nanking that the latter could best avoid a crisis by ceasing to send its army northward and recognising settlement of the July 7th incident as a local matter *i.e., by abandoning any claim to sovereignty over North China.*"

(It sometimes seems that the gods, for reasons best known to themselves, deprive ambassadors of the power to see themselves as others see them . . . But they have a strange humour. This same Ambassador has been nearly killed by accident by the Japanese.)

So the Chinese have decided to oppose Japan and whether they win the war or lose it—one wise commentator has said that the Japanese will win every battle against China except the last one—British interests have suffered badly. Our policy apparently was so short-sighted that we had nothing to suggest except that Japan should have her way in Northern China and we should carry on with our "interests" in the South. It does not seem to have occurred to us to speculate as to what would happen if the Chinese Government at Nanking, only a short way from Shanghai, should decide to resist—and the Japanese, as a result, be forced to carry the war to Shanghai and Nanking.

It is indeed difficult for the ordinary mortal to understand how and why the British Government can have imagined that it was in their interests to make friends with Japan rather than with China. We have been learning a lot about Shanghai in the last few weeks. It is "the nerve centre of the whole trade with China," the richest port in Asia, and Britain alone has £100,000,000 worth of property in Shanghai. (If we were mad, in such circumstances, to encourage Japanese marauders, the Chinese showed a long-sighted wisdom in moving their Government so near to Shanghai!)

Is there any way out of this new war? None it would appear but a sudden overwhelming earthquake in Japan! In 1932 America appealed in vain to Britain to co-operate with her in resisting the Japanese raid in Manchuria. In this latest crisis Mr. Cordell Hull, the United States Secretary of State, has appealed to both China and Japan. The United States, he said,

"would participate in all proposals to end the strife, and their efforts would extend to the limit of America's policy of keeping out of foreign entanglements."

(It is instructive to note that the United States, which alone has passed a Neutrality Act, never ceases to make constructive efforts to improve international relations. She is constantly urging upon the nations, and especially on the democracies, to get together—and make a beginning towards tariff disarmament at least, if they cannot contemplate disarmament proper.)

Does Japan care at all for the fact that now, as a result of the wounding of the British Ambassador, she has not a friend in the world—except perhaps Germany. If she fears absolute isolation, she may take advantage of the moment and make what she can out of the American offer. As one French newspaper comments:

"The tragic event which has just taken place proves that the only truly efficacious remedy is that indicated by Mr. Hull."

The shooting of the Ambassador has certainly proved a diversion out of which anything might come. The most astonishing thing at the moment is the line taken by the *Times*. It writes in pompous indignation (with one eye none the less on the ruined trade of Shanghai) as if the Japanese had deliberately taken aim at the worthy Ambassador! In a paragraph almost too perfect to be true it manages to unite the sanctity of an ambassador *and* the sanctity of trade. . . . Thus it adumbrates:

"The status of an Ambassador is sacrosanct, and nothing excuses its violation. Japan has launched a full-dress invasion of China without even declaring war. Without preliminaries she has taken it upon herself to violate the rights, interrupt the commerce, and bring about the destruction of the property of Great Britain and other nations in China."

(Japan in 1932 invaded Manchuria without declaring war. But she did not shoot an ambassador by accident then—or destroy the property of Great Britain.)

But the most astonishing feature of the articles in the *Times*—and how astonished and aggrieved it must make the Japanese—is that it concludes with a threat which sounds very like a threat of War. The British Government, it

says, "may be assured of the strongest public support in any appropriate 'action' which they decide to take." No doubt they can—but what very old stuff this sounds. Why does not some one start a Back to the League policy? Thirty-seven nations, including Great Britain, France and the U. S. S. R., have given their full approval, in formal replies, to the recent declaration made by Mr. Hull—and so the good will is there waiting to be mobilised. The United States suggests four ways of seeking peace: (1) settlement of international problems by negotiation; (2) faithful observance of international agreements; (3) disarmament; (4) lowering or removal of excessive trade barriers.

It is so futile for any nation to imagine that there is now any longer any dependence to be put in their own right arm. However strong a nation may make itself, by armaments and by alliances, it cannot prevent war arising so long as grievances go unredressed. Sooner or later war will break out. And whether a war is won or lost untold misery and damage will ensue. Think for a moment of what happened in Shanghai the other day. Two bombs were dropped from an aeroplane, just *two,* and they killed 450 people and wounded 850. Psychologists say: You cannot frighten people into peace. But the best psychologist of all, Macchiavelli, remarked years and years ago that the one argument which is always convincing is the argument of cupidity. And so the way to prevent war is to show that it doesn't pay. That, then, is the heart of the problem. Make it uneconomic to settle disputes by war. Make it economic to settle them by negotiation. In other words—go all out for Collective Security.

It is very ironic, incidentally, that the nations in a position to make this stand—France and Great Britain—should have their doubts about Collective Security, while the potential or rather actual disturbers of the peace, Germany, Italy, Japan, have no doubts whatever on the subject. In this country Mr. A. J. Cummings preaches Collective Security but his words fall on stony ears. Not so are his words received abroad. He reports that "a European diplomat by no means friendly to Britain" said to him the other day:

"Even now, if Hitler or Mussolini or any other potential disturber of the peace knew for certain that Great Britain, France and Soviet Russia were prepared to co-operate to the extreme limit, the threat of war in Europe would disappear. If Japan knew that France, Great Britain, Russia and the U. S. A. were prepared to co-operate to the extreme limit in China, the Far East would settle down to a period of tranquil progress. . ."

Why *is* it that nations, familiar through the centuries with the idea of alliances, cannot translate that same idea into collective security? Mr. Thornton Wilder, author of *The Bridge of San Luis Rey,* remarked the other day that the League of Nations is based on an idea which seems to him to be about five hundred years ahead of its time. And he added:

"But when the nations of the world return again to the notion of arbitration they will find there an undiscouraged vehicle and frame for their procedure."

An undiscouraged vehicle—Thank God for one tribute to the League.

But to return to this Macchiavellian argument of money. What sums we waste on re-armament, what riches we waste like water—in comparison with a country, for instance, like Denmark. In Denmark they can afford not merely to pension their old people, but to build flats for them too. In this country we have no such Utopian fancies. At the present time it might be noted by a Danish visitor that the Unemployment Fund is saving money at the rate of something like £25 millions a year. At the same time he would discover that food prices had jumped by 14½ per cent and industrial articles and materials by 21½ per cent. Also that milk was dearer in England than in any other country in Europe. In such circumstances he might not unnaturally enquire whether the surplus in the Unemployment Fund would not be used to some extent to increase the rate of unemployment relief—to help catch up on the rise in the price of food at any rate. But that is not contemplated. If he turned to the city page of his newspaper he would find that the workers are, on the contrary, involuntarily making a substantial contribution to the cost of re-armament! He would read that "this one fund will this year provide directly or indirectly nearly one-third of the total amount which the Government has taken powers to borrow for re-armament. . . ."

No, to return to General Smuts, war are not being prevented because the world is becoming inoculated against the fever. They are being *prepared.* And the chiefest ingredient in the preparation is the short-sighted policy of Governments and the stupidity of the man in the street.



Book Reviews



BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

THEORY AND ART OF MYSTICISM : *By Radhakamal Mukherjee, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Longmans Green & Co., London. Pp. 308. Price 15 shillings net.*

If a mystic were asked to explain his mysticism to another his answer would be silence. For, the moment he has a vision of the wholeness of life his thinking and tongue are as if paralysed. And all that he can do is to exclaim, "God *is*," because what he has seen is inherently ineffable. Dr. Mukherjee, therefore, has essayed an almost impossible task; he has tried to force the Sphinx of the Ages to speak.

"Mysticism," says the author, "is the art of finding a harmonious relationship to the whole of reality which man envisages" (p. 260). Is it a *conscious* finding of "the harmonious relationship" on the part of the aspirant or does the seeing or sensing of that harmony dawn on him with the unconsciousness of the morning light in the east or of the sudden springing up of the stars in the evening? Dr. Mukherjee himself states that "mystical intuition establishes" the harmony in question (*ibid*). And intuition cannot be analysed for the simple reason that it cannot be split up into several stages. It is a seamless robe. Consequently, his book is evidently based on a study of the mystics' results or reactions,—expressed in simple, serene and synthetic living or in song and story—of his immediate, intuitive and integral vision of the harmony of Life, Love or Light.

"Mysticism gradually develops into a method of knowledge and action, which includes the whole of man's adjustment to the totality of life and the world that he apprehends (pp. 2-3). . . . In whatever manner the reality is experienced by different types of mysticism, each kind of mysticism furnishes the ground of a distinct type of ethics (p. 6) . . . Mysticism is not merely a way of understanding, it is also a way of life" (p. 7). In other words, according to the author, mysticism is a gamut of Truth, Beauty and Goodness,—those conventional confines of Life, which, however is above all evaluation in terms of time or of thought.

How has man realized these eternal but not exclusive values, howsoever dimly and darkly though it might have been, in the course of his upward and onward march? To answer this question, the author goes to the very roots of religion and tells the reader of the various motives which have prompted Adam in his evolving adjustment to his environment. "Much of religion and the system of ethics are the outcome of man's way of life rather than of deliberate speculation" (p. 61). Man's Religion, therefore, is mostly shaped by his socio-economic life. But this latter is limited in its range and re-orientation. How does man come to have a belief in Cosmic Order or in the Cosmic Person? That is the mystery of all mysteries. Who builds the Jacob's Ladder between Charing Cross and Heaven? Dr. Mukherjee maintains that "great religions have sprung from peasant-folk. . . . The peasant by reason of his occupation believes in a long scheme of things. . . . He resigns himself to forces which surround his daily life and bread, but which he cannot clearly comprehend" (p. 70). Why? And in a spirit of helplessness or hopefulness? Religion is faith in the better and brighter and more benevolent order of things. Who gives man this faith? The mystery, therefore, still remains unresolved.

The realization of the above eternal verities by man is graded; hence, his creation of, and reverence for, symbols and idols, which make the Unknowable manifest, "even as the cow's milk which pervades the cow's whole system comes out only through her teats" (p. 82). But the worship of these, in course of time, imbues the worshipper with a standardized attitude, which is often barren of inspiration and integrating influence in his life. This leads to the revolt, among them, of those who believe that true religion is personal and not institutional. They are the mystics,—the salt of the earth.

The revolt of the mystics has its origin in a dominant impulse, but the latter is a resultant of a process of elimination whereby the other dubious, dark or "dragging-away" impulses have been combed out. This is why sex urge or similar allied instincts have to be either checked or chastened. Further, this sublimation is carried also to the sphere of human relationships. They come to this idealization step by step, hence, the various "stages of mysticism" as Dr. Mukherji would describe them. But as this idealization has to be preserved in all its purity, the mystic, until the ultimate union is attained, is an introvert, whose introspection is to him both a stimulant as well as a synthesising agent. The author devotes one long chapter to describe the different methods of introspection. The mysticism of introspection, he would seem to believe, culminates in the mysticism of identity. This identity or perception of one in the many is neither an attainment or an end nor a mere dry intellectualization. It is born of the mystic's "deepest and most fervent desires and aspirations. In the depth of passion in the serenity of knowledge, in the tensest moments of activity, God is with man" (p. 223). But mysticism is not an *ism;* it is an experience which is free and fluid like the flow of a stream.

Religion,—that is perception of the eternal virtues of life being "normal (?) and necessary to man," who is part and parcel of humanity, mysticism has certain social values. And "it is upon religion that society will have progressively to depend for pulling the chariot of man's destiny along the path of progress" (p. 228). The pendulum of religion swings backwards and forwards between the personal and the social.

But, howsoever various may be the approaches to, or experiences of, the Eternal, there is a unity underlying

them all. Hence, the absence of alignments, whether of loyalties or of logic, as such, among the true mystics of the world. For, "mysticism imports final or spiritual values into the common daily life and relations of men" (p. 259). The potentialities, therefore, of mystics as the bridge-builders of humanity and of mysticism as a principal plank in that bridge, which will span the sectarian schisms of society are great. Shall we, then, listen to the message of the mystics?

Dr. Mukherjee's book is marked by diffusiveness and details which would have gained, in the humble opinion of the reviewer, if they had been severely subjected to the rhythm of restraint. For instance, the first hundred pages could have been conveniently condensed. This would have enabled the reader to concentrate easily on the core of mysticism. A simpler and more direct style would have, further, illuminated the subject. Also, one expected from him a comparatively fuller treatment of the mystics of India. Here and there the quotations are not documented; *e.g.*, the one on page 82, quoted above. A hinting at the likely interpretation of the cryptic or "key" phrases and formulas—the masks of the mystics—would have been helpful. *Theory and Art of Mysticism* is an "omnibus" book: Psychology, Sociology, Economics, Theology, Ethics, etc., all have been accommodated in it, (may be, because Mysticism is all-inclusive) and, as such, it is a testimony to the cleverness of its "conductor". But the passenger taking a ticket for a ride in Dr. Mukherjee's vehicle all the same feels that he has missed the bus bound for Mysticism, because he does not "get there". But, perhaps, that is the fault of the mystics!

G. M.

INDIAN STATES AND THE FEDERATION: *Col. Sir Kailas Haksar, C.I.E. Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay. Pages 1-42. Price 1-8.*

In this small pamphlet there is published that important and illuminating address, which was delivered by Col. Sir Kailas Haksar, C.I.E., Home Minister of Gwalior State, before the European Progressive Group in Bombay, on the 11th February, 1937. Sir Kailas Haksar makes the purpose of the address quite clear by saying, "My purpose rather is to explain the hesitant attitude of the States, which many think to be inexplicably strange and are, therefore, disposed to be harsh in their judgment" (p. 29).

At the outset he explains the reasons, which brought about a change in the attitude and the policy of the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India. According to him, in the beginning the economic development of India made the Foreign and Political Department submit to being overruled by sister departments and finally when in 1916 the policy of keeping the States in isolation was given up and the Rulers of the States and their Ministers began to speak to their own briefs, the Foreign and Political Department ceased to be the custodian of all the rights of the States. Further, Sir Kailas goes on to point out that when the Act of 1919 was framed the Indian States were not in the picture, and hence it was not realised that it could be or would be worked out to their detriment; and when the Act was enforced, it "did so operate as to compel the Foreign and Political Department to fall back upon Paramountcy in defence of many policies adopted by the Government of India under the pressure of economic considerations which were passed upon it by the Legislature created by that Act" (p. 17).

Sir Kailas then gives at some length the various causes for the diffidence of the Princes in joining the Federation. In addition to many others, he emphasises on two very important causes, *viz.*, the financial provisions of the Act, and the question of the internal autonomy of the States. He tries to show that it is a belief as much mistaken as it is widespread that financially the Act favours the States at the expense of British India. Secondly, he goes on to explain the fundamental difference that exists between autonomous sovereign Indian States and the newly-created autonomous British Indian Provinces, and adds that so far as the administrative agreements with the Indian States are concerned, due regard be shown to the existing administrative machinery of that State in all Departments concerned. Sir Kailas greatly regrets that nothing was done "to re-assure the minds of the States on the important points of the future of their purses and of the integrity of their administrations" (p. 36). Finally, he reiterates his own belief in the Federal Scheme and strongly asserts that in the long run the States only stand to gain by their joining the Federal Scheme.

Sir Kailas is fully acquainted with the political events relating to the Indian States for the last quarter of the century and more, and was closely associated with the planning of the Federal Scheme in its early stages, hence as such, an address from him is bound to carry weight and importance. It is written in a simple yet clear and lucid style; and Sir Kailas treats the subject in a masterly way, fully emphasising all the important points, and trying to convince his hearers of the truth of his assertions and views. Hence every one interested in the making of the Federal India either as a practical politician or as a historian should read this address. The British Indians would specially do well to read the address to understand the points of view of the States, and realize their difficulties.

RAGHUBIR SINH

VIVE LE ROY: *By F. M. Ford. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Published July, 1937. Pages 321. Price 7-6d.*

This is supposed to be a mystery story. Walter Le Roy, a young physician and recipient of a Fellowship in Paris is selected by the communist party in the New York City to bear contribution to their beleaguered comrades in France. There the Royalists had just come into power and the Communists had been dealt a crushing blow. On board the ship Le Roy finds himself thrown with M. de la Penthievre a Royalist agent, Mr. Penkethman a police Inspector connected with the League of Nations and Miss Cassie Mathers, a young lady of noble descent and an amateur painter with whom he falls in love. Penkethman suspects Le Roy as he used to carry a detective novel always in his hand. Penthievre also suspects him of being an emissary of some kind and notes the close resemblance of Le Roy with the King of France just murdered. Penthievre forms the idea of keeping the death of the King secret and make Le Roy take his place until the Communist party is entirely routed by the Royalists. On arriving at Paris, Penthievre manages to disappear with Le Roy without the knowledge of Cassie and Penkethman. The novel deals with the difficulties that Penkethman and Cassie had to meet in closing up the search after Le Roy. But it can hardly be called a mystery story as the nature of the mystery can be wholly guessed by the reader from the beginning. It creates no enthuasiasm and rouses no emotions in the reader and is only a tame and dull reading. The style is crisp and the printing and paper are good.

S. N. DASGUPTA

THE ORIGIN OF THE INDO-EUROPEAN RACES AND PEOPLES: *By V. Chockalingam Pillai, Vol. I. Palamcottah. 1935. Price Rs. 25 or 2 Guineas.*

This is the first of a five volumed work dealing with the origins of the Indo-European Races. It is divided into 10 parts of which the first three comprise the present

volume. Part I (nine chapters) deals with the Cradle History of the Indo-European Progenitors. Part II (eight chapters) describes the Indo-European Epos and Part III (fifteen chapters) discusses the Epos of the Bull.

The author has devoted 50 years of erudite study and research to "the world wide problem of Indo-European Phenomena" as he calls it (p. v). Being dissatisfied very early with the western sciences of Philology, Archaeology and Ethnology he has sought out his own method of investigations by comparing the Epos of the Seven Flocks and from which he discovered the complete life history of the Aryan from his birth to his entry into India (p. vii). The key to this hidden story was supplied by the Velan Epos of the Tamil-land.

The story as revealed in the Velan Epos and which the author wishes "to din into the ears of the world" goes back to the times when the two branches of the Aryan Race, the Velans and Surans and whom the author calls "the Bull and the Mark out of their totemic designations" were living in the now submerged Human Cradle or Atlantis. This Atlantis was in the Indian Ocean just south of the Indian Peninsula. The Velans were a long headed race with a stature of 5ft. 6 in., large narrow nose, black eyes and hair, which gave an oval shape in cross section. The Surans on the other hand were short headed, with a stature of 4ft. 6 in., broad flat face, very little beard, black hair (round in cross section) and oblique eyes with epicanthic fold (pp. 923-24). Translated in the language of modern anthropology the Velans would appear to belong to the Negro and the Surans to the Mongoloid stocks, for a hair which gives an oval cross section is supposed to be woolly, and people with oblique eyes showing the presence of the epicanthic fold etc., are considered to be Mongolian. The two "progenitors" of the 'Aryan Race' were therefore the Negro and the Mongol! It will doubtless be a shock to the protagonists of the 'Aryan Theory' specially of Nazi Germany to hear this, but it must not be forgotten that Truth is no respector of persons and all our preconceived notions on Human Evolution must be revised in the light of the Master Key discovered at last by Mr. Chockalingam Pillai!

To resume the narrative of the Indo-European origins however, the Velans and the Surans lived in Atlantis till the great Velo-Suran War in 6000 B.C. (p. 925). Soon after this great war "the Atlantis was torpedoed by a violent volcanic explosion and sunk beneath the waters of the Indian Ocean" (p. viii). After the submergence of the Human Cradle, the Velans and the Surans moved into Europe *via* India where the former left a "respectable moiety of their flock," who go by the name of "Tamils" today, and from whom the Velan Epic has been recovered by the author (p. 15). After their migration to Europe, the two races resumed their old game of fight and "under the lash of that combat they were broken up into fragments and scattered broadcast over the two continents of Europe and Asia" (p. ix). Here they came under the wiles of the Snake whom "Nature has been preparing for this great work" (p. 18). The former must not be mistaken for the "tiny insipid Western Serpent" but is "the large Eastern Snake gifted with the power of raising cataclysm after cataclysm" (p. 18, foot note). His home was in the Tibetan plateau and being let loose from there "in deluge after deluge", he finally succeeded "in muddling" the two hitherto pure Indo-European stocks. The entry of the snake "on his appointed mission" is officially given as 1500 B.C. (p. 18) and for fifteen centuries, down to the end of the old era, "the Snake kindled conflagration after conflagration" and in "the fire produced by this mighty furnace" the four Suran races, *viz*; the Latin, the Greek, the Iranian and the Aryan burst forth into new life and the latter entered India and crossed swords with the Velan moiety called the Tamils. The Velans similarly were broken up into the Celtic, the Teutonic, the Vendic and the Lettic who after wandering about in the distant corners of Asia and Europe settled in Northern Europe and resumed their age-long struggle with the Surans, both of whom are no longer pure but greatly mixed through the mighty agency of the Snake. Such in short is the life history of the Aryan revealed for the first time from the Velan Epos. The author has given only the first part of this story in the volume under review, the rest he promises to elaborate in his forthcoming four volumes. He has chosen English as the medium of his communication because of its wide currency but he is not unmindful of the needs of the continental Europeans and is "taking steps to have his work translated in the French, German and Russian tongues" (p. xvii). This will no doubt hearten them, and the whole Indo-European world will surely be indebted to him for his great consideration and benevolence. Our only fear is, that groaning under the cataclysm of the Snake already let loose from the Tibetan plateau, whether any further shock of conflagrations by "deluge after deluge of snakes", which Mr. Chockalingam Pillai plans to liberate in his remaining volumes, might not prove too great for it to bear!

B. S. Guha

WHISPERS AND HEART-BEATS: *By Srischandra Ray, Vedantabhushan, Bhagavatratna, B.A., (Seventy-fifth Birthday Commemoration Volume). Calcutta, 1936. Price paper cover Re. 1-12, cloth-bound Rs. 2. (To be had of the Author, at 12, Pearabagan Street, Beadon Street P.O., Calcutta.)*

The author of this book on the essentials of spiritual life is Acharya Pandit Srischandra Ray (of Tippera), who has been a life-long teacher, instinct with a moral enthusiasm and spiritual fervour that reminds one of the *Gurus* of old. He is one of the most revered figures of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj. At the instance of the *Tripura Hitasadhini Sabha*, this book, which is mainly a collection of some of the discourses he gave from time to time from the pulpit, and of articles and poems he contributed to various magazines and papers, has been brought out on the seventy-fifth anniversary of the birthday of the *Acharya* as a token of esteem and reverence.

The book broadly falls into three main sections—the first section consists of philosophical discourses dwelling in very simple and terse language on the various aspects of the Supreme Being and on the relations between God and Man; the second section consists of prayerful meditations welling up from the heart of a selfless devotee; and the third section consists of a number of poems, ineffably delicate in their grace and pearl-like in their purity, sweet and fragrant wtth the spirit of self-surrender of a *Vaishnava Bhakta*.

No one can rise from a perusal of the contents of this spiritual treasury without a feeling of thankfulness and a sense of devotion. One can only hope that this remarkable book will meet with the appreciation it deserves.

Devaprasad Ghosh

OUR EARLIEST ATTEMPT AT INDEPENDENCE: *By Bhai Paramanand. Published by the Manager of "Hindu Outlook," Reading Road, New Delhi. Crown 146 pages. Price Re. 1.*

It is difficult to follow Bhai Paramanand in his effort to continue in this essay the narrative of Maratha history left incomplete by Justice Ranade in his Rise and Growth of Maratha Power. His study is indeed elaborate and specialized, clearing many a knotty point in a small obscure period of British Indian history, popularly known

as the first Maratha War (1774-1782) and covering mainly the career of Warren Hastings. While the learned author's analysis is searching and circumstantial, the title he has given to his essay, *viz.*, "Our earliest attempt at Independence" is somewhat mysterious if not altogether meaningless.

Bhai Paramanand is well known as a patriotic and devoted Member of the Hindu Nation; but these characteristics one sadly misses in the volume under review. Apart from its slovenly nature, one does not know when the book was first written: the year 1907 is printed below "Books read and consulted;" that would show that it comes to light after thirty years of long sleep, a feature hardly in keeping with the rapid advance in historical research. The study is an evident apologia for Warren Hastings, based certainly upon original and unimpeachable sources, among which however the three large volumes of Forrests' selections from the Imperial Records of Calcutta find no mention. Possibly he studied these in MSS. The word "Our" in the title is unintelligible. Both the Hindus and the Moslems of India have to their credit in recorded history a few attempts to win back their independent position from the British conquerors, once during the time of the Nepal War (1814-1816) but notably during the severe crisis of 1857. However during the days of Warren Hastings India practically enjoyed full independence, and the British supremacy was not an accomplished fact till the time of Lord Wellesley. On the contrary the war started by the murder of Peshwa Narayanrao was an effort of the Maratha rulers to preserve their independence against the British onslaught. Hence to call it an attempt at independence either by the Marathas or by any other potentates of India is a misnomer or a misrepresentation of the real character of the events of the period. The materials for this period which exist plentifully in Marathi and which have already been carefully studied by many a Marathi student, appear not to have been accessible to Bhai Paramanand. At the same time he must be given the credit of presenting the affair in an English garb to all Indian readers, specially bringing out the pith of several pertinent English documents and blue books not easily available, and depicting in true colours some of the prominent and forceful personalities whose play at the politics of the period is the main feature of its true history. Hastings and Nana Fadnis are the principal representatives of the two belligerent parties assisted by their devoted supporters, Goddard and Coote of the former, and Mahadji Sindia and Sakharam Bapu of the other Phillip Francis, Haidar Ali, and Mudhoji Bhosle of Nagpur guided by his Diwan Divakar Pandit are a few other characters whose share in the events of those years is shown to be equally important and deserving of study. Divakar Pandit appears to be the one Maratha diplomat who seriously betrayed the Maratha cause and who miserably succumbed to the lure of gain offered by Hastings. Nana Fadnis' brilliant statesmanship in organizing the quadruple alliance against the British power is clearly set down as the main cause of the preservation of the Maratha power in that terrible national crisis engineered by Raghunathrao, the most wily and degenerate scion of the Peshwa family. Haidar Ali and Nana between them must share the credit of bringing Hastings to his knees.

Most English writers attribute the many and serious difficulties of Hastings to the implacable hatred which Phillip Francis bore towards him. This is great injustice to that great and shining personality whom his nation has perhaps never forgiven his opposition to Hastings. But after reading carefully the vast official literature and correspondence, an impartial critic is bound to maintain that the policy advocated by Francis on the various burning issues was by no means suicidal or anti-national. If Hastings had a mind to follow Francis' advice, most of the terrible incidents of the war could have been avoided and possibly greater advantages could have been secured to Britain. The muddle was created by Hastings' crooked and vacillating policy. Francis' masterly minutes clearly prove this inference. He was by no means an enemy of his nation.

While the analysis presented by the author is brilliant and exhaustive in several ways, what one wonders most is, why he of all others should undertake a blind advocacy of Warren Hastings, accusing even the British Parliament for having undertaken the famous impeachment. Several able writers have recently pronounced on the character and administration of Warren Hastings very balanced views, which certainly can be taken as more authoritative than the ill digested defence put forth by Bhai Paramanand. A very illuminating analysis of Hastings' memorable impeachment by the British Parliament is given in the Cambridge History of India, Vol. 5 and is most convincing and entertaining even to lay readers and cannot bear out the one-sided judgments frequently passed by Bhai Paramananda throughout his work. "The political morality of Europe," writes he, "of the 18th century was not a bit above the standard which Hastings observed in his actions." May we ask whether the political morality of that continent has undergone any improvement during the century and a half that has since elapsed. What do we see today around us? Barring such exceptions, some of the author's conclusions are perfectly sound, and exhibit his keen insight into the subject. The following for instance is a correct estimate of the character of the British conquest of India. "It was mere force of character and superior skill and diplomacy which enabled the British to use both the Princes and the army as tools to gain their ambitious ends, that the English came to possess India" (p. 83). The present performance one regrets to say is neither correct history, nor a contribution to politics, although it is on the whole a readable narrative of the first British-Maratha conflict.

G. S. Sardesai

ANGLO-SANSKRIT

THIRTEEN TRIVANDRUM PLAYS ATTRIBUTED TO BHASA: *Translated into English by A. C. Woolner and Laksman Sarup. Oxford University Press. 2 Vols., 1930-31.*

There have been translations, both in English and German, of individual plays ascribed to Bhasa; but no attempt was made before this to translate the entire cycle into good and readable English. In the Preface the learned translators have given a brief indication of the complicated problems connected with the so-called Bhasa dramas, but they assure us that their work of translation has been done without any decided leaning to the pro-Bhasa or anti-Bhasa attitude. To the general readers, whose opinion is often moulded by the popular belief in the authenticity of the plays, a more thorough exposition of the problem would have been welcome. The very names of the well-known translators are a sufficient guarantee that the translation is reliable and careful. Without departing from the original, the translators have succeeded in shaking off the burden of cumberous Sanskrit sentences, and producing eminently readable renderings. Whatever opinion one may hold regarding the authorship of these plays, there can be no doubt that some of them, at least, are remarkable productions of the classical Drama. Let us hope that the translation accomplished by the collaboration of two well-known Orientalists one of whose recent and untimely death we all sadly mourn, will make their spirit widely accessible to the general reader.

S. K. De

SANSKRIT

SRIMAD BHAGAVAD-GITA : *Edited with numerous variants from old Kashmiri MSS., an exhaustive Introduction, and critical notes, by S. N. Tadpatrikar, M.A., Pratinidhi Series, No. 1. Published, under the patronage of Shrimant B. S. Pant Pratinidhi, B.A., Ruler of Aundh, by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. 1934. Pp. 33+70+7, with a coloured frontispiece. Rs. 3.*

While the text of the Mahabharata as a whole presents bewildering variations, giving us a number of distinct recensions, East Indian, North Indian, Kashmirian, South Indian etc., it is remarkable that the Bhagavad-Gita which forms a part of the great epic, as it now is, should show such a fixed consistent text which has come down to our times without any noteworthy variation for at least over ten centuries, inspite of the fact that in addition to the current text of 700 verses found almost in the same form all over India, two other texts are known, one of 745 verses and the other, the old Kashmirian recension, of 714 verses. The additional 45 or 14 verses are not any material addition to the text, they do not create any difference in the teaching or add any new topic or argument : so that the vulgate or common version of 700 verses still stands. But nevertheless, a comparative study of the other two recensions with the vulgate has its importance in the textual criticism of the Bhagavad-Gita—particularly the Kashmirian one with its large number of variants of half and quarter lines not agreeing with the vulgate as current in India. Professor F. O. Schrader of Kiel University first brought to light this Kashmirian recension with its two commentaries dating from the 10th century, and Mr. Tadpatrikar, realizing the value of the variants in this, has in the present work given us the vulgate text of the Gita with the variant readings from the Kashmir text, utilizing additional MS. material. This is the importance of Mr. Tadpatrikar's text. In addition, he has in a lucid introduction discussed certain matters of Gita criticism, including the problem of the genesis of the Gita, its component elements and its fundamental teaching. The views of previous scholars in the field, both Indian and European, have been given with the author's own criticisms and opinions, and in the course of this Mr. Tadpatrikar has made some noteworthy suggestions (*e.g.*, p. 25, his explanation of the term *sankhya* सांख्य in Gita II 39 as being from *sankhya* (संख्य) meaning 'fight'). In trying to interpret the Gita with reference to its setting in the scheme of the Mahabharata story, Mr. Tadpatrikar appears to be accepting the myths and legends relating to Krishna and his *entourage* as having a real historical value, and he has tried to reconstruct the historical basis or background of the cardinal teaching of the Gita in its original form, before its elaboration and its harmonisation with other teachings and doctrines took place later. This is all a very complicated question, and in the solution of this much depends upon our attitude to the Mahabharata as to how far it is history and how far myth and legend. There is no doubt that the unravelling of the tangled strand of the Gita will make us able to understand it better in its original implication and its subsequent and all-inclusive syncretisation, but nevertheless, as it stands, inspite of its composite character, the Gita is a pillar of light for all and sundry. Mr. Tadpatrikar's well-written Introduction has its distinct value in present-day Gita criticism, and it will be read with appreciation by all who are interested in the subject, offering as it does some new points of view. The Shrimant Pratinidhi Sahib of Aundh deserves our thanks for having inaugurated the present series : and we only wish that he had given us a picture of the scene of the Gita-teaching which was more in agreement with the atmosphere of India of pre-Christian times.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

SANSKRIT-BENGALI

SRI JAGANNATHAVALLABHANATAKAM: *Edited with a Bengali translation by Jyotish Chandra Roy. Published by Nirmal Kumar Roy, 38 Shyambazar Street, Calcutta. Price Rupee One.*

It seemed to be a pleasant task to have the opportunity of extending welcome to a new and what looked like an attractive edition of the *Jagannathavallabhanatakam*—one of the few *sangitanatakas* (music dramas) in Sanskrit—by Ramananda Raya, a contemporary and esteemed companion of Chaitanya, the great Vaishnava teacher of Bengal. But as it is, the edition is found to be hopelessly disappointing. The Sanskrit portion in Bengali characters, which appears to have been based on the Murshidabad edition of the text, abounds in innumerable typographical errors and adds to the number already found in the latter. The Bengali translation which follows the text on opposite pages (the Sanskrit on the left-hand side and the translation on the right-hand side facing it) is more liberal than faithful, though not so elegant. A critical edition of the work in the Nagari script, based on the available manuscript material, would be highly welcome not only to the Vaishnavas, among whom it was at one time immensely popular and who still hold it in deep regard, but also to the students of Sanskrit literature in general representing, as it does, an important stage in the development of Sanskrit drama towards the closing years of its long history.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

SAMBADPATRE SEKALER KATHA, PART ONE, 1818—1830 : *Compiled and edited by Brajendranath Bandopadhyaya. Revised and enlarged second edition. Bangiya-Sahitya Parishad Mandir, Calcutta. Pp. 27+552 1 colour-plate and 8 half-tone plates. 96 cm.×72 cm. size. Rs. 4-8. Sahitya-Parishad Series, No. 82.*

The second edition of Mr. Bandopadhyaya's *Sambadpatre Sekaler Katha*, Part One, comes as a pleasant surprise. Hardly it falls to the lot of an author or editor of a publication of this kind, and that in Bengal where scholarly interest in source-materials of the history of the early nineteenth-century Bengal is very limited, to bring out the second edition of a book in less than five years. This by itself is sufficient recognition of a publication which has evidently received wide acceptance not only of scholars and scholarly institutions but also of general readers interested in the history of nineteenth-century Bengal.

Since the publication of the first edition of the first part, Mr. Bandopadhyaya came upon a mass of materials, all relating to the period 1818-1830, which he incorporated in a third part. This arrangement, which had perforce to be made, caused some inconvenience to readers who had to hunt up two different volumes to find out materials of one and the same period. This inconvenience has been set right in the present edition of the first part where the reader would find all materials of the third part incorporated in their proper places. In addition, one finds in the editorial notes a mass of new information, an exhaustive subject-index which is surely a very helpful guide, and an index of words not current at present, some additional news-items from certain issues of the first year of *Samachar-darpan*, a facsimile print of the first page of the first issue of the above journal, and a number of plates illustrating contemporary life, manners and society. The present edition is thus double in size of the first edition.

No word of commendations on a publication like this is praise enough for its editor who has spared himself no pains in unearthing documents of rare kind, invalu-

able for the future historian of nineteenth century Bengal. In fact, Mr. Bandopadhyaya's present publication is the only source-book I know of for the history of the period, and as such indispensable.

Mr. Bandopadhyaya, in his preface, draws the attention of scholars to the immediate necessity of compiling, on a similar plan and scheme, a volume to cover the period from 1840 to 1857. He warns his readers against the danger of old news-paper files which are still available in dusty dungeons of rare private and public collections being pushed into oblivion, and valuable materials of history lost to obscurity. But who else in Bengal that we know than Mr. Bandopadhyaya himself have the ardour and training, the requisite knowledge and impetus that is required for such a careful and painstaking work? Who else can do it and will do it?

NIHARRANJAN RAY

HINDI

CHAR-ADHYAYA: *By Rabindranath Tagore. Translated by Dhanyakumar Jain and published by the Visva-bharati Granthalaya, 210 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. One and annas eight only.*

Char-adhyaya is the cry of a soul that has seen the demoralising effect of terrorism on a section of the youth of this country. The wrongness of the path chosen by them has not, however, blinded the author to the nobility of spirit and high aspirations of the best of them. The Poet, who has always had the courage to speak out his mind on the problems facing this country and the world, has given in this book a remarkably true picture of the working of the minds of those who believe in Violence. The aetiology of what is called terrorism is also to be found in his book. He has naturally run a risk by indulging in plain speech and I have heard many a reader of *Char-adhyaya* cond·mn the Poet for this attitude. These critics of the Poet forget that he has always condemned, in strongest possible terms, the 'terrorism' of the other side also. As this book *Char-adhyaya* does not give any idea of the latter kind of terrorism to the readers, those who have not been following the trend of the Poet's writings quite closely may, therefore, be misled. But they ought to remember that the Poet has many a time come forward, *e. g.*, in the cases of Jallianwala Bag and Hijli shooting, to voice the feelings of millions of his countrymen.

The translation has been done well, though at certain places it requires a little retouching. We congratulate Syt. Dhanyakumar Jain and the Visva-bharati Granthalaya for giving this opportunity to the Hindi-reading public to know the ideas of the Poet on such an important problem. The publication is very timely and will help the cause of Non-violence considerably, though it was not written with that object. It is not a piece of propaganda, but a great work of art. It will appeal to all feeling hearts as a poignant tragedy of two youthful lives.

BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

TELUGU

RAJARSHI SRI RAJA RAM MOHAN ROY JEEVITA CHARITRA: *By Tarakam. Published by Rowtu Book Depot, Rajahmundry. Pages 124. Price Rupee One.*

This booklet by Sri Kambhampati Ramasastry under the above psuedonym, records the biography of the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, the forerunner of the Indian politicians, the champion of the women's cause and the sire of Modern India,—Sri Raja Rammohan Roy, who had stirred the stagnant pools of Indian orthodoxy, and found out a way for the unification of Mankind. Throughout the pages, the captivating personality of this great soul is dominantly present, with a flavour of sacredness. It can be committed to the hands of the searchers of Truth.

TELUGU DUKKI: *By K. Lakshmi Ranjanam, M.A., Lecturer, Osmania University, (Hyderabad, Deccan). Pages 151 Octavo.*

The work is a collection of literary essays in criticism, mining a rich harvest of facts and theories lying deep in the tracts of Telugu letters. His critical contrast of Telugu Mahabharatam with the original classic is thought-provoking. The arguments and expositions about modern Telugu poetry are of high order with an air of dignified delicacy. Mr. Lakshmi Ranjanam has added a real work to the library on the subject, and is to be congratulated.

VASANTAM, RASANJALI, SUBHAMASTU: *By Pemmaraju Lakshmipathi. Pages 78.*

The work is divided into three parts, the first being Vasantam, wherein fine notes of expression and finer imagery can be met with. Nature in the spring time, in all her colourful aspects has been vividly pictured out in this little work. The latter two parts constitute a boquet of poems contributed and dedicated to an eminent poet, Mr. Gopala Rao, by his friends and students.

B. SUNDARA RAMA RAO

GUJARATI

NAVAL GRANTHAVALI: *By Narhari Dwarkadas Parekh. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Cloth cover: Pp. 528. Price Rs. 2 (1937).*

Navalram was a great writer and the pioneer reviewer of Gujarati Literature. His writings were published in four volumes, which are now unobtainable in the market. Not all his writings were of abiding interest, though a great many are. Mr. Narhari, has with able judgment and exercise of great discrimination selected those which are likely to be of use in future and which at least till now are considered landmarks in the several branches of Gujarati Literature handled by that distinguished writer. The collection, therefore, is valuable as it provides in a handy volume, the best of Navalram's work.

SAP NA BHARA: *By Umashankar Joshi, published by the Kaumudi Karyalaya, Baroda. Thick Card Board. Pp. 196. Price Re. 1-8 (1936).*

Eleven short plays modelled in the line of English one act plays, this is what the book contains. It is very aptly named, "A bundle of serpents." The evil that is chiefly responsible for the misery and indebtedness of our rural population, *viz.*, the village sowcar, the evil that is chiefly responsible for the untold misery of a young Hindu widow, *viz.*, the Mother-in-Law, the evil that is responsible for the pitiable state of the Dhed and the Bhangi, all these poisons are laid out here in the most striking and the most vivid way. An air of reality and picturesqueness is lent to the performance because of the language used. The Bania, the women, the villagers, the Dhed and the Bhangi speak in the plays the dialect, the *patois* they are used to speak and this feature of the writing gives it a substratum of originality wanting in so many of our modern young writers. He has not neglected the present changes in our social life, but the most valuable work is that concerned with villagers and their day to day life. The late Navalram in his well-known play, and Ram Narayan Pathak in his *Dwiref ni vato* would easily come to the reader's mind when perusing this delightful collection. Indeed Ram Narayan has written an interesting introduction, in which he skilfully brings out the subtleties of the author. Our sincere congratulations to Mr. Joshi.

K. M. J.

CONGRESS MINISTRIES AND THE HARIJANS

By A. V. THAKKAR

With the coming in power of the Congress party in six of the Provinces, it was expected that they would make a good start with the fulfilment of the promise made in the Poona Pact in 1932 about the educational and other uplift of the Harijans. The Budgets for the year ending with March 1938 have already been published in all these six provinces. Let us examine what is proposed to be done for improving the condition of the Harijans, and incidently of the Aboriginals also.

Bombay started a small department to look after its backward classes in 1933. Backward classes of Hindus in that province include (1) Aborigines and Hill tribes (2) Untouchables or Harijans and (3) other backward castes of Hindus. Harijans have got 15 seats, and Aborigines only one seat in the Bombay Assembly. The Department has been able to do very little work for the last four years, as very little funds were placed at its disposal. During the curent year, besides the ordinary funds of the Department, a sum of Rs. 40,000 has been provided, to be spent during the six months only from October to March next, for additional scholarships etc. for Harijans. This will go a long way to advance the education of Harijans, no doubt. Moreover, much will be done in the way of constructing new wells for Harijans, as common village wells are not yet available to them, though they are so on paper only. Bombay Government have set apart a sum of Rs. 10 lacs for village wells, out of which a good slice, say, not less than a lac of rupees, will be made available for wells for Harijans, in addition to the usual sum of Rs. 10,000 being spent annually for the purpose.

The Central Provinces form a comparatively poor province, its annual budget being less than 5 crores. Though the budget of the province makes no new provision for the benefit of Harijans, who have as many as 20 seats in the Assembly, it is somewhat of a comfort to find that the following provision has been made for aborigines in that province. A sum of Rs. 2,400 recurring and Rs. 7,200 non-recurring has been earmarked for the development of the education of the forest tribes. A further sum of Rs. 12,500, recurring it seems, has been provided for opening additional schools for aborigines of Betul District, two tehsils out of three of which have a majority of hill tribes population. As this latter provision is for six months only, the provision for the coming year 1938-39, will be Rs. 25,000 for opening new schools in the aboriginal areas. There are not less than 29 lacs of Aborigines, Gonds, Baigas, Korkus, Kols, etc., in a population of 155 lacs in that province and hence the upliftment of the aborigines there is a problem as important as, if not more than the Harijan problem. It may also be noted that Harijans get free education in all Government Schools and Colleges from the beginning to the highest degree class.

Bihar has fortunately a Harijan in the Ministry. Though much does not seem to have been provided for the uplift work of Harijans there, it can be expected that the ministry will do much better in the next budget. Though Bihar has a large Harijan population, not less than about 18% of its total population, very little has been done in the past by Bihar Government for tackling the Harijan problem. Not more than four College scholarships were earmarked for Harijan students and not a single well was built by the state for the much despised Dom of the province. For the first time a sum of Rs. 2,000 has been earmarked for Harijan scholarships in the Budget of 1937-38 by the Congress Ministry. More money is promised in the course of the year for the purpose of scholarships, if required. Another item for the Harijan welfare is a sum of Rs. 30,000 reserved for building well, to be constructed in hamlets occupied by Harijans. This will go to satisfy a primary need of Harijans, to whom the use of common wells is prohibited by custom, though not by law.

As in the Central Provinces, the uplift of aborigines, living in the six districts of Chhota Nagpur Plateau, is as important as, if not more than, that of the Harijans. But no provision is yet made for them, they being left to be cared for by Christian Missionaries solely.

Orissa is the poorest province out of the eleven provinces which are now enjoying autonomy, limited and cramped as it is. But even that province has made a provision in its new budget of Rs. 5,000 for scholarships for Harijans and Aborigines for the first time.

Orissa has an enormous aboriginal population, about 40% of its total, so that vast problem is yet to be tackled. But any reasonable man will wait sometime before any substantial work can be done satisfactorily for Harijans and Aborigines by the Ministry of a poor province, which has on its hand already the problem of flood prevention and the training of the Mahanadi, literally, the Great River, which so often devastates its deltaic area.

The United Provinces budget has not been able to make any addition to its normal annual budget of Harijan education of Rs. 2,36,000, as it had to make up a deficit of Rs. 41 lacs. So we will have to wait for six months more before any addition can be made in the earmarked funds, either for education or water supply or for any other need of the Harijans. A special Officer of the Education Department with a large staff of 53 supervisors has been earmarked in that province for the promotion of Harijan education, and if that staff works devotedly, much can be done by it even by their propaganda only among the most numerous (105 lacs) and the most illiterate group of Harijans in the country.

Madras is always foremost, and will remain in the front rank, in the work of raising its Harijans. Starting from the year 1920, the well-staffed department called the Labour Department of Madras, spends from six to twelve lacs of rupees annually for running hundreds of special primary schools and hundreds of Co-operative Societies, for awarding scholarships and school fees to hundreds of students, for running free hostels for students and for providing Harijans land for house sites and for cultivation and other purposes. In the current year's budget a sum of one lac of rupees has been provided in addition to six lacs and odd provides last year for the purpose. With Mr. V. V. Giri as the Minister in charge of Labour and Harijan portfolio, there is not the least apprehension that the interest of the Harijans will not be given closest attention. And then there are 30 Harijan members ever ready to remind him by their presence and speeches in the Assembly.

FLOODS

By RAJENDRA PRASAD

DURING the three or four months of the rainy season one very often reads in newspapers reports of the havoc done by floods in parts of eastern portion of the United Provinces, Bihar, Northern Bengal, Assam and Orissa. The havoc and devastation caused are widespread and not only have human beings and cattle to suffer much misery and sometimes to lose their lives in large numbers but crops on extensive areas are destroyed leaving a trail of distress and deprivation behind. Relief is sought to be brought to the sufferers by the Government and charitably disposed individuals and organisations. But in the very nature of things such efforts can only relieve partially the immediate suffering and misery of some of the sufferers. It is necessary therefore to consider how far, if at all, it is possible to prevent the devastations caused by the floods.

It need hardly be pointed out that the volume of water which caused flood is sometimes overladen with silt which when deposited on the surface of the earth enriches it and makes it fertile. Floods are welcome by villagers in certain parts and the question is whether it is not possible to convert all floods into beneficent acts of nature from the destructive agency that they so often prove to be. It requires investigation and scientific treatment and a layman can only state the problem and suggest remedies which must be tested scientifically before being adopted. My attempt in this article will therefore be to put the problem for consideration, and it must inevitably be confined to Bihar with the conditions of which I am familiar and refer only incidentally to other Provinces mentioned above.

The U. P., Bihar, Bengal and Assam form the alluvial plain at the foot of the Himalayas and most of the rivers which pass through these Provinces have their sources in the Himalayas and flow ultimately into the Bay of Bengal. Orissa, South Bihar and South West Bengal are drained by rivers which rise in the Chota Nagpur Hills and the Central Provinces and these rivers also ultimately find their way into the Bay of Bengal.

The rivers with which people in North

Bihar and the Eastern U. P. are familiar are the Gomti, the Rapti, the Chhoti Gandak, the Saryu or Gogra, the Gandak, the Burhi Gandak, the Lakhandeyi, the Bagmati, the Kamla, the Balan, the Tirjuga and the Kosi. All these fall into the Ganges which becomes as it follows its course larger and larger until it joins the Brahmaputra and becomes a vast sheet of water whose opposite banks becomes invisible to an observer during the rainy season. The immense volume of water which these rivers have to drain comes partly from rains in the plains and in the Himalayas, partly from snow melting in the higher regions during the hot season and partly from perennial springs. The last two sources are not ordinarily responsible for devastation but heavy simultaneous downpour in the hills and in the plains is often accompanied by devastating floods. It is the experience of laymen which has to be verified by reference to recorded events that floods have become recently more frequent, that the accumulation of water lasts longer than used to be the case say 25 or 30 years ago, that floods reach regions which used to be immune from them formerly and that the consequent damage to property, particularly to crops, is inevitably much more. It is also commonly believed that since the earthquake of 1934 the position has become much worse and calls for immediate treatment.

During my wanderings in the rainy season in North Bihar and particularly in connection with the flood relief since 1914, I have had occasion to observe certain things and learn from village folks and towns people certain facts which it is worthwhile recording for consideration by competent persons. There can be no doubt that the Gangetic valley will not be the rich fertile tract that it is without floods. Everyone knows that lands adjoining the Ganges and the other rivers are the richest in the country on account of the silt which floods deposit. It is also true that in spite of the fact that the inhabitants of these parts have to submit to much privation during the rainy season in years of moderate floods, they welcome these floods and the whole area is on the whole much healthier than other parts of the country. It is thus clear that floods, if they are of moderate size, are welcomed both as enriching the soil and as rendering it free from malaria and such like diseases. The question is—may not all floods be converted into such beneficent agencies?

Some of the rivers are very erratic and change their courses. The Gandak has been confined within two embankments along practically its whole course from the point near Tribeni where it emerges from the hills right down to a point opposite Patna where it joins the Ganges. It has therefore not changed its course since the embankment was made but if the numerous *jheels* and *mans* or lakes that one sees in the District of Champaran are an indication of having been once the course of the river, there is no doubt that it has been possible to confine it only after embankment. The Bagmati and Kamla and the Kosi are notorious for shifting their courses almost overnight, and one becomes confused by the number of streams which have the name of Kamla and Kosi. The Kosi particularly is known to travel between two points nearby 60 or 70 miles apart within the same number of years. Along these rivers rich tracts become barren wastes where even trees die, population perishes from malaria and barren tracts become rich and fertile with healthy humming population in the course of a few years.

It has been stated by observers that since the great earthquake of 1934 floods have become more frequent, widespread and lasting. It was observed after the earthquake that small rivulets and channels had in many places thrown up large quantities of sand partially or sometimes even wholly filling them up. Innumerable ditches, tanks and wells got choked with sand and in fact all low lands were exposed to this kind of actions. I saw the bed of the Lakhandeyi near Sitamarhi filled with sand and noticed many channels, ditches and tanks so filled with sand that they were indistinguishable from the adjoining level ground. It is therefore quite possible that even the larger rivers like the Gandak, the Gogra and even the Ganges had their beds lifted up by the deposit of sand and thus their capacity for draining flood water considerably curtailed. That this has happened is also borne out by the fact which, again, has to be verified that floods have occurred even when the water has not reached the recorded flood levels in many places. For example, at Chapra there was flood at a time when the gauge showed that water was about two feet below the level at which there used to be floods formerly. The result of the lifting of the river beds has thus been to reduce the water bearing capacity of these rivers causing the surplus water to spill over the banks and cover larger areas than used to be the case formerly. For the same reason the spill water cannot be drained away as quickly as before. It may also be that the outlets of the channels have got choked or become higher near their outfalls and thus they are unable to discharge the water

as speedily as before. In the District of Saran there were not only three or four floods in 1936 but they lasted for weeks together on each occasion whereas formerly water did not remain accumulated for more than a few days at a time.

After the earthquake the Survey Department of the Government made a survey of North Bihar to ascertain if there was any change in the general level of the countryside. The investigation indicated that in some places there had been considerable sinking of the level leaving the affected area like a saucer. In other places there had been a sloping down. But if I remember aright it was also felt that these level readings could not be considered to be perfectly reliable inasmuch as in many places the bench marks or rather the points with reference to which the level in adjoining areas is judged had themselves sunk down and could not be treated as permanent landmarks. But on the whole the change in levels generally speaking was not considered to be of a very alarming character as in no place was it found to be more than 1½ ft., although this may not be so inconsiderable when we remember that the whole country is so flat that between the mouth of the Ganges and say Patna—a distance of nearly 400 miles the difference in the level is only about 150 or 160 feet. The point for investigation therefore is whether river beds have become lifted up and their capacity for draining flood and rain water has become reduced, and if so, how best the drainage can be affected so as to prevent floods due to spilling over of the surplus water.

Apart from the earthquake it is also quite possible that on account of other natural causes river beds are becoming higher. The immense quantity of solid matter carried by the floods goes on gradually settling down as the flood rushes on, and the process of deposit becomes more rapid as the velocity of the current diminishes. The velocity naturally becomes less and less as the country becomes more and more flat. It is also suggested that the opening of the canals in the upper regions of the Ganges has had the effect of reducing this velocity of the current and thus its capacity of scouring the surface and keeping the bed deep. This may apply to other rivers also which feed canals. Again it has been said that immense quantities of sand caused by the crumbling of rocks of the Himalayas are carried and deposited in the river beds, and as all this sand is not conveyed to the sea it fills the river beds and raises their levels. That immense quantities of sand are carried about by the floods is known to all. But the question for investigation is how far these are responsible for silting of river beds and consequent floods. One other natural agency which has its effect on rainfall and on the general question of erosion of surface soil and on other similar questions is the existence or otherwise of forests. At a Conference held recently in South Africa where the whole question of disforestation and its effect on climate, rainfall and erosion were considered by experts from all over the British Empire, it was pointed out that erosion was affected to a considerable extent by disforestation. I have no experience or knowledge about the condition of forests in Bihar, U. P., and Bengal but I think this aspect of the question may also claim attention.

I have so far mentioned only natural agencies which may be responsible for floods. Let me now turn to some causes brought about by the art of man. As one travels along the railway in the flood season one cannot help feeling that the railway embankment is one such agency. It is the biggest embankment, highest in most places and most extensive. I have noticed that while on one side of the railway line water is several feet deep, on the other there is hardly any water at all. It is a common complaint that openings, culverts and bridges for allowing water to pass from one side to the other of the railway line are so few and so narrow that they do not allow the water to spill over large areas and thus cause havoc by over-flooding on one side and dearth of water on the other. Whenever the flood is high it causes breaches in line. Between Sonepore and Chapra within a distance of about 27 or 28 miles there have been occasions when dozens of breaches have occurred and the railway service has had to be suspended for weeks. Between Chapra and Masrakh similarly there has had to be firing resulting in bloodshed for protecting the line and yet on several occasions the line has been breached. Between Siwan and Mairwa the line was breached on more than one occasion. I know one interesting incident. There was heavy flood in the north of the line while the southern side was comparatively safe. The water was held up by the railway. The railway company apprehending trouble sought for and got police aid for protecting the line. Some villagers in their desperation swam across the water with spades on their shoulders and challenged the police to shoot them, if they could, as they were bent upon to cutting the line. They were dying, they said, in any case, and it was better to die of gun-shot while engaged in the act of saving thousands than to

be drowned. The Police had not the courage to shoot and the railway line was cut—the situation saved. At the spot there is a pretty long bridge now. The story goes that the report to the Government was that the line had been breached by the flood but the B. N. W. Ry. was for once wise and did not simply fill up the breach. Between Chapra and Sonepore on the other hand every time the breaches have been filled up only to be attacked again by the next flood.

In the area between Darbhanga and Jaynagar the railway service is interrupted almost every rainy season and similar is the case on the Bhaptiahi-Mansi line, although it is not an infrequent incident to see the B. N. W. Ry. train slowly wading through water along this line to the amusement of the passengers not unaccompanied by considerable risk to their lives. The area near about Mehsi on the Mehsi-Bhaptiahi line as also that along the main line between Meshi and Panchgachia presents the appearance of one vast sheet of water on both sides of the river with hardly any large opening in the railway embankment. In Champaran railway communication gets interrupted now and then between Motihari and Bettiah on account of floods and the Darbhanga-Narkatiganj line is also exposed to similar interruptions. Sometimes even bridges cause havoc by helping to change river courses. We know how the prosperous village of Shitabdiara in the District of Saran has to suffer frequently on account of the Incheape Bridge on the Gogra which has the effect of diverting a portion of the river water to run in a direction striking directly against that village.

The next largest embankments are the District and Local Boards Roads. These are no less necessary than railway embankments for maintaining communication. But there is no gain-saying the fact that they have furnished effective obstruction to the spread of flood water over large areas. The level of these roads has gone on constantly rising and like railways they are not blessed with too many culverts and openings to allow water to pass from one side to the other. They too accordingly very often suffer from the fury of floods and are cut up by them only to be filled up again.

Then there are embankments made for protection against floods. Some of these have been made by Government and cover long distances. The people supposed to derive benefit from them have to pay a separate cess for their construction and maintenance. Others have been built by private individuals to protect their own property. These naturally have no system and are often the source of much quarrel ending in free fights between rival groups of people. These also have the effect of obstructing a free spread of water over large areas and its even distribution. It stands to reason that if a volume of water spreads over a large area its depth will be correspondingly small, and thus what may be the cause of a deep flood if confined to a small area may be the cause of a good crop if evenly distributed over a large area. And the problem of floods can be solved only if this equilibrium can be brought about.

The problems which emerge for consideration, therefore, are :—

(*i*) Is it true that river beds and other channels of drainage are getting reduced in their capacity and are unable to carry as much water and as quickly as they used to do before ?

(*ii*) If so, to what extent is this reduction in their capacity due (*a*) to natural causes which have been in operation for a long time, such as the transfer of sand from the hilly regions and (*b*) to sudden natural causes, such as, the earthquake ?

(*iii*) Has there been a disturbance in the general level of North Bihar on account of the earthquake or by the operation of other causes, thus rendering areas liable to floods which have hitherto been immune from them ?

(*iv*) Has there been disforestation on a scale sufficient to affect the question of floods and erosion ?

(*v*) To what extent are railway embankments responsible for the obstruction to a free flow and spread of rain and flood water over large areas and thus causing accumulation of water and floods in certain areas ?

(*vi*) To what extent are District Board and Local Board roads responsible for similar results ?

(*vii*) What is the effect of embankments, public and private ?

A study of problems will naturally require data on which to form conclusions. I doubt if records have been maintained and data are available for any valid and scientific inferences to be drawn or future programme to be evolved. I understand that within the last few years a special division of the Public Works Department in Bihar has been engaged in studying the problem. Its experience and collection of materials will be very helpful but it has been in existence for such a short time that I doubt if it can furnish enough material. While our people suffer miserably every year it is no use undertaking any large plans unless we are certain of their effects humanly and scientifically speaking. In America they study the

problem in laboratories and then adopt measures. In India, too, there are institutes in Poona and the Punjab where similar problems are studied. It is necessary to have a river research institute in these parts also for the investigation of this problem. As the problems affecting the U. P., Bihar, Bengal, Assam and Orissa are similar a joint Institute may be established and the cost met out of contributions made by the Provinces concerned. If, however, the cost is considered prohibitive, the existing Institutes may be requested to undertake the investigation of the problems affecting these provinces at their cost. It is doubtful, however, if they will be able to give the necessary time and attention to problems of other Provinces and the best thing would be to start the thing even in a small way in these Provinces which have one river system to deal with. It may be a pretty long time before definite results are available. But it is better to adopt a safe and sound remedy late than to embark on a plan quickly which may leave us at the end in a worse position than we were in at the beginning. The personnel to be employed in this work must necessarily be largely local, familiar with condition prevailing in these parts and the best course would be to train our own Engineers in flood protection work. But we should not hesitate to take help from outside, if necessary, and no question of prestige should be allowed to stand in our way.

Along with the question of floods the problem of irrigation has also to be studied and solved. North Bihar fortunately does not need as much irrigation as South Bihar but the problem of irrigation is not altogether negligible even in North Bihar. May not this immense volume of water which runs to waste and causes so much havoc in its mad career be stored and let off as necessity arises and thus utilised for irrigation? Is it beyond the resources of twentieth century engineering to harness it in such a way as to give us cheap electrical energy all the year round and cheap water to parching crops?

Waterlogging is a fruitful source of malaria. Many smiling tracts have become devastated on account of malaria. In the Districts of Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, North Monghyr and North Bhagalpur it has been noticed that virulent malaria has covered large areas. Two years ago the area near about Rampurhari attracted attention. Last year it was the turn of Madhubani Subdivision. This year Manusamara has claimed relief. Supaul and Madhepura have for years never been quite safe. Purnea and parts of Champaran have long been notorious. It is feared that what happened in the Burdwan Division of Bengal some fifty years ago is going to be repeated in parts of Bihar. Then many of the river channels which used to be flooded and thus supply not only silt to the cultivated area but also to wash away the malarial larvæ got choked up by natural causes or by act of man and the area became waterlogged and consequently malarial. The result has been that a once fertile and smiling tract has become devastated. Shall we allow that to happen in Bihar also, when science can perhaps prevent it?

The problem is vast. It requires detailed and patient investigation. When a remedy is found that may require big investment. That may not be within our resources. But we have to approach the whole thing with hope and determination. There is no reason to imagine that it is incapable of solution. If it may prove to be beyond remedy, its evil effects may be at least considerably mitigated. The weal and woe of crores of people is involved and nothing that is humanly possible should be left undone. The Governments of the Provinces concerned should put their heads together and evolve a common plan and line of action. The first step must necessarily be a joint conference of experts and others interested in the question to prepare an outline of the problem to be investigated and devise an agency to study it. When the problem has been investigated joint efforts should be made to adopt the remedies suggested. The Government of India also dare not neglect such a vital problem and should be made to take interest in it by the local Governments concerned. While the problem is under investigation measures of a temporary nature for relief of sufferers should be adopted. If popular ministries can at least start work on this tremendous problem they will have deserved well of the present and succeeding generations.

Sadakat Ashram,
14th September, 1937.



INDIAN FREEDOM FRONT

By RAMMANOHAR LOHIA

A constant theme of Indian publicists is that the country is so strong as never before and that the Indian people have neared the stage of final resistance against British Imperialism. It might be just a wish though it should be rememebred that strong wishes have a prophetic quality and are very often fulfilled through repetition and insistence. Assuming that the optimistic assessment of the country's strength is a wish and not a fact, it is a strong wish and is being insisted upon and constantly repeated.

To estimate if the Indian freedom movement is growing stronger and irresistible, it is necessary to examine its embrace and its intensity. If increasingly wider masses are brought within the fold of active participants in the freedom movement and the desire for freedom is acquiring first place in their emotional values, the propagandist's wish of a country in the final stage of anti-imperialism is already growing into a fact.

Worse than the European slum-dweller, the untouchables of India are variously computed between 30 and 60 millions. This wide difference in the various estimates is the result of classifications based on the social and religious disabilities from which the untouchables suffer. These disabilities relate to schooling and the use of wells and public institutions in common with other Hindu castes and they account for the exclusion of untouchables from the Hindu temples of god and even their touch may so pollute the orthodox as to compel a good bath. Custom does not permit the untouchable to grow out of the shoe-making or the scavenging castes into which he may be born and it often gives a religious sanction to the high-caste landlord's tyranny upon the untouchable tenant or farm-labourer. Even as one regards one group of disabilities or the other, one's estimate of the total number of untouchables varies. At any rate, they form between 10% and 20% of India's population. This huge mass of men was in the past so thoroughly benighted and unconscious that its participation in the direct action fights of Indian independence was not to be had. Conditions are changed and the next fight will be different.

Immediately after the breakdown of the last civil disobedience movement, nearly four years ago, the conscience of the nation was convulsed by Mahatma Gandhi's frontal attack on the religious disability of the untouchable. The State of Travancore recently opened all its temples to the untouchable and old orthodoxy is positively vanishing. But where the religious disability of non-access to wells and temples and public institutions and of treatment as god-ordained inferior race is fast disappearing, the economic disability of dirty occupations and extreme poverty still remains. It is true that the economic disability of the untouchable is not exclusively his own and other classes suffer from it but, in his case it has assumed critical dimensions. To destroy this lowly economic status of the untouchable, programmes of agrarian reform have been elaborated and they have become part of the freedom movement under the aegis of the Congress and the Congress Socialist Party. This vast mass of one-fifth part of India's population is today under the influence of the Congress and the freedom movement and one may legitimately expect it to march shoulder to shoulder with the rest of India in the next active struggle for freedom.

The Indian States account for 80 million of India's population. These are governed by Indian chiefs, though under the authority of British imperialism, and they very effectively compete with British India in the matter of repressive laws and general political mismanagement. The Indian states are characterised by British administrators as dams to obstruct the floods of democratic opinion in British India and they have a predominant place in the scheme of British domination over the country. The Congress has in the past largely kept itself at a distance from the problems of the Indian States and its attitude is still believed to be non-interventionist.There are no doubt Congress resolutions which demand democratic rights and liberties for the people of the States but there is a general impression that the Congress shirks complications with the Princes. This cannot long continue to be so. Aside of the fact that British imperialism is determined to use the Princes in opposition to the Congress in the contemplated Federation of India, the Congress attitude in regard to them is steadily undergoing a rapid transformation. At the annual sessions of the Indian States Peoples' Conference, July 1936, the President, Pattabhi Sitaramayya said:

"They (the States) are the vestiges of an ancient

civilization and must perforce disappear sooner or later like their betters of the past. At present they only constitute a wedge between the people of India and their ideal of a composite nationality."

Jawharlal Nehru and the Congress Socialist Party are committed to an entire wiping out of the Indian States and Nehru says:

"The fundamental fact remains that Indian States and the rest of India are one and indivisible and that an Indian, wherever he may live in this vast land of ours, must have the same rights and opportunities—political, economic, social and cultural—as any other Indian."

The people of the Indian States can be finally liberated only if the princely orders are abolished, but there is also the immediate problem of warding off autocratic attacks on the democratic rights of the people. It may be some time before the Congress fights against the institution of Indian States as such, but it can no longer shirk the struggle against the normal excesses of princely India. The Indian struggle for freedom from British domination, to that extent, will be more broadbased and, though it cannot be definitely said that the 80 millions of Indian States are brought under Congress influence, the embrace of the Congress has begun reaching them.

The Muslim masses constitute a little over one-fifth of India's population. They have taken their share in the fight for freedom, both in the non-cooperation movement of 1920 and the civil disobedience movements of 1930 and 1932. In the last two movements, of those who suffered imprisonment for undermining British rule, the Mussalmans formed just a little less than one-fifth part. And yet it will not be entirely wrong to say that the Muslims have to an extent kept aloof from the freedom struggle. As a group, their participation in such national activities as general strikes and mass demonstrations and boycott of British cloth has been chary and grudging and often enough, they have lent themselves to hostile uses against the Congress. It is too early yet to say what the exact nature of Muslm participation in future freedom actions is likely to be, but a definite and radical improvement in Congress approach to Muslim masses has been effected. Seventeen years ago, together with the general Congress appeal of peaceful retaliation against the atrocities of Jallianwala Bagh and Rowlatt Act, when whole masses of men were shot down or made to crawl on all fours, the Congress sought to mobilise the Muslim masses on the Khilafat issue, a religious issue and that too related to an extra-territorial Caliphate. In the last two movements, a specially religious appeal to the Muslim masses was not made. During recent years, however, the general Congress appeal has acquired a deeper political and economic content and, in so far as it is suited to express the misery and discontent and aspirations of agrarian and working-class masses, it brings Mussalmans in closer embrace to the Congress. The only exclusively Muslim organisation on national scale, the All India Muslim League, functions largely through the support of the landed gentry and traditional Islam and it remains to be seen to what extent its religious draw will be effectively combated by the politico-economic programmes of the Congress. It is indicative that the Government is already nervous and took during the past one month five major actions of conviction, arrest and externment against leading Muslim propagandists of the Congress. It is also worth noting that the Muslim masses are generally believed to respond well to the socialist orientation and solution of national problems.

The embrace of the Congress is wider today than ever before and the organisation is increasingly broadbasing itself. The 80 million Muslims, the 30 to 60 million untouchables and the 80 millions of Princely India are more accessible and sympathetic to Congress ideals of freedom and economic betterment than ever before.

In order to understand if the desire for freedom is growing more intense and finds appropriate expression in the policies and programmes of the anti-imperialist movement, knowledge of certain basic statistics of the condition of the people and its steady worsening is relevant.*

The organ of the anti-imperialist movement is the Indian National Congress and there are other class organisations like the Congress Socialist Party, Trade Union Congress and Peasant Congress. To the right of the National Congress, there is no politics save that of court-presentations and letters-to-the-editor stuff or of exclusively religious and communal top-interests. The Congress itself embodies various interests and shades of opinion, though its basis is anti-imperialist.

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* 1. The dividend which the United Kingdom draws from India works out at an average of Rs. 680 million per year.

2. The total value of agricultural produce of the country for the pre-depression years has been calculated at Rs 10 milliard, while during years of crisis it fell so low as a little over Rs. 5.5 milliard. Over 250 million men are dependent on agriculture and so the annual earnings per person work out at Rs. 40 for pre-crisis and Rs. 22 for post-crisis years. Out of this, more than a quarter is sliced out to the State, landlord and the

Of late, the Congress has given increasing attention to the economic aspect of the political problem of freedom and former Congress resolu tions suggesting "revolutionary changes in the present economic and social structure of society" are only now acquiring real significance. President Jawharlal Nehru wrote in July, 1936:

"Strengthening of the masses, and of the Congress orginasation through them is not necessary because of our (socialist objective), but because of the (anti-imperialist) struggle itself."

The Congress Agrarian Programme has already become the focal point for the organisation of vast peasant masses within the Congress fold. This programme sees the final solution of the agrarian question in the "removal of British imperialist exploitation and a radical change in the antiquated and repressive land tenure and revenue systems." Complete exemption of uneconomic holdings from rent or land tax, liquidation of unconscionable or excessive debts and moratorium on the other debts, fixity of tenure and stoppage of peasant ejections and other items of peasant improvement are advocated. At its annual Conference, July 1937, the Bihar Provincial Congress went so far as to recommend the entire wiping out of landed estates. More than ever before, the Congress is associating itself with working-class strikes for higher wages or lesser hours of work. The programme of national independence is undoubtedly acquiring deeper political and economic content and its character is progressively becoming democratic revolutionary. Against it, the age-old classifications and barriers of Hindu-Muslim and high-caste-untouchable have little chance of survival.

While the fact of steady advance of the Congress towards revolutionary democracy is of great importance, it must not be assumed that this advance is uniform and even, or that there are no moderating elements within the Congress. Crudely, the Congress has three wings though there never have been any well-defined distinctions. What one might call the extreme Right is composed of people who are not worried on first principles and, though they must periodically break laws in obedience to Congress mandates, they essentially adhere to the gradualist concept of attaining the country's freedom. They appear to be a reflex of the weak-kneed Indian bourgeoisie and, aside of the influence they exercise with the centre group, they have no direct contact with the masses. The centre is the dominant group in the Congress and, with Gandhiji's first principles of freedom with conciliation, it is continually torn between rupture and negotiations with British imperialism. The left in the Congress advocates the strategy of consistent aggression against imperialism and the tactics of peasant's and workers' struggles.

The Congress Left has largely come under the influence of the Congress Socialist Party. Formed in May, 1934, the Party is believed now to represent one-fourth of the Congress strength. Through its consistent advocacy of immediate assault on the new constitution by non-acceptance of the responsibilities of a majority, the Party has expressed the strategy of permanent resistance against imperialism and through its propagation of immediate demands of the peasantry, working class and city poor and their association into separate class organisation, it has expressed the tactics of day-to-day economic struggles converging into the final anti-imperialist offensive. There are no doubt other socialist groups and these have differences with the Congress Socialist Party either in their approach towards the Congress or on the manner in which the independent party of the working class is to be organised. Aside of the execution of the anti-imperialist programme, the Socialist Party and other groups naturally work for the strengthening of socialist forces so that further advance towards the Socialist Republic will be possible.

There is, for the present at least, general agreement that the united front of all anti-imperialist organisations and classes can only be effected within the Indian National Congress. This gives a sense of security and dissipates all fears of the broadbased and intense freedom movement disintegrating into internal strifes. Indeed, there are bound to be adjustments and approximations in the programme of the Congress and this is the hope of each anti-imperialist section so to adjust the Congress programme as to approximate it nearer its own ideals.

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moneylender and about as much is spent in the costs of production. Even on the basis of his pre-crisis income, the Indian peasant lives today on less than 3 English shillings a month. In the United Provinces alone, in 1935, over 218,000 suits were instituted for the ejection of tenants unable to pay their rents to the landlord. Agricultural indebtedness all over the country has almost doubled from Rs. 9 milliards in 1929 to Rs. 16 milliards in 1936.

3. The total yield of foodcrops in British India fluctuates around 50 million tons and so gives the miserable average of less than 1 lb. (.8 lb. after deducting cattle-fodder etc.) per day per head of the population. Expert opinion has calculated that British India needs another 20 million tons of foodcrops to feed the people.

4. The Indian Government spends annually about 3½d per person on public health. 24.9 persons in a thousand die annually in British India. Over one-third of the population is, annually once at least, victim to the exhausting effects of malaria.

The major question before the country today is that of the new Constitution. British Parliament is the source of its authority and the Congress has opposed to it the sovereign will of the Indian people and the demand for the Constituent Assembly. This Assembly shall have "the power to determine finally the Constitution of the country" and, as such, can meet only when actual power has passed or is passing from the British to the Indian people. In this manner, the Congress takes its stand on the principle of complete national self-determination and is no longer prepared to enter into such negotiations with British imperialism as may curtail or restrict the country's political freedom.

With this attitude towards the new Constitution, the National Congress took part in the elections. It secured absolute majorities in six provinces comprising two-thirds of British India's population. In other provinces the Muslim element predominated and, in view of the communal franchise and relative backwardness of Muslim masses, the Congress had oftener to content itself with being the largest single party. In the six provinces of absolute Congress majorities, two courses of action lay before the Congress. By refusing to shoulder cabinet responsibilities to which it alone was entitled, the Congress could have immediately forced the breakdown of the new Constitution. Along this path lay, also in action, increasing antagonism with British imperialism. The other course was that of forming Congress cabinets and of enacting into law provisions of the agrarian and other constructive programmes. This path clearly showed the desire to cry halt to worsening of Indo-British relations and, while it might generate strength among the masses by bringing them relief, it betrayed a certain lack of faith in their fighting abilities. The Congress chose to accept office, though under a condition.

For over three months, there was a temporary breakdown of the Constitution. The Congress insisted that Provincial Governors should give an assurance that they will not use their extraordinary powers and interfere with or set aside the advice of ministers in regard to their constitutional activities. The British Government, both in India and in London, thought that the Congress demand violated the constitution. Both the Congress and the Government changed their ground by slow degrees and finally the position was arrived at that, though an assurance in terms of the Congress could not be given, the essence of provincial autonomy as envisaged in the new Constitution was the co-operation of the Governor with his Ministers. Congress cabinets are now functioning in all the six provinces. The present situation denotes essentially the victory of the centre group in the Congress which is now inclined to experiment with the policy of negotiations and understanding as opposed to that of rupture and is also open to bourgeoise influence. In a recent article, Mahatma Gandhi characterises the present Congress policy as an honest effort to avoid a bloody revolution or mass civil disobedience on a scale not hitherto attempted.

The question that naturally arises is : when are we going to have this mass civil disobedience on a scale not hitherto attempted ? It may be stated at the outset that the present Congress policy does not mean acceptance of the constitutional method nor abrogation of the demand for the Constituent Assembly. Even the Congress resolution that permits assumption of cabinet responsibilities, unequivocally states that 'the existing relationship between the British Government and the people of India is that of the exploiter and the exploited' and that a main purpose of office-acceptance is to combat the new Act. It is obvious that in the final framing of the Congress policy the two contrary streams of conciliation and rupture seem to have intermixed, though with greater volume of the first.

When the emphasis will finally shift from conciliation to rupture—will largely depend on the unity of left forces and their capacity to develop mass ferment and struggles. The necessary broadbasing of the freedom movement is, as we have seen, continually developing. The condition of the masses is so thoroughly steeped in misery that any amount of relief within the imperialist framework will not succeed in swerving them from the revolutionary path. Only one thing is needed. The Left must redouble the use of the technic of workers' and peasants' struggles. Not only will that serve to drag the Congress away from its present policies but it will also help in giving a new form to our next countrywide struggle for freedom. A general strike in steel-works and dockyards and on railways and widespread peasant struggles may be made to time with the next mass civil disobedience.

It is also significant that the Congress and the entire freedom movement is now pledged to resist an imperialist war in which Britain is involved. Men and money are of course to be refused; what is more important is that such a crisis of British imperialism is to be utilised to secure India's freedom.

Allahabad.

COMMENTS AND CRITICISM

"The Royal Veto in the New Constitution"

I have read with great surprise the article entitled "The Royal Veto in the New Constitution" by Dr. Nanda Lal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D. of the Lucknow University which appeared in the September Number of *The Modern Review.* The whole article has been vitiated by a fundamental mistake made by the Doctor, *viz.*, that, Crown's power to veto Indian laws even after the assent of the Governor-General or the Governor of a Province is an innovation introduced in the New Constitution of India, any such thing being hitherto unknown in our previous constitutions, including the Montford Constitution. Dr. Chatterji says that "a royal veto of this type is not only totally foreign to the spirit of the British Constitution, but had never been considered necessary even for the Indian Constitution so far . . . To the student of the Indian Constitution, this would surely appear to be one of the most interesting innovations which characterise the new Reforms, and it is not a little surprising that it has not sufficiently attracted the attention of publicists and politicians in India."

As a matter of fact, the royal veto on Indian legislation even after the assent of the Governor-General, or of both the Governor and the Governor-General as the case may be, is not an innovation of the New Act, but it existed in the Montford Constitution as well. Section 69(1) of the consolidated Government of India Act of 1915-19 runs as follows: "When an Act of the Indian Legislature has been assented to by the Governor-General, he shall send to the Secretary of State an authentic copy thereof, and it shall be lawful for His Majesty in Council to signify his disallowance of any such Act." Section 82(1) of the same Act gives the crown similar power to veto provincial laws even after they have been duly assented to by the Governor of the Province concerned and the Governor-General. It should also be noticed that no time limit is fixed for the exercise of the power of veto under the Act of 1915-19 so that it might be utilized after one, two or three years, or even more; whereas the Government of India Act of 1935 fixes a definite period of twelve months within which only royal disallowance, if any, must be signified.

Dr. Chatterji has again laid himself open to criticism in stating that "the King has no right to disallow any Dominion Bill in this manner, and he has to accept the the advice of his Dominion Ministers in respect of all local legislation, even though that advice may be in opposition to that of his own Ministers in Britain."

The following lines quoted from Arthur Berriedale Keith's *Dominion Autonomy in Practice* (Oxford University Press: 1929) state the actual position of the King in relation to Dominion legislation.

"Over the legislation of the Dominion, the Imperial Government still possesses in law very extensive powers which it could, if it desired, use with full legal effect. No Dominion Bill can become law without the assent of the Governor, and this assent may be withheld on instruction from the Crown . . . Even, however, *if a Bill is assented to by a Governor, it is legal for the Crown to disallow it, usually within a period of one or two years*" (Pp. 34-35. Italics mine). No doubt such power of veto has now become quite obsolete but it holds good in theory. In England also such royal veto does exist even with respect to laws passed by the Parliament, though it has never been used since 1707. Furthermore, it is absolutely wrong to suppose that the King of Great Britain can even act *in opposition to the advice of his own Ministers in Great Britain,* as Dr. Chatterji states.

In conclusion, I beg to state that I am no apologist of the New Constitution; but I have merely attempted a few of the factual corrections that suggested themselves to me.

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Dr. Nandalal Chatterji's reply will be published in November.—Ed., *M. R.*

"Evidence of the Irda Copper-plate"

IN a note in *The Modern Review* for September, 1937, pp. 323-24, Mr. N. G. Majumdar has suggested (*a*) that Kamboja-vamsa-tilaka Rajyapala of the Irda grant is possibly identical with the Pala king named Rajyapala, and (*b*) that the Palas were the same as the Kambojas. As an alternative suggestion, Mr. Majumdar has also referred to my views regarding the relation between the Palas and the Kambojas (p. 324). In this connection, I like to draw the attention of scholars to my article entitled *Bangadese Kambojganer Rajatva,* recently published in the *Kayastha-Patrika* (Bengali) for Bhadra, 1344 B.S. In this article, I have discussed the whole question and have offered several arguments in favour of the following suggestions:

(*a*) The Palas cannot be the same as the Kambojas;

(*b*) *Kamboja-vamsa-tilaka* Rajyapala of the Irda grant is possibly to be identified with Rajyapala of the Pala dynasty; the epithet seems to suggest that he was born of a Kamboja mother;

(*c*) The epithet *Kamboj-anvayaja-gaudapati* applied to Kunjaraghatavarsha of the Bangarh inscription may also be explained in the same way, and *Kunjaraghatavarsha* may be taken as a *biruda* of Rajyapala;

(*d*) The actual name of the Pala Prince Haravarsha, mentioned in Abhinanda's *Ramacharita* and generally identified with the Pala King Devapala, is probably Prithvipala who appears to have been another son of Dharmapala.

It will be seen that both Mr. Majumdar and myself are inclined to identify *Kamboja-vamsa-tilaka* Rajyapala with King Rajyapala of the Pala family, but while I have rejected the possibility of the identification of the Pala and Kamboja families and have suggested that the Pala King named Rajyapala was related to the Kambojas on his mother's side, Mr. Majumdar is inclined to identify the Kambojas with the Palas. The suggestion of Mr. Majumdar however, seems to be untenable in view of the following facts:

(*a*) If the Palas were the same as the Kambojas, the earlier Kings of the family (from Gopala I, *circa* 765-69, to Narayanapala, *circa* 857-911 A.D.) should have most naturally claimed connection with that ancient and illustrious Kshatriya tribe, famous in early Indian literature;

(*b*) Verse 13 of the Monghyr grant of Devapala tells us that during the victorious expeditions (*vijaya-kramena*) of this Pala King his war-horses reached the Kamboja country. It thus speaks of the victory of a Pala King over the Kambojas, but does not refer to any relation between the former and the latter. That Devapala conquered

the Kambojas is also suggested by the Nalanda grant of Devapala and the Badal *prasasti* of Guravamisra;

(c) In records like the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva and works like the *Ramacharita*, the Pala Kings are distinctly said to have belonged to the *Pala-kula*. The family was evidently famous under this name. If the Palas were Kambojas, why should only two records of about the middle of of the tenth century refer to that fact? Why should all other Pala records be silent on that point, even when some of them have occasion to mention the Kambojas in connection with Devapala's *digvijaya*?

Mr. Majumdar, moreover, seems to have missed the importance of the word *vilupta* in the expression *anadhikrita-viluptam* of the Bangarh grant of Mahipala I. It suggests that Mahipala had to recover the *whole* of his *pitrya rajya* which had been occupied by the usurpers.

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"Parsi Charities"

WHEN "Scientificus" has thought it fit to make the uncalled-for remark, "The Parsis have been in India for over 1.300 years. They have flourished under Indian protection. They owe their success in business and industry primarily to Indian sentiment and patriotism," it is but fair for an humble writer like me to be allowed to lay facts bare before the public.

It is true that Parsis are in India for the past 1.300 years, but it is also true that for centuries under the Hindu and Moslem rulers their lot was that of the drawers of water and hewers of wood. It was only with the advent of Britishers in India that the community began to emerge as the one capable of producing merchant princes, founders of the present great Congress movement, the only 3 Indian Members of the British Parliaments and promoters of scientific education in India. If they flourish, it is not due to any mercy and sentiment on the part of their countrymen, but solely to their grit, honesty and enterprise.

Under the same Indian sentiment and patriotism industrialists of other communities have flourished, but have they requited the protection and privileges so afforded, by any single individuals giving away crores in charity as Tatas and Wadias have done?

"Scientificus" tries to wax eloquent on his discovery that "Tatas took advantage of the sentiment and floated their Co.," *i.e.*, their colossal Iron and Steel Works, in 1907, when the Swadeshi movement was at its height! On the contrary the Indian public have to thank Tatas for inculcating in them the ideals of Indian enterprise in the field of Industry on a scale, the vastness of which bears comparison with any of the most up-to-date Plants in the West. Tatas are no doubt grateful to the public for their prompt response but it also behoves the latter to admit the fact that by stabilishing the Works and running them so efficiently Tatas have fully justified the support received by them. A less scrupulous managing concern would have allowed the affairs to drift hopelessly until disaster overtook the whole management and the enterprise brought to an inglorious end. Isn't it a pity that India in spite of her teeming millions has yet to await the birth of a non-Parsi Jamshed i N. Tata?

Now let us come to the main question which rankles in the mind of "Scientificus." He observes:

"It was only Indian patriotism and sentiment which enabled Tatas to start the magnificent Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur. They (students) have a legitimate right to demand of the Tatas that their charities should be cent per cent devoted to the benefit of India. It is desirable that the Indian public should take up the agitation and bring sufficient pressure upon the present Trustees of the different Tata Charities so that they may be forced to adopt a more patriotic policy."

It is simply preposterous to dictate to donors how to make charities. If the late Mr. J. N. Tata and his sons the late Sir Dorab and the late Sir Ratan, *in their individual capacities*, gave away crores in charity, they had every right to fix terms and conditions as they liked. Nobody could have obliged them to part with their crores if they were not so charitably disposed. Do we not know that in India there are many far wealthier landlords and princes, who have not been generous enough to donate even a few lakhs in charity in their lifetime?

It is a well-known fact that hundreds of brilliant Indians without distinction of caste and creed have during the past 30 years or so been financially helped by the Tatas to proceed abroad for higher studies. The Science Institute of Bangalore owes its existence to the munificent gift of Rs. 30 lakhs and more of Mr. J. N. Tata. Compare this catholic charity with the bequest of Rs. 40 lakhs of the late R. B. D. Laxminarayan for Technological Research confined strictly to Hindus domiciled in C. P. and Berar! Comparisons may be odious but become necessary in such circumstances.

The scholarships given to foreigners as referred to by "Scientificus" are entirely in accordance with the wishes of the late Sir Dorabji Tata to perpetuate the memory of his wife. And the Trustees in selecting the most deserving research workers of the world have acted wholly in accordance with the provisions of the Trust. Let not narrow-mindedness befog the main issue. These special scholarships are not meant for helping mere learners but for encouraging research work of a highly scientific and medical type almost unknown in India, such as cancer, leprosy, etc. Deserving Indian Scientists will not be forgotten by Tatas as can be seen from the fact that they did not hesitate to offer the eminent post of the Director of Bangalore Institute to one of the most illustrious Indian Scientists.

In conclusion I may be permitted to say that the ideals of Zoroastrianism (the ancient religion of Parsis) are truth, charity and purity. Every year this microscopic community contributes on an average Rs. 40 to 50 lakhs in charities—communal as well as catholic. Single individuals have given away crores, *e. g.*, Tatas about 4 crores and Wadias about 2 crores, simply following these divine tenets of their glorious religion. In the Tilak Swaraj Fund of about Rs. 1¼ crores nearly 15 lakhs were subscribed by Parsis; indeed, the lion's share when their numerical strength is considered.

But of late a section of the community has been agitating bitterly against any catholic charities on the part of Parsi philanthropists when the scourage of griping poverty remains uneradicated in their midst and when people of other communities so little appreciate what this very tiny community has done for the motherland.

The observations of persons like "Scientificus" intensifies such hostile feelings and it is to be devoutly hoped that they refrain from engendering such ill-will and eventually destroying the noble ideals of catholic charity which are so essential to bridge the gulf between communities in this vast ancient land.

M. F. SOONAWALA

IMAGES ON MUSLIM COINS

By BAHADUR SINGH SINGHI, M.A.S.B., F.R.S.A. (Lond.)

DURING the recent debate in the Bengal Legislative Assembly on the question of *Sree* and *Lotus* as the emblem of the Calcutta University, the bogey of idolatry was introduced by several Muslim members and in reply to them mention was made of a few coins of Muslim rulers of India, in the design of which the so-called "idolatry" was prominent.

As a devoted student of Numismatics all through my life, I have come across numerous instances of similar symbol freely used by the Mahomedan rulers of India and I shall consequently make an attempt to give below a comprehensive list of Mahomedan rulers and their coins on which are found images and other symbols now associated (I believe for the first time) with "idolatry."

PATHAN KINGS OF DELHI

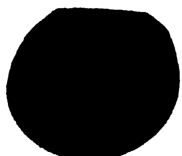
Muhammad ibn Sâm (Muhammad Ghori) : A. H. 589-602.

(A) Chohan Horseman and Devanagari inscription

श्री हमीरः (Srí Hamíra) on one side.

The Bull Nandi & Devanagari inscription

श्री महमद सामे (Srí Mahamad Sámé) on the other.



Coin of Muhammad Ghori with Goddess Lakshmi on one side

(B) Goddess LAKSHMI seated on one side.

Devanagari inscription

श्री महमद वेने साम (Srí Mahamad vene Sám)

or

श्री हमीर महमद साम (Sri Hamira Mahamad Sam) on the other side.

Taj-ad-din Yildiz : A. H. 603-610.

(A) Bull Nandi and Devanagari inscription.

(B) Chohan Horseman & Devanagari inscription

श्री हमीर (Sri Hamira).

Shams-ad-din Altamash : A. H. 607-633.

(A) Chohan Horseman & Devanagari inscription

श्री हमीर (Sri Hamira) on one side.

Bull Nandi & Devanagari inscription

सुरिताण श्री समसदीन (Suritan Sri Samasadin) on the other.

(B) Chohan Horseman & Devanagari inscription

श्री चाहड़ देव (Sri Chahada Deva) on one side.

Bull Nandi & Devanagari inscription.

आसावरी श्री समसोरल देव (Asavari Sri Samasorala Deva) on the other

or

(C) Devanagari inscription

श्री सुलतां लितितिमिसि सं: १२८३

(Sri Sultan Lititimisi Sam 1283).

Rukn-ad-din Firoz Shah I : A. H. 633-634.

Chohan Horseman and Devanagari inscription

श्री हमीर (Sri Hamira) on one side.

Bull Nandi and Devanagari inscription.

रुकण दीण (Rukana din).

Riziyah Sultana : A. H. 634-637.

Chohan Horseman and Devanagari inscription

श्री हमीर (Sri Hamira).

Muizz-ad-din Bahram Shah : A. H. 637-639.

Chohan Horseman and Devanagari inscription

श्री हमीर (Sri Hamirah) on one side

Bull Nandi and Devanagari inscription

सुरिताण श्री मुअजदीं (Suritana Sri Muajadin) on the other side.

Ala-ad-din Masud Shah : A. H. 639-644.

Chohan Horseman and Devanagari inscription

श्री (Sri) on one side.

Bull Nandi and Devanagari inscription

अलावदीन (Aladin) on the other.

Nasir-ad-din Mahmud Shah I : A. H. 644-664.

Chohan Horseman and Devanagari inscription.

श्रीहमीरः (Sri Hamirah).

Ghyias-ad-din Balban : A. H. 664-686.

Devanagari inscription. श्री सुलतां गयासुदीं (Srih Sultan Gyasudin).

Muizz-ad-din Kai-kubad : A. H. 686-689.

Devanagari inscription. श्री सुलतां मुइजदीं (Sri Sultan Muijudin).

Jalal-ad-din Firoz II : A. H. 689-695.

Devanagari inscription. श्री सुलतां जलालुदीं (Srih Sultan Jalaludin).

Ala-ad-din Muhammad Shah I : A. H. 695-715.

Devanagari inscription. श्री सुलतां अलावदीं ७०० (Srih Sultan Alavadin 700).

Ghiyas-ad-din Taghlak Shah I : A. H. 720-725.

Devanagari inscription. श्री सुलतां गयासुदीं

(Srih Sultan Gyasudin).

Sher Shah : A. H. 946-952.

Devanagari inscription. श्री सेर साही

(Sri Ser Shahi).

Islam Shah : A. H. 952-960.

Devanagari inscription. श्री इसलाम साही

(Sri Islam Sahi).

Muhammad Adil Shah : A. H. 960-964.

(A) Devanagari inscription. श्री सुलतान महमद

(Sri Sultana Mahamad).

(B) Devanagari inscription. श्री महमद साह

(Sri Mahamad Shah).

PATHAN KINGS OF BENGAL

(House of Muhammad Sur)

Ghiyas-ad-din Bahadur Shah : A. H. 962-968.

Devanagari inscription. श्री बहादुर साही

(Sri Vahadur Sahi).

(House of Sulaiman Kararani)

Daud Shah : A. H. 980-984

Devanagari inscription. श्री दाउद साही

(Sri Daud Sahi).

Mysore.

Hyder Ali.

Siva and Parvati seated on throne.

Lucknow.

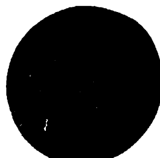
The symbol of fish on the coins of all the Kings of Oudh.

MUGHAL EMPERORS OF DELHI

Jalal-ad-din Akbar : A. H. 963-1014.

On various types of coins we find the following images :

(A) Falcon (B) Duck (C) A crowned archer with bow stretched and sheaf of arrows, followed by a woman. These are known to be the figures of Hindu Avatar *Ram* and his consort *Sita.*



Coin of Akbar with Ram and Sita on one side

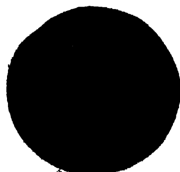
Nur-ad-din Jahangir : A. H 1014-1037.

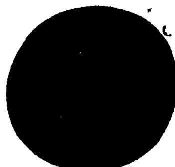
The use of images on the coins of this emperor was too numerous to count and the following are some of them :

(A) His own portrait with wine cup in hand.

(B) Sun सूय

(C) Lion सिंह





Coin of Jehangir with his own portrait with wine cup in hand on one side and lion and sun on the other

(D) Zodiacal signs द्वादश राशि

(1) Aries मेष (7) Libra तुला

(2) Taurus वृष (8) Scorpio वृश्चिक

(3) Gemini मिथुन (9) Sagittarins धनु

(4) Cancer कर्कट (10) Capricornus मकर

(5) Lio सिंह (11) Aquarins कुम्भ

(6) Virgo कन्या (12) Pisces मीन

Shah Alam : A. H. 1173-1221.

(1) Varieties of flowers including :

(A) Rose (C) Quatrefoil

(B) Lotus (D) Cinquefoil

(E) Wreath of Roses, Thisles and Shamrocks.

(2) Umbrella (3) Lion (4) Tree (5) Stars (6) Fish (7) Flag (8) Trisul.

Muhammad Akbar II : A. H. 1221-53.

(1) Umbrella (2) Cinquefoil (flower).

Bahadur Shah II : A. H. 1253-1275.

(1) Umbrella (2) Cinquefoil (flower).

From the above we find that no less than 16 Pathan Kings of Delhi from Hijira year 589 to 964 for a considerably long period of three centuries and three quarters consecutively, without any break, used Devanagari inscription on their coins and adopted the purely Hindu epithet श्री (Sri) before their names. Some of them went so far as to add the Hindu honorific title हमीर (Hamirah)—the brave—after the श्री (Sri).

Altamash took pride in calling himself देव (Deva) and असावरी (Asavari), both applied to Hindu gods, and used the Vikram Samvat year instead of Hijira, while no less than six of the Pathan kings from Muhammad ibn Sam (Muhammad Ghori) to Ala-ad-din Masud Shah had on their coins the image of Bull Nandi (वृषभ), the usual mount of God Shiva (शिव) of the Hindu Shastras; both the former and the latter are invariably worshipped together. To crown all these, Muhammad ibn Sam, an undisputed and staunch follower of Islam and destroyer of idolatry, was brave enough to place the image of लक्ष्मी (Lakshmi) the Hindu Goddess of Wealth on his coin. There is no historical record to show that any objection was taken by contemporary Muslims of India and abroad, who no doubt handled these coins, to श्री (Sri), देव (Deva), वृषभ (Bull Nandi) and the image of लक्ष्मी (Lakshmi). On many of these coins are found Arabic or Persian inscriptions enclosed within Quatrefoil, Cinqeufoil, Sixfoil or Eightfoil which are nothing but different varieties of पद्म (Lotus) such as चतुर्दल पंचदल षट्दल and अष्टदल कमल respectively. To sum up, the question now

stands as follows:—If Muslim eyes, hands and body were not desecrated by looking at, handling and using coins with figures and images of purely Hindu mythological origin along with different varieties of Lotus; and Din Islam and the great Islamic culture were thereby not in danger, why is it so now, simply because श्री (Sri) and कमल (Lotus) happen to be combined in the emblem of the Calcutta University adopted at the time of the Vice-Chancellorship of a staunch and irreproachable Muslim like Sir Hassan Suhrawardy?

For their coins the Mughal emperors of Delhi drew freely upon the vegetable and animal kingdom as well as figures and images belonging to the Hindu mythology. Sun सूर्य Lion सिंह Fishes मीन Stars नक्षत्र and the Zodiacal signs are all heavenly bodies worshipped by Hindus. One of the emperors had no hesitation in putting a wreath of Roses, Thistles and Shamrocks—symbols of England, Scotland and Ireland respectively—around the Persian inscription of his coin. What objection there might possibly be if Lotus as symbol of Hindusthan is universally accepted, passes our comprehension. Apart from representing "beauty" this symbol represents India as well, and the fact is acknowledged in having the lotus prominently placed on the Indian coins of Edward VII and George V and the postage stamps of George VI.

The Mughal emperors with the isolated exception of Aurangzebe were liberal in their observance of the laws of Koran where communities other than Muslim were concerned, and their encouragement of the fine arts was free from the trammels of orthodox puritanism. They were fond of pictures and sculpture and paid no regard to any particular ordinance which may have prohibited the representation of living being in art. They even delighted in adorning their palaces with paintings and statues, portraying scenes which belong to the sacred Traditions of Christianity, and images of the Blessed Virgin and portraits of St. John the Baptist contributed to the decoration of their Court. The same disregard of orthodox prejudices may be observed on their coins.

Owing to the catholicity of his mind, broader outlook upon life and tolerance shown to all faiths and religion, Akbar was regarded as an ideal ruler of the period and his rule was generally compared with the proverbial RAMRAJYA of Hindu mythology. Akbar, to give perpetuity to this idea and to identify himself with Ramchandra, had images of Ram and Sita engraved on his Coins in the year 1013 A. H. on the completion of 50 lunar years of his reign.

Jahangir's use of images on the coinage was much more marked than his father's. He ventured upon the daring innovation of engraving his own portrait on some of his gold coins on one side, with lion and sun, or the sun alone on the other side. The presence of the sun's image appears in virtue of the tendency towards solar worship which is said to have been found encouragement under Akbar and been never positively repudiated by his successor. These portrait coins were also used in the nature of medals or presentation pieces and on festive occasions Hindu and Muslim Omrahs alike were the recipients of this most coveted Royal favour which they had to wear either on their turban or hung round their neck.

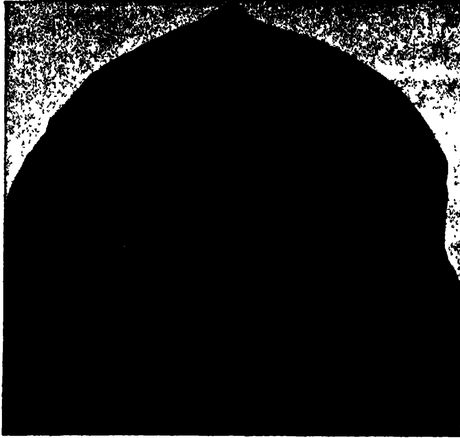
On his Zodiacal gold and silver coins the image of the twelve signs of Zodiac are also according to the Hindu belief and these were struck from the year 1027 to 1034 A. H.

On the coins of later Mughals, the use of the figures of Rose, Lotus, Sun, Stars, Lion, Fish and even a Trisula त्रिशूल the famous weapon of of Shiva शिव the Hindu God, were not tabooed.

Speaking of sun, moon and lion, the royal insignia and the national emblem of Iran, a Muslim empire, is Lion and Sun and the universal Muslim emblem is Cresent and Stars. The Sun, Moon and Stars are all Hindu Gods worshipped by them from as early as the Vedic period, milleniums before the advent of Islam in this world. It has already been mentioned that Lion is the image of the fifth constellation according to the Hindu conception. Adoption of these images as Muslim national symbols of purely Muslim domain by Khalifs, the spiritual head of the Muslim world and the independent Muslim emperors did not constitute "idolatry" for all these 13 centuries, nor was anybody accused of "hurting the religious sentiments of the Muslim community"

Lotus as an emblem of "beauty" has been invariably used on the top of the dome of almost all the Musjids built by the Mughal emperors even by Aurangzebe and other pious Muslims from one end of the country to the other. The Musjids at the Kutb, Delhi, and at Ajmere, bear on the main body of their structure, images of Hindu and Jain Gods carved on them in hundreds, not to speak of innumerable lotus flowers. In Bengal an inscription stone of a mosque, containing Kalima, the Hijira year, name of the Emperor then ruling and the name of the religiously-minded builder, all carved on it in Arabic and Persian character, has on it also a beautifully carved head of Visnu the Hindu God. Did it ever "give a rude shock to the religious feelings of the Muslims of Bengal" or "slaughter the religious belief of the followers of Islam" in general? Can any follower of Islam of the present age say with any authority that either the prayers of those pious Muslims said in those Musjids never reached the ears of the Almighty, or the devotee will be penalized for doing so on "Roz e-Kayamat," the day of justice?

In contrast to these we find that the image of Mother India most appropriately placed in front of a Cinema House in Calcutta





An inscripition on stone in a mosque, Kalima etc., inscribed on one side in Arabic and Persian character and the head of Vishnu carved on the other side

was caused to be removed simply because a Musjid happens to be situated on the opposite side of the road more than a hundred feet away, although that image was placed with no intention, no ulterior motive on the part of anybody to wound the feelings, susceptibilities, sentiments, emotions, or even the vanity or the pride of any particular community. It is well said that mistrust, distrust, suspicion and disharmony are at the root of all these evils. It is absurd to suppose that any one of the two symbols does not offend, but that the combination of the two does. The truth seems to be, to quote an old English verse:

"I do not like thee, Doctor Fell,
The reason why, I cannot tell;
But this I know, and know full well—
I do not like thee, Doctor Fell."

Adoption of Hindu costumes and Hindu head-dress for themselves, their families and the courtiers by the Moghul emperors of Delhi and the Muslim Nawabs of Bengal did not create any havoc in the great and honoured Islamic culture and religion, but raised the rulers in the estimation of their subjects and brought about harmony between the two.

A comparison between the past Mahomedan rule of Hindusthan and present times in Bengal is bound to supply much food for reflection. In the name of all that is holy in our ancient culture, in the name of the great men who conserved it and enriched it by their own contribution, in the name of those Hindus and Mahomedans of old, the writer can only appeal for a return of good sense, for a little more respect of the past and for a strong determination to withstand exploitation for an ulterior motive which is not evident at first sight.

ERRATA:

The Modern Review for August, 1937: In the Plate facing p. 184, the positions of the two blocks have been interchanged. The left-hand figure is that of 'Aryanatha Mudali' while the other figure is that of 'a strong soldier.' In pp. 191 and 192 *for* Begum Habib-ullah *read* Begum Wasim and *for* Begum Wasim *read* Begum Habib-ullah.

The Modern Review for September, 1937:
P. 290, Column 1, line 15 from bottom *for* 'prepositions' *read* 'prepossessions.'
P. 300, Column 1, line 10, *for* 'different' *read* 'diffident.'
P. 307, Column 2, line 2, *for* 516,000 *read* 516.
P. 309, Column 1, line 14 from bottom *for* 'criticism' *read* 'witicism.'
P. 349, Column 1, line 9 from bottom, *for* 'foreign conferences' *read* 'foreign countries.'

THE ALL INDIA RADIO

By MOHAN LAL SAXENA, M.L.A.

A good deal of criticism has appeared in the press about the Government of India's management of the All India Radio. Not only the Indian papers but even the *Times* of London has come out with two leaders advocating the view that if Broadcasting were to be made successful in India, the present organisation should be scrapped and an organisation on the lines of the British Broadcasting Corporation should be set up to take charge of broadcasting in India. Prof. M. N. Saha has also been advocating a similar view for a long time. The *Statesman*, the *Pioneer* and the *Civil and Military Gazette* along with the Indian papers have lately given expression to similar views. The Government of India have not even condescended to take any notice of such criticism, which can only mean one of the two things, namely, the criticism is either entirely baseless and deserves no notice, or that the Government has not much to say by way of defence to these charges. The former view seems to be out of the question, because the criticism has come from quarters which are well informed and responsible, though holding divergent political views. I am not one of those who hold that Broadcasting in India should be placed in the hands of an organisation similar to the B.B.C. For Broadcasting is to play an important part in the future educational programmes and in the national development; hence a certain amount of Government control appears to be necessary. Yet I fully appreciated the force of their criticisms and thought it my duty to draw the attention of the Government to them. I put a number of questions regarding the working of the All India Radio department in the Assembly and the answers have convinced me that the criticisms levelled against the department have been justified and unless early steps are taken to set the house in order, the department will prove another white elephant fattened at the cost of the poor and overburdened tax-payers. I am sure that some of these questions and answers will be of some interest to the public.

QUESTION

Q. (*a*) Will the Hon. Member for Industries and Labour be pleased to state the qualifications of the British expert who had been invited by the Government to study the possibilities of development of broadcasting in India?

ANSWER

A. (*a*) The Hon. Member is referring presumably to Mr Kirke. He is an Associate Member of the Institute of Electrical Engineers, a member of the Institute of Radio Engineers and the head of the Research Department of the British Broadcasting Corporation.

Q. (*b*) How long did he stay in India and how much did his visit cost India?

A. (*b*) He stayed in India from 23rd June to the 2nd May, 1936. The Government of India paid for his actual expenses, including subsistance allowance, and this amounted to £533-13-11.

Q. (*c*) Did he submit any report? If so, why has it not been published so far?

A. (*c*) Yes. The Government of India considered it unnecessary to publish the report, as it was entirely technical in nature.

Q. (*d*) What were the reasons for calling an expert from Great Britain?

A. (*d*) The Government of India wished to take advantage of the very great technical experience of the British Broadcasting Corporation.

Q. (*e*) Are not persons with equal qualifications available in India? If they are, why was not one of them selected for the work?

A. (*e*) I am not quite clear as to what the Hon. Member means by "equal qualifications". As far as Government are aware, there was no one in India with the practical knowledge and experience of Broadcasting development which Mr. Kirke had.

Now the answer to part (*e*) of the question is positively offensive to Indian sentiments, for the Government of India never made any attempt to utilise Indian talents in the line. They brought a British expert to investigate the possibilities of Broadcasting in India, not because there was no one with equal qualifications and experience available in India, but because it has been their policy to bring foreign and preferably British experts to investigate questions, no matter whether they relate to education or agriculture, Railways or Radio, Income-tax administration, or, for the matter of that, any thing else. It is simply adding insult to injury to profess ignorance of the existence of equally capable men, for it is a matter of common knowledge that there are a number of Indians who are quite as good as Mr. Kirke, if not better.

But the question remains, why has not the report of Mr. Kirke been published? Is it because the report is considered to be highly technical or because it makes recommendations

regarding the re-organization of the Radio department and for the carrying on of research work on lines that are not acceptable to the Government. If the former is the reason, have not reports dealing with more technical subjects and of much less concern to the public been published by the Government? After all the publication of the report would not have cost the Government much and surely this additional expenditure was worthwhile to make the views of the "great foreign expert" available to scientists and others interested in broadcasting. And further, it would have given them an opportunity of judging the Government's wisdom in bringing out a British expert at a cost of about Rs. 7,000.

The present staff of the All India Radio :—

1. Mr. Fielden, the Controller of Broadcasting.

The Controller of Broadcasting, who is the head of the All India Radio department, does not possess any technical qualification worth the name. In reply to a specific question in regard to his qualifications the Government Member only stated that he had been employed with the British Broadcasting Corporation for seven years in various capacities on the programme side; but it appears that he was only concerned with the talks. His salary in England was in the neighbourhood of £950-1,000 a year, while in India he has been appointed on a salary of Rs. 2,000 rising to Rs. 2,200 p.m. The post was not advertised either in England or in India and Mr. Fielden was appointed; for, as stated by the Government Member, the object of the Government of India was to obtain a man with British Broadcasting Corporation experience. On the other hand it is definitely stated which Government has not categorically denied—that the post held by Mr. Fielden in the B. B. C. was found superfluous. But as Mr. Fielden was *influentially connected*, he could not be sent adrift and had to be provided for in India, the dumping-ground for British refuse.

2. The Chief Engineer, Mr. Goyder.

Mr. Goyder is in charge of the technical side of the All-India Radio. The following questions were asked about him :

Q. (*f*) Is it a fact that Mr. Goyder, the Chief Engineer, All-India Radio, possesses no engineering qualifications?

A. (*f*) It is not a fact.

Q. (*g*) Will the Hon. Member state how much experience Mr. Goyder has had? What posts did he hold prior to his present appointment and for what period? What was the last salary he was drawing and what is his present salary?

A. (*g*) I am sorry I have no detailed information on these points. Mr. Goyder was employed in the B. B. C. prior to his present appointment and was appointed on the strong recommendation of Sir Noel Ashbridge, Chief Engineer to the B. B. C. whose position in radio engineering is well known. His present pay is Rs. 1,700 in the scale of Rs. 1,650—50—1,850.

Again the reply of the Hon. Member is vague, he has no information on these points, because Mr. Goyder has no qualifications worth reporting. We understand from a very reliable source that Mr. Goyder has no University or Engineering qualification; he was only a keen amateur, and is only an *Associate Member* of the Institute of Radio Engineers. It will probably surprise the Government of India to be told that there are two Indians who are *full fledged members* of the Institute of Radio Engineers, and have got (even according to the standard of the Government of India) greater technical qualification than Mr. Goyder, though I do not hereby mean that this qualification (membership of the I. R. E.) is better than our University qualification. Mr. Goyder was employed in the B. B. C. in 1935, so that his actual experience is very limited.

SALARY of Mr. GOYDER.

The Hon. Member has not stated what salary Mr. Goyder was drawing in England. But in India, this gentleman who is only an undergraduate and an amateur, has been given a salary of Rs. 1,750 while Indians like Profs. M. N. Saha and Birbal Sahni, who possess an international reputation in the world of science and are Fellows of the Royal Society, are content with a much smaller salary. This is an example of how money is being wasted on 'Foreign Experts.'

THE RESEARCH DEPARTMENT OF ALL-INDIA RADIO

The Research Department is under one Mr. Gopalan, about whom the following questions were asked :

Q. (*h*) Is it a fact that the Research Engineer is a Bachelor of Commerce? If so, what were the reasons for his appointment to the post, the principal function of which is direction of research in wireless?

Q. (*i*) What post did he hold prior to his present appointment, and what is the difference between his last and present salaries?

A. (*h*) and (*i*) The Research Engineer is a B.Com. (Eng.), and has passed the final examination in Radio Communication of the City and Guild's Institute of London and the Graduateship examination of the Institute of Electrical Engineers, London. Before his appointment in All-India Radio, he was practising as a consulting Radio Engineer in Madras and spent a good deal of time in studying wireless. His income was about Rc. 400 per mensem. He is at present drawing Rs. 420 per mensem in the scale of Rs. 300-20-600.

So research in wireless is put under a person who had had only a training in Commerce, who had no systematic university or engineering training in the subject in which he is expected to do research in any University or School; for the examination of City and Guilds is taken only by correspondence and requires no practical training. The consulting radio practice amounts only to the repair of receiving sets, which is done by matriculates who pass the training given by the George Telegraph and Wireless Institute of Calcutta. It is not claimed that Mr. Gopalan had any previous training in research in wireless. So such an abstruse subject as Research in Wireless which requires in England and America such brains as those of Hertz, Marconi, Appleton and Heavisie, has been placed in charge of a commerce graduate entirely ignorant of Science or Research. A more cruel joke on Research could not have been perpetrated. After this performance by the Government of India, the Goddess of Learning ought to commit "Harikiri." If any local or district board perpetrated such a cruel joke, as the Government of India has done, probably the higher authorities would have taken very severe steps against such a body.

4. The Deputy Controller of Broadcasting, Mr. Bokhari.

Q. (*j*) What are the qualifications and experience, if any, of the Deputy Controller? What post did he hold prior to his appointment and what is the difference between his present salary and that of the post which he held last?

A. (*j*) The Deputy Controller of Broadcasting is a Member of the Punjab Educational Service, Class I. He is an M.A. of the Cambridge University and was a Professor at the Government College, Lahore, prior to his joniing All-India Radio in March 1936. As a Professor, he was in receipt of a pay of Rs. 680 per mensem in the scale of Rs. 360—40—720—760—40—800—50—1,000—1,000—50—1,150 plus an allowance of Rs. 200 per mensem for his work on the Text Book Committee. His present pay in All-India Radio is Rs. 1,000 per mensem.

According to this answer, Mr. Bokhari had no previous experience in this line even about the programme side of broadcasting. He is just in the position of anyone of the hundreds of 'foreign-returned' graduates in search of better employment. Why official favour fell on him is best known to the gods.

It will not be incorrect to say that a scientific department which vitally concerns the people of the country—not only the central but also the provincial government—having large funds at its disposal is being run by men who have no proper qualification but who are there, because of jobbery and nepotism, which our European friends of the I. C. S. are foremost to deplore.

Unless the department is re-organized and placed under properly qualified hands and an efficient department created and is worked in collaboration with the various Universities, it is bound to become the butt of public ridicule and criticism and may even involve considerable financial loss to the Government. I hope the authorities as well as the people, particularly the various provincial governments, will see that the department is overhauled.

KEY TO THE FRONTISPIECE

"The Master (Chaitanya) one night suddenly caught a sight of the sea (at Puri) from *Ai-tola.* The moonlight silvered the heaving billows—they sparkled like the water of the Jamuna. Unseen by others, the Master went to the sea and leaped into it. He fainted and knew not what he was doing;—the waves now sank him, now floated him; on the waves he was carried about like a dry tree-trunk. On the waves he drifted towards Konarak, now under, now above it, and he dreamt all the time of Krishna sporting in the Jamuna with the milkmaids."

As he was rescued by his anxious followers,

"he spoke, as if from the sky, 'Beholding the Jamuna (in the ocean) I went to Brindaban, and there found Braja's darling sporting in the water with Radha and the other milkmaids . . . My heart was filled with bliss at the sight. Just then you caught hold of me, and with a great noise brought me here. Ah! where is the Jamuna, where Brindaban, where Krishna, and where the milkmaids? You have destroyed that bliss!' . . . ."

—*Chaitanya-Charit-amrita*: Trs. Sir Jadunath Sarkar

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Laws of Manu and the Modern Warfare

Henry Hammond observes in *The Inquirer* :

The Laws of Manu, written in the Sanskrit several centuries before the Christian era, present a striking ethical contrast to the merciless warfare of today. This ancient code is remarkable for its strong appeal for humane fighting in battle.

The King is to conduct war mercifully and even chivalrously.

When he fights with his foes in battle, let him not fight with weapons concealed, nor with such as are barbed, poisoned, or the point of which is blazing with fire.

Let him not strike one who (in flight) has climbed to an eminence, nor one who has joined the palms of his hands in supplication, nor one who looks on without taking part in the fight.

Nor one whose weapons are broken, nor one who is grievously wounded, nor one who has turned to flight.

Such were the Laws of Manu concerning war; and here we are today, with our bombing 'planes and poison gases, slaughtering even women and children. Heartfelt shame is the only way of keeping back from us those forces of evil which appear to be so urgently seeking to engulf our hearts and minds in such deadly chains of inhumanity to our fellow-creatures as are enough to make the angels weep. Generations unborn will greatly marvel that there ever could have been such a ghastly, hideous, inhuman thing upon God's earth.

The Cinema in India

In the course of a paper read to the East India Association, London, and published in *The Asiatic Review,* Dewan Sharar, in discussing the drawbacks of the Indian motion-picture industry, observes :

The ability is there, but it needs organizing, training, and guiding into the proper channels. Perhaps the most important of these needs is training. The Indian motion-picture industry is suffering from a grave dearth of skilled technicians. We have in India a wide variety of scenery—beautiful, dramatic, intriguing, strange—we have a land full of ancient and magnificent buildings, unmatched elsewhere; we have a storehouse of history, legend, and literature which is a veritable treasury for the screen writer.

But unhappily good technical directors are scarce in India, and so are good camera-men, scenario-writers, electricians and printers and cutters. There is also a lack of organization, in particular of properly organized capital.

He suggests that the Government should assist in promoting this industry :

A Government subsidy or system of loans would, of course, be the greatest possible boon and also the greatest possible stimulus to the trade—which, it must be remembered, is of great national importance. Another help would be grants to promising students to give them a thorough training, at the British studios, in the technical side of film producing. I should also like to see a Department of State or, if that is too much to hope for, a Bureau attached to one of the existing Departments, designed to aid and encourage the Indian film industry in every possible way, both advisory and practical.

He says about the uses of educational film in India :

The uses of such films are almost unlimited, above all in so vast a country, where the great mass of the people are illiterate. I do not mean schooling alone, though the film can help tremendously there. But—as is already being done to an increasing extent under Government auspices—the film can be an incomparable medium for imparting knowledge of hygiene, agriculture, home industries, rural reconstruction, methods of dealing with illness or accidents, and similar invaluable information. I should like to see this matter taken in hand still more thoroughly by the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Industry, and Public Health, as well as by the local governing bodies, who could arrange for the films to be produced by Indian companies. Here again the travelling cinema can come into its own and serve the remote and isolated villages.

Commenting on the address, Dr. A. Bake observed :

There is one consideration which the lecturer has not mentioned, and that is the value of the cinema in making a record of those customs that are fast vanishing in India itself. One person has already done a great deal of work in that direction—I mean Mrs. Sten Harding, who has devoted years of intensive study and great personal sacrifices to make a record of the vanishing art of classical dancing, especially in Southern India, such as was practised in olden days by the temple girls, which modern life is gradually eliminating. Also, in a further widening of that field, the cinema can show a great many customs in village dances and so on, which have a great importance in the cultural life of the people of India and which are bound to vanish. A record of these can be made by judicious and skilful filming.

This record is naturally of scientific value, but we all know how nowadays in India the interest in the life of India as it has been for very many hundreds of years, is widening and strengthening, and how from Indian life itself an impetus for a renaissance is gained. Consequently, if filming is taken up on a broad enough basis in India, the contribution the films can make to the strengthening of Indian national life by a faithful record of those customs which have been alive for so many centuries and are now threatened with destruction cannot be overrated.

The New Turkish Labour Code

The New Turkish Labour Code marks an important stage in the Turkish Government's vast programme of social reforms. Dr. Weigert,

who was invited to assist in the drafting of the Turkish labour legislation, analyses the main provisions of the Code in an article contributed to the *International Labour Review*, from which the following extracts dealing with the provisions for welfare of women, children and young persons are reproduced :

It should be noted that, in contrast to the position in the early days of the European industrial revolution, the proportion of women and children to all employed persons in Turkey is not higher than in the corresponding industries in Europe today.

The minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment was fixed at 12 years in the Hygiene Act of 1930; and the Labour Code has not changed it. Possibly, however, this minimum will be revised sooner or later and brought into line with the international Conventions. Young persons under 18 years of age and women are excluded without exception from employment underground or under water.

The Code strictly limits the night work of children and young persons of both sexes and of adult women, and that young persons under 18 years of age must undergo medical examination before taking up any employment.

The maximum working day for children under 16 is fixed at 8 hours; in the case of children who attend school, the school hours are included in this figure.

The Code extends the protection of expectant and nursing mothers, which was initiated by the Hygiene Act of 1930. While the periods before and after confinement during which a woman may not work are still fixed at three weeks each, which may be extended to six weeks each only in case of special need, it is no longer possible to suspend the prohibition on the basis of a medical certificate. Further, the prohibition is now reinforced by the positive measures without which its value as a protection for women was incomplete; the Code secures women against the loss of their employment during their absence, and provides for their maintenance.

According to the provisions of the chapter dealing with contracts a woman may not be dismissed while she is prohibited from working; during the same period the employer is required to pay half her wages, provided she was in her service for three months during the six months preceding her confinement.

Apart from the above provisions, expectant and nursing mothers are prohibited, even more stringently than other women, from employment on work which might injure their health. Nursing rooms and creches must be provided for mothers and their children.

Finally, the social insurance programme specifies maternity insurance as one of the schemes to be introduced in the first instalment of legislation.

A Call to Youth for Social Service

The following extracts from an appeal of General Chiang Kai-Shek (reproduced here from *The People's Tribune*) to the students of China may be read with profit by Indian students also :

This task of leading the masses is the weighty mission of youth, especially student youth. No youth can shirk or evade this important responsibility. The late Party Leader (Dr. Sun Yat-Sen) said : "The aim of life is to serve and not to seize." Youths while studying in schools are consuming the benefits of society. If they only know how to consume and do not prepare themselves for future production, they will only become social parasites.

Therefore, the University and Middle School students of China today must, during their period of study, firstly, adopt a correct outlook on life; secondly, recognize the practical aspects of Chinese social life and their evils and defects; and thirdly, utilize their leisure for practice in the technique of production as well as the task of social reform and rural reconstruction. The idea of the movement for rural service during the summer vacation, promoted and sponsored by the General Association for the Promotion of the New Life Movement, is to arouse students throughout the country in shouldering their mission of national regeneration. We fully realize that students cannot achieve much during their summer vacation, but, this is the beginning of their spiritual reconstruction and the starting-point of a great future. Like the awakening of spring after long frost, the outlook of youthful students is gradually assuming a positive character. They are gradually learning to know actual social conditions, the sufferings of the people, the material difficulties, and the duty of social service. What welcome news this is!

We should understand that rural service is the starting-point for the work of reconstruction. It is indeed a great mistake to think that our youths, apart from their studies, cannot participate in national salvation. It must be realized that there are many ways of national salvation, the most important being that each individual should fulfil his duty, fully utilize his time, and proceed forward with a clear knowledge of his own objective. In other words, if each individual can offer his talents and his services to society and the people, this is the essential meaning of national salvation. For instance, if students are willing to utilize their vacations for rural service, that will be genuine work for national salvation.

Mahatma Gandhi

The Living Age observes editorially :

Mohandas K. Gandhi is still the dominant figure in India despite his ill-health and official retirement from politics. It was he who drafted the Delhi Resolution of last March which required assurances from the British Provincial Governors that they could not give and, in consequence, led the powerful Congress Party to refuse to take Office in the six Provinces where it had won a majority at the polls. And it was Gandhi who, after a deadlock lasting more than three months, induced the Working Committee of the Congress to drop the demand for assurances on July 7th. Mr. Gandhi's political genius has been at its peak in the dispute, and is a sufficient answer to critics who have asserted that he had outworn his usefulness to the cause of Swaraj.

Gandhi and his conservative following in the Congress, while opposed to the new Constitution, were nevertheless willing to take office and until the middle of last March wrangled with the Socialists over that question. The obstructionist policy he adopted in the Delhi Resolution seems now to have had one purpose : to oblige the British to go on record in interpreting the 'special powers' of the Governors so that British Officials would be very reluctant to interfere with the work of Congress Ministries. On record they went—Governors, India Officials, Members of Parliament and finally the Viceroy. Although the original assurances demanded by the Congress could not be given, the duty of Governors to refrain from interference except in an emergency was emphasized.

In replacing the stop-gap minority Ministers in the six Provinces, the Congress can begin to carry out its

ambitious plans for social reform. An early development, we believe, will be a rapid widening of the chasm that actually divides the conservative and radical wings of the Party. The last has not yet been heard from the dynamic Nehru.

Poison for Profit

Chen Yven-Ti writes in *The Voice of China*:

The moral indignation of the nations of the world expressed itself in no uncertain language before the Opium Advisory Commission of the League of Nations in respect to the Japanese official policy which fosters the poisoning of the world. Startling revelations by representatives from America, Canada, England and other countries disclosed the world-wide effects of the tremendous narcotic industry protected by the Japanese Army in North China and Manchuria. The Japanese delegate who had earlier in the session given a report on the progress made in Japan in the suppression of the opium and drug traffic, professed his innocence and bewilderment at the overwhelming array of facts known to the entire world. Thomas Wentworth Russell Pasha, Director of the Egyptian Central Narcots Bureau, showed how from the area of Japanese control, "Manchukuo," a stream of narcotics endlessly flowed to the far corners of the world. From Mukden and Dairen, the world's greatest producing centers of drugs and opium, constant shipments are made to Tientsin, from whence they are smuggled to every port in the world.

The following table vividly illustrates the development of their policy of drugging the people of Manchukuo.

PERCENTAGE OF REGISTERED ADDICTS IN RELATION TO TOTAL POPULATION OF MANCHUKUO.

1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
1.5%	1.8%	2.4%	3.7%	4.5%

In other words, the number of officially known addicts number nearly a million and a half people, without taking into account the tremendous additional number of secret smokers, who for one reason or another have not been registered.

Nowhere in the official ten year opium program of "Manchukuo" is any mention made of the eventual suppression of this traffic.

Domestic Gardening

Alwin Seifert writes in the *Sueddeutsche Monatshefte*, Munich:

A proper home-garden is neither a piece of wilderness around the house, nor a piece of decoration, which one may look down upon from above and leave to the care of others, nor even an economical proposition, from which one may derive one's roots and vegetables. It is a limb of mother earth, bequeathed to the care of one who may enjoy it with his heart and soul. It offers us not only opportunities for manifold physical activity in the open air, for the light sport, joy and peace, but a place where man finds his own religion and a reinstatement of the attachment to what lies behind appearances. . . . The proper solution of the cultivation of a garden depends upon the climatic circumstances, the sun, wind, rain, the nature of the soil and the house, with which it has to build up a unity, but it can be found only by those, who would live in the garden and be happy, and should find in it their own consummation and not counterpart . . . There can be only one proper place for the house, as seen from the garden, *viz.*, the north-east corner, and the garden, in order to be really habitable, should not be separated from the ground-floor by more than two steps. There must be an independent passage to it from the kitchen, so that the house-wife can derive as much of the fresh air of the garden as possible in her spare moments. In bigger houses the best entrance to the garden would be from the dining hall. In warm climate the passage should lead from the sitting room . . . The gardener ought to be able to distinguish clearly between the living and the dead soil. And then one should have lived in a new house for a year and observed the trees in the garden in the sun and in rain, in summer and winter, before one reaches one's hand to the axe for felling any of them. Feeling counts for everything here; wilfulness will lead to nothing. Each side of the house, each corner of the garden has a different climatic condition and is therefore destined for a different group of plants. For reasons of the organic arrangement of a garden, there can be only one place, best suited for growing vegetables and only one, for roses. Of one thing, however, we can be certain: the centre must be kept open and empty, if the garden is to show its own real greatness. The most important beds are those attached to the house. There is no better means of keeping a house dry than planting flowers and creepers close to the walls . . . For paths, there is nothing like stone pavements and rectangular slabs, irregularly set, look most beautiful . . . The most important spot in a garden of any considerable size is the lawn, with its trees, which have something to give to persons of all ages . . . There can be nothing like a tree for making friends with. A linden or a box-tree, an oak or a birch near your own home prove excellent friends; not so a blue fir . . . Lastly, it certainly is the function of a garden to cultivate precious plants of all zones. But nobody has the right to bring an absolutely foreign tone in the landscape. Thus, gray and blue trees would necessarily look like foreign bodies in a green landscape and jar with the spirit of the surrounding atmosphere.

[Trs. V. V. G.]

This Age of Ours

The *World Order* comments editorially:

This age is new and unprecedented not so much because for the first time the entire world can be apprehended as a unit—significant though that fact be in the unfoldment of history—as because the existence of humanity has become independent of nature. That is, the rise of technical industry has made the individual, the family and the local group dependent upon their relationship to society rather than to the soil. We are caught up into an entirely new world—the world of human relations—and from that world we must seek the means and the fulfilment of our earthly life.

Public opinion and psychological values have assumed the commanding place so long occupied by climate and weather as the vital factors in daily existence. Throughout modern civilization, the fall or rise of the barometer of human emotion determines the fate of millions of persons day by day.

The political devise of the universal franchise and the ballot have supplied to public opinion an immediate and well-nigh irresistible instrumentality for social action. The revolutions resulting from the ballot cast by an unsettled or manipulated opinion are far more overwhelming than any armed uprising of the past. With no political values higher than shifting opinion, the civilized world has been thrown into a maelstrom of change. The landmarks of the past have been swept away.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Hindi and Indian Nationalism

Hindi cannot displace the other languages of the country and establish itself at any future time as the only language in India. Such a linguistic unification is neither possible nor desirable. This concentration on bringing about an artificial unity is as harmful in the beginning as it will be ultimately futile. Writes Burra V. Subrahmanyam in *Triveni*:

In the chaos of social, political and economic conditions through which we are passing today in India, there is no subject on which there is nearly so much confused thinking as on the subject of a common language for the country. And no single leader of public thought is quite so responsible for this unfortunate state as Mahatma Gandhi himself—although, in every speech of his advocating the spread of Hindi, he has taken the trouble to reconcile the claims of Hindi with the importance of the various other Indian languages and their literatures. Other leaders of the Indian struggle for freedom, in striving to establish national solidarity, had also encountered the difficulty that India is a multi-lingual country. Others too had been ashamed of the necessity to use English, an alien language, as the medium of intercourse between the educated elements of our many linguistic groups. But it was left to Mahatma Gandhi to raise this linguistic problem to an equal level of importance with the problem of national freedom; to proclaim that 'the question of Hindi is to him the question of Swaraj!' to create an impression in the public mind that Indian freedom will be incomplete, if not impossible, without the three hundred and fifty millions and more of Indians speaking a common language; to lay great emphasis on the growth of a national language not merely on grounds of political convenience but on vaguely understood cultural grounds as well. The prestige of Mahatmaji in the moral and political spheres is thus lent to a movement in the history of Indian languages, which confuses between political and cultural issues; which, driven logically to its conclusion, means the postponement of Indian self-government till the day when every living Indian can speak Hindi; and which slowly grows to see no way out of the diversity of Indian languages except a suppression of the variety of our scripts and also, perhaps, (impossible thought!) the gradual disappearance of the various Indian languages other than Hindi. Such, indeed, is the ultimate danger of mistaking the political convenience, which really underlies the choice of Hindi as the inter-provincial language, for some fancied cultural benefit flowing from a study of that language. And arguments about the beauty of the Hindi *Ramayana* by Tulsidas, and about the desirability of South Indian literary men and Hindi literary men mutually enriching the literatures on both sides are perfectly irrelevant where the issue is a common language for India, because Bengali and Japanese and Dutch must each be having at least as good a literature as Hindi, and a similar exchange of culture can be, every bit, as desirable even between Bengali or Japanese or Dutch and any South Indian language.

Again, in the recent Sahitya Sammelan in Madras, Mr. Purushottamdas Tandon and others of his school of thought were so violently keen on making the study of Hindi delightfully easy to their South Indian cousins that by a sort of executive fiat they wanted to introduce revolutionary changes in Hindi grammar, specially by simplifying rules relating to gender.

The inescapable fact is that the Hindi Movement today is vague and confused in its basic dogmas, untimely in its insistence, and unscientific in its pursuits. A sentimental dislike for an alien language is not enough.

It is necessary for us to know why, when for some decades to come the most prominent leaders from each linguistic group are bound to be men with a good command of the English language, we should take *immediate* steps to stop the use of English in Congress proceedings and to adopt Hindi-Hindustani as the medium of discussions. Speeches in English will not reach the masses, of course; but speeches can be translated, and translation of speeches is always inevitable in a country like ours whenever the borders of linguistic units are crossed, and whenever North Indian leaders approach South Indian masses or *vice versa*.

Indian nationalism does not require that every Indian in the Hindi provinces should be bilingual. As long as India is recognized to be a federation, which even now it potentially is, of the various territorially compact linguistic units, the federal language may be exclusively Hindi some times hence; and in an intervening period both Hindi and English have to be accepted as the two official languages of the Federation.

And there is a growing suspicion today in the public mind that the perhaps unconscious purpose, however foolish and impossible it may really be, of the Hindi Prachar Movement is not merely to provide a common language for the Centre and for inter-provincial intercourse, but to evolve in course of time through a common script, through artificial Sanskritization and through discreet Persianization a single uniform language for the entire population of India. In the abundance of our fears, we may not question the motives of the leaders of the Hindi Prachar Movement, but we certainly can question their ultimate wisdom and statesmanship.

The Hindi-Urdu Problem

In concluding his article in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* on the Hindi-Urdu problem M. Ziauddin remarks:

Such is the unhappy destiny of our land that pure channels of cultural communication are sooner or later poisoned with the foul vapours of religious fanaticism. In his message to the All-India Sahitya Sammelan, Rabindra-

nath laid special emphasis on this aspect of the problem, but, unfortunately his warning was ignored. "I hope," said the message, "that the language which is to claim our allegiance as the *lingua franca* will prove and maintain its complete freedom from any communal bias. It must truly represent the double current of Sanskrit and Persian literatures that have been working side by side for the last many centuries and must boldly enfranchise all the words that have been naturalized by long use . . . I used to think that Hindi and Urdu were really one language, written in two different scripts, with only a slight variation in emphasis on Sanskrit or Arabic words, according to the cultural association of the people who use them. But now I am told that these two are fast growing into two different languages, mutually distrustful of each other. I hope those who have undertaken the lead in replacing English by a national medium of communication will realize their responsibility in this respect. I wish them all success."

The Foreign Missions of Asoka

In the course of his article under the above caption in *The Aryan Path*, Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji points out that the question of the foreign missions of Asoka is somewhat bound up with the general question of the influence of Indian or Eastern thought on the thought of the West:

Vincent Smith has pointed out that "it is undeniable that Buddhist thought has left its mark upon some phases of Western thought." Max Muller had first shown that there are many parallels between early Buddhism and Christianity which cannot be taken as mere coincidences, but must have been the outcome of cultural intercourse. Among these may be mentioned customs like confession, fasting, priestly celibacy and the use of rosaries, which Christianity must have borrowed from Buddhism. Again, the stamp of Indian thought can be definitely traced in Æsopian fables and in some parts of the Bible.

It also left its mark upon certain non-Christian systems which flourished in early times in Western Asia. One of these was the sect of the *Essenes*, a small Jewish community on the shores of the Dead Sea, which followed certain semi-ascetic practices. These Essenes flourished earlier than Christianity. According to James Moffatt, "Buddhistic tendencies helped to shape some of the Essenic characteristics as well as some of those in second century Gnosticism. (*Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, v, 401). Similarly there was another sect of pre-Christian Judaism, the Therapeutæ, who lived in the neighbourhood of Alexandria and developed doctrines and ways of life which also are traced to the influence of Buddhism. According to Moffatt (*Ibid.*, xii, 318), "several traits of the Therapeutic Discipline recall Buddhist Monasticism, *e.g.*, combination of cœnobitic life with study, contemplation, and vegetarianism." Some have traced the term Therapeut to the Buddhistic Thera-puttas —sons of the Thera. He further holds that Buddhist influence had penetrated Egyptian Hellenism by the first century, B.C., as it had penetrated the later Gnosticism.

The foreign missions are testified to in three of his inscriptions—Rock Edicts II, V and XIII. These Edicts show that Asoka despatched his missions to several foreign peoples and states.

An Anecdote from the Life of Ravi Das

Ravi Das or Rai Das, who, next to Kabir, is the most venerated among the Vaishnavite saints, was a Chamar by caste. He lived and worked during the last three quarters of the fifteenth and the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Here is an anecdote from his life, reproduced from the *Sadhana*, which is indicative of the spiritual trend of his saintly life:

At a season of great scarcity when the poor Chamar was reduced to severe straits of difficulty, a mendicant came to his rescue and presented him with a piece of *paras* stone, the very touch of which is said to transmute iron into gold (usually called the philosopher's stone) and even demonstrated its efficacy before him. But Ravi Das heeded it not and burst into song which has been versified by Sur Das thus:

"A great treasure is the name of Hari to me. It multiplieth day by day, nor doth spending diminish it.
"It abideth securely in the mansion and no thief can steal it.
"The Lord is the wealth of Sur Das; what need hath he of the philosopher's stone?"

So saying he threw it away but when pressed to accept it he told the mendicant that he might keep it in the thatch of his hut. When the medicant returned after the lapse of thirteen months to see Ravi Das and found him in the same old poor condition as before, he enquired him as to what use the latter made of the stone. To this came the reply from Ravi Das: "It must be where thou didst put it. I have been afraid to touch it." Ravi Das depended on his own labours for his livelihood and did not care for earthly riches.

A Letter of Swami Vivekananda

We give below an extract from a letter written by Swami Vivekananda from Chicago on June 20, 1894, and published in the September issue of the *Prabuddha Bharata*:

The whole difference between the West and the East is in this—they are nations. We are not, *i. e.*, civilization, education here is general, it penetrates into the masses, the higher classes in India and America are the same but the distance is infinite between the lower classes of the two countries. Why was it so easy for the English to conquer India? It was because they are a nation, we are not. When one of our great men dies, we must sit for centuries to have another—they can produce them as fast as they die. It is the dearth of great ones. Why so? Because they have such a bigger field of recruiting their great ones, we have so small. A nation of 300 millions has the smallest field of recruiting its great ones compared with nations of 30, 40 or 60 millions, because the number of educated men and women in those nations is so great. Now do not mistake me, my kind friend, this is the great defect in our nation and must be removed. To educate and raise the masses, and thus alone a nation is possible. The whole defect is here, the real nation who live in cottages have forgotten their manhood, their individuality. Trodden under the foot of the Hindu, Mussalman or Christian, they have come to think that they are born to be trodden under the foot of everybody who has money enough in his pocket. They are to be given back their lost individuality. They are to be

educated. Our duty is to put chemicals together, the crystallization will come through God's laws. Let us put ideas into their heads, and they will do the rest. Now this means educating the masses. Here are these difficulties. A pauper government cannot, will not do anything, so no help from that quarter.

Portrait-Painting in Literature

Portrait-painting in literature is not a new art. But the portrait artists of the day have fashioned out of this art a fine literary form. In the course of an article on the subject in *The Twentieth Century* M. Chalapati Rau observes :

Portraits are, of course, generally not miniature biography. It would be truer to say that biography has become a Brobdingnagian edition of a miniature portrait. We can sometimes arrive at a portrait by splash-dash methods, through the misty coherence of memoirs, or by a happy accident in reminiscences or letters. There is much delightful portraiture in the bare husk which Pepys was confinding to his Diary in a pickled and jaunty script, still more in the Diary of Evelyn and in the gossipy history of the Creevy papers. No diary can be despised in these days.

Portrait-painting in literature is perhaps as old as Plutarch, even older. But it is yet an infant, intensely personal, oblique, wayward. Now and then man has achieved an objectivity in this art but it is only for brief moments. The pen quivers with unknown frenzies and untold prejudices. As it feels the ink it seems to smell blood, it grows Puckish. It pricks and prances. It goes up like a rocket, it dives. It is no wonder then if men who are afraid of these inconstancies prefer to sit huddled like penguins in the cold of oblivion. But the desire to be marked in stone, to be put on canvas, to be commemorated in print is primeval and cannot be thoroughly uprooted. What about the Epstein obliquity, the El Greco geometry which gives us four-dimensional robots of power? What are the limits of the methods as followed by Mr. Gardiner, Mr. Guedalla, Mr. Beverley Nichols or E. T. Raymond? These are questions which go to the root of aesthetics. If history is philosophy teaching by example, portrait-painting, like biography, is history thrust and cut by art, and there is the same proportionate difference in skill and arrangement between a biography and a sketch as that between a mausoleum and a memorial tablet. The touch-stone is whether the writer is trying to achieve a portrait by a conscious method or madness. And where exactly is the meeting-point between symbolism, impressionism, truth, malice, the scope of the subject, the interests of the artist, pre-Raphaelite precision and photographic realism—for even the camera can be convicted of pure flattery? What we can do is to take note of this flux and confusion, and to consider how posterity may acclaim or reject our contemporaries who are dwelling in wax in Madame Tussaud's or leaving their traces in 'animated busts' or purple pages.

The Future in the hands of Youth

The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon writes in the editorial notes :

Romain Rolland, the great French writer, believes that the future of the world is in the hands of youth. He writes : "If human civilization is still to be saved, it can only be through the energetic awakening and alliance of the young people of the world, who sweep from the path of progress the monstrous idols of the past, the poisonous prejudices, the tyrannies, the lies. I have little hope of change in the generation to which I belong. But my spirit and my heart have always been with the young, who travel always in the forefront, who never tarry, who carry in themselves faith in the future, and who want the suffering of the old world to be destroyed and a new world, happier and better, to arise."

And young men and boys, weary of contention and controversy, are craving a decisive leadership that can show the way. Here and there, throughout the world, youth is giving complete allegiance, at the cost of any personal sacrifice, to the leader or to the organization that has a plan and can interpret that plan in practical terms that can be understood.

And from among the boys will come the makers of the India that is to be.

The Theory of Varna

According to Dr. Gualtherus H. Mees the ancient theory of Varna was not a theory applying only to Hindu society. He looks upon it as a universal social theory. In the course of his article on caste and class in *The Hindustan Review* he observes :

A hundred years ago there was a German called Adam Muller who presented a doctrine with a religious basis, of four classes similar to those I just mentioned. His classes were : (1) The clergy, including the teaching classes. (2) The nobility, consisting of landed proprietors and military men, (3) The class of those occupied in business, traffic and intercourse; and (4) The class of those occupied in industry and productive labour. He called them in German, perhaps to remember them more easily, in a playful impulse : *Lehrstand, Wehrstand, Verkehrstand* and *Nahrstand*, "stand" meaning class. This Muller had probably never yet heard of Varnas, but he drew his own conclusions from society.

This division into four classes can easily be explained by regarding the all-inclusiveness of the function of the four groups of men in the organic unity. There are four main groups of human beings, distinguishable according to their Dharma. We shall this time begin with the lowest group—for clarity's sake :

(1) Persons with a productive task (in agriculture, mining, industry, arts and crafts and in the home). (2) Persons with a distributive task (in business, traffic, intercourse). (3) Persons with a regulative task (including persons with legislative and executive powers and business magnates) ; and (4) Persons with an educational task (including all persons concerned with the guidance and education of their fellowmen, involving their psychological unfoldment, and all persons who study truth for its own sake, as the true type of mystic and higher type of scientist. This group thus includes the teacher, the priest, the medical man, the psycho-analyst, the judge etc. The true artist also belongs to this group, for he creates out of inspiration and inner necessity, and not to supply a demand).

Thus the four groups are : (1) Productive; (2) distributive; (3) regulative, and (4) intellectual.

If we compare those four groups with the four Varnas, we see that they cover each other almost completely. Only sometimes we find that in the Varna theory the productive and distributive functions are both assigned to the Vaisya, and the function of the theoretical Sudra is considered to be service of the higher Varnas.

This service, however, apart from domestic service would be rendered almost exclusively in the productive field, in agriculture and industry. Hence the difference is not so great and really negligible.

The Jews of Germany

In discussing Marvin Lowenthal's book, *The Jews of Germany*, Dr. Taraknath Das makes the following remarks in *The Calcutta Review* :

During the early days of Christianity, both Judaism and Christianity were seeking converts among the Greeks and other peoples. Then the Christian leaders felt that to assert the superiority of Christianity which was born of Judaism, it should absorb the mother religion. But when the Christians found that Judaism was not to be absorbed and the Jews were tenacious in rejecting Jesus, because he was not the Messiah of the Jews, then Christian defeat roused religious intolerance and it took the form of bitter religious hatred and antagonism. Then the Christians started their religious persecution of the Jews who belonged to the sect which "killed Jesus, their savior and master." Furthermore, this conflict on the plane of religion had been accentuated by the political conflict between the Romans and the Jews. It must not be forgotten that the Romans conquered Jerusalem and subjugated the Jews who were looking for the day when their country and people, led by their Messiah, would be free and independent. Historians tell us that Jesus and his followers were regarded as political agitators, under the guise of a religious sect. It is a matter of history that early Christians were persecuted by the Romans; but when the Romans embraced Christianity, then the Roman rulers absorbed the spirit of the Christian religious hatred towards the Jews and started their persecution with vigor. Roman converts to Christianity became bitter persecutors of the Jews, because converts often act as greater bigots. It may be reminded that hundreds of thousands of virtual Jewish slaves had to toil hard for their imperial Roman masters, although some of the Jews held distinguished positions of Roman citizens within the empire. What had happened in early Christian era under the Roman rule, also happened in all Christian lands in Europe, in all ages—era before the Crusade, during the Crusades, during the Reformation and even today. Under the cover of religious fanaticism Jews have been victims of Christian persecution. Jews were persecuted in England, France, Spain, Poland, Russia and other Christian lands as well as in Germany. The history of anti-Semitism is the greatest indictment against the form of Christianity as practised by the Christian world which is virtually barbarous with a veneer of so-called civilization and culture.

The Nexus of Beauty

We reproduce from *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* the following excerpt from a Chapter of *A Diary of the Five Elements* by Rabindranath Tagore :

The rain-swollen river has overflowed the low-lying fields on either side, and our house-boat, in order to avoid the mid-stream current, is leisurely rustling its way over the half-submerged rice crops.

On the high bank, a little way of, there is a cluster of zinc-roofed cottages, and through topes of mango and jack-fruit and clumps of bamboo, behind a great Bo-tree with a masonry seat round its trunk, is seen a one-storied brick-built house, from which direction proceed the thin tones of a solitary shahnai pipe accompanied by a couple of drums.

The pipe, with its notes woefully out of tune, is playing the first part of a rural melody, cruelly repeating it over and over again, and at the end of each repetition the drums break out into a wild burst of unmerited outrage on the placid atmosphere.

Srotaswini thought some wedding must have been on over-night, and curiously leaned out of the window, her eager gaze scanning the wooded bank. I hailed the boatman of a dinghy moored close by, inquiring what the piping was for, and was told in reply that the local land-lord was celebrating his *punyaha*. Srotaswini was disappointed to learn that this *punyaha* has nothing to do with marriage, for she had been in hopes of catching a glimpse of some bashful, newly-wed maiden, clad in red bridal robes, being borne away by a gallant, sandal-paste-anointed youth seated by her side, in a peacock-fronted palanquin, along the winding village path now and then coming into view through the leafy screen.

"*Punyaha*," I informed her, "means in the rural parlance of Bengal, some auspicious day of the new year fixed for the ceremony of the first collection of rent. The landlord's agent, dressed up for the occasion, somewhat after the fashion of a bridegroom, sits in the decorated treasury room with an ornamental earthenware vessel in front of him, and into this the representative tenants, to the accompaniment of pipe and drum, put such instalment of the year's rent as they please, which again is accepted on trust without being counted. That is to say, on this auspicious day receiving and paying rent takes on the appearance, not of strict business, but of mutual pleasure, in which, on the one hand cupidity, on the other trepidation, find no place. The ceremony follows the example of the joyous offering of flowers made by the trees and shrubs to Spring, which are accepted without any intention of being hoarded up."



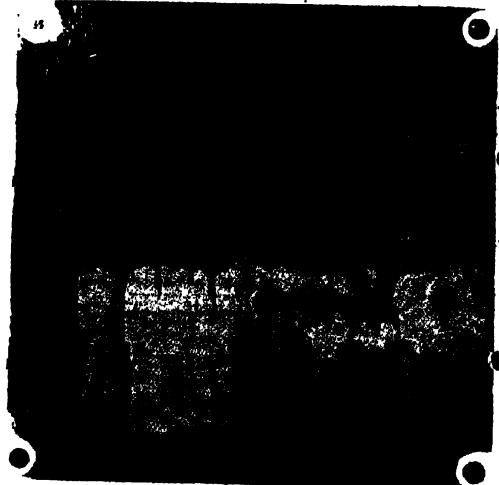
INDIAN WOMANHOOD

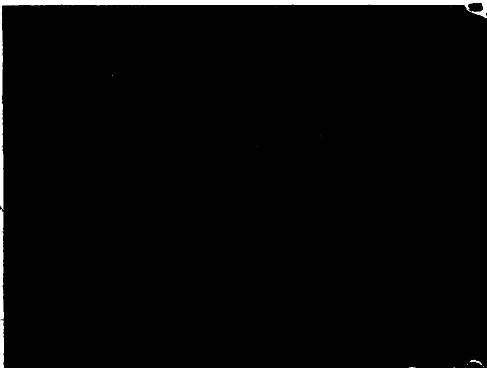
SRIMATI RAMBHAGAURI GANDHI, wife of Mr. M. P. Gandhi, recently passed the Degree Examination from the Indian Women's University, Bombay, winning the Tilak Prize for standing first in Psychology. She is the first lady from Bengal to take the degree from this University. She appeared all through as a private candidate.



Srimati Rambhagauri Gandhi

The Royal library in Phnom-Penh, Cambodge, gave a reception to the first Cambodian girl and the first Laotian girl, who obtained the first part of the French Baccalaureat, which they very successfully passed at the lycee Sisowath at Phnom-Penh. They are seen here in the middle of their friends and comrades.





Dr. B. C. Roy, an eminent physician and ex-Mayor of Calcutta (*seen in the centre*) was given a warm reception by the members of the Indian Association at 11, George Square, Edinburgh, where he paid a flying visit. The hall of the Association was packed to the very inch, where he delivered a speech. This will be published in a subsequent issue of *The Modern Review*.

it can only be throug...

Notes

India's Right To Frame Her Constitution

On the 17th of September, 1937, Mr. Satyamurti moved in the Legislative Assembly at Simla a resolution recommending the Governor-General in Council to convey to the Secretary of State and the British Government the opinion of the House that the Government of India Act, 1935, in no way represented the will of the nation and was wholly unsatisfactory and should be replaced by a constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise.

In moving the resolution Mr. Satyamurti declared that

he had moved the motion as a humble representative of the Indian National Congress, which governed seven out of eleven provinces and hoped to govern other four provinces very soon and which was therefore no longer an irresponsible opposition but a responsible body. He drew attention to the fact that this resolution had been adopted or would soon be passed by the provincial legislatures and no objection had been taken by any minority, including the Muslims, to the phrase "Constituent Assembly," and he pointed out that Muslim members of provincial legislatures represented a much larger electorate than the members of the Central Legislature. The phrase "Constituent Assembly" meant an assembly representing the sovereign will of the people after they had overthrown the Government in power by violence; but the last page in the history of the world had not yet been written, and as long as Mahatma Gandhi remained, the Constituent Assembly would be convened and transfer of power achieved by the people of this country by peaceful means. The people had had enough of the method of Round Table Conferences; they now wanted elimination of the third party altogether.

Referring to the amendments tabled, he said that

while Mr. Aney wanted elimination of the Communal Award, Mr. Jinnah wanted its perpetuation. He declared that separate electorate was anti-national and anti-democratic. It prevented the speaker, for instance, from voting for Mr. Jinnah even if he wanted to do so. The Congress stood for adult franchise, to which no follower of a democratic faith like Islam could object.

Passing to the declaration in the resolution that the Government of India Act did not represent the will of the nation, Mr. Satyamurti pointed out that

it did not carry out the recommendations of the Round Table Conference, did not accept a single recommendation of the Aga Khan memorandum and went against the resolutions of the Congress, Muslim League and every other progressive body in the country. Above all, even the amendments hitherto tabled in the House took no objection to the resolution as far as it declared itself against the Act.

Detailing the objections to the Act, Mr. Satyamurti emphasised that

it sought to introduce dyarchy in the centre in a far worse form than the one which was tried and had failed in the provinces. Furthermore, the Indian Princes would nominate one-third of the Federal Legislature and have power to influence it, while they themselves would be governed, not by the Act, but by separate instruments, which, as the Maharajah of Patiala had declared, were more important to them than the Act.

Proceeding, Mr. Satyamurti declared that

unless the representatives of States were elected to the legislature by the people of States and unless fundamental rights were guaranteed to them the Federation would be entirely useless. The country wanted neither the Federation as at present proposed, nor so-called central responsibility.

He continued :

"By all means, make a Federation of eleven self-governing provinces and keep the door open for the States to enter. Good States may come in, bad States may not. It is better that they do not."

Mr. Satyamurti strongly criticised "the conspiracy of silence" in the matter of negotiations now progressing in relation to the Federation and asked whether the intention was even to amend the Government of India Act, 1935, in order to suit the Princes and whether other efforts were being made to coerce them to enter the Federation.

Continuing, the speaker emphasised that

the acceptance of offices by the Congress in seven provinces did not mean acceptance of the Act. They accepted office in order to serve the people to the extent of opportunities given by it, in order to remove the fear of the Government from the minds of the people and above all to remove the fear of the majority from the minds of the minorities regarding their interests.

The Government could do worse than accept the resolution. The Government were relying on communalists and Indian Princes but joint electorate was bound to come soon. The Premiers of the Punjab and Sind had already declared themselves in favour of this. When joint electorate came the communalists would find their occupation gone. In relying on Indian Princes the Government were relying on a broken reed. The Government should accept the resolution also in view of the world situation in which Britain was no longer playing the role of the lion. She had become an old lion. (Laughter.)

Sir N. N. Sircar interjected :

Even an old lion is better than a tom cat. (Loud Laughter.)

Mr. Satyamurti : It is better to be a free cat than a slave lion. (Renewed Laughter.)

Concluding Mr. Satyamurti declared that the resolution was humble, but gave a definite indication of the desire and ambition of the people to be master of this country, not merely, not so much desire for the transfer of power from the white to the brown or black Government as that the people of the country might come by their own and the evils of poverty and want be removed. They were short-sighted who thought when a great nation willed to be free anyone could stand in the way. He quoted the words of an Irish mother who in reply to his question declared that so long as one Irish child lived the fight for the freedom of Ireland would go on. He declared that so long as a single Indian child lived the fight for the freedom of India would go on (Cheers). He also warned the Government that so long as Mahatma Gandhi lived, there was a chance of a friendly settlement but freedom would be attained by this country sooner even than her friends hoped and enemies feared. (Renewed Cheers.)

The various amendments were then moved and the President ruled that the resolutions and amendments would be discussed together.

Mr. Jinnah moved insertion in place of "Constituent Assembly" the words "Convention or Conference elected on the basis of electorates as provided in the Communal Award in the absence of any agreement to the contrary and further that the rights and interests of the Mussalmans and other minorities should be effectively safeguarded with the mutual consent of the communities concerned."

We venture to think that there can be no "agreement" with Mr. Jinnah and men of his way of thinking which would not be undemocratic and would not be substantially as bad from the nationalist point of view as the Communal Decision. Mr. Jinnah and men of his way of thinking simply want to perpetuate the Communal Decision.

Mr. M. S. Aney moved the addition after the words "The Government of India Act, 1935" the following words :

"and the ordinances promulgated and the body of rules framed thereunder including those relating to franchise and class representation based on the Cabinet decision known as the Communal Award" and also to the effect that the Constituent Assembly be elected on the basis of a non-communal system of representation and adult franchise.

Mr. Aney's amendment is commendable and necessary.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir moved an addition to Mr. Jinnah's amendment of the following words : "and further all small minorities be represented."

If Sir Cowasji cared to count all the "small minorities" in India, he would find that the allotment of even one representative to every such minority in any Legislature or other representative body of a manageable size would be impossible.

Mr. Husseinbhoy Laljee moved the substitution for Constituent Assembly the following words : "Convention or conference elected on the basis of electorates as provided in the Communal Award in the absence of any agreement to the contrary whose decisions shall be binding on the British Parliament and further the rights and interests of the Mussalmans and other minorities should be effectively safeguarded with the mutual consent of the communities concerned."

Mr. Laljee has only dotted the "i"s and crossed the "t"s of Mr. Jinnah's amendment. He has also added that the decisions of the convention or conference wanted by Mr. Jinnah and himself would be binding on the British Parliament! But as the British Parliament is not a subordinate body, how can the mere declaration of the desire of another body make its "decisions" binding on it?

Moulvi Zaffar Ali Khan said that Mr. Satyamurti's resolution reminded him of a story in which when the father died the clever eldest son told the younger ones that he being the eldest the paternal house from the floor to the roof was his and from the roof right up to the seventh heaven was theirs. Unless therefore the Congress treated the Muslim minorities generously, the Muslims would accept the Congress promises with a grain of salt. He said that he was with the Congress so far as making the British leave India and ameliorating the condition of the masses were concerned, but before he was prepared to fight for that end, he wanted an assurance that the Muslim minorities would be treated fairly. He therefore supported Mr. Jinnah's amendment.

If we are not mistaken, it was this Moulvi or some confrère of his who said that India was the Moslem's step-mother and Islam their mother. But in the story which this Moulvi told, there was a father. If Hindus and Moslems were children of the same father, as he implied, who according to him was that father? And when did the Congress or Congress Hindus want to monopolise all the ancestral heritage? As for the Muslim minorities being treated fairly, is it not a familiar fact that Congress has all along been more than fair to them and has been humouring them to the best of its ability ?

Rao Sahib N. Shiva Raj, representative of the Scheduled castes, expressed satisfaction at having been granted an opportunity to express his views on this important question.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai intervening asked: "Are you an elected member?"

Rao Sahib: "I will have no chance." (Laughter.) Continuing he said that when he saw the resolution a few days back his first reaction was stoutly to oppose it.

He did not conclude when the House rose for lunch.

When Mr. Shivraj resumed his speech there were interruptions from Congress benches. Dr. De Souza addressing the Chair said that the speech being maiden should not be interrupted. The Deputy President asked members not to interrupt.

Mr. Satyamurti: But he must make a maidenly speech.

Mr. Shivraj said that if the resolution was moved in a spirit of co-operation then only he would welcome it. It was premature, firstly, as only just now the Congress had accepted office and become a legal unit of the Federation and they should not urge abolition of the Act without giving it a trial.

Congress has been and will for some time to come be giving it a trial.

Secondly, the method suggested for abolition of the Act did not appeal to him. The method outlined in Mr. Jinnah's amendment was acceptable.

Mr. L. K. Maitra supporting Mr. Aney's amendment said that

it was the Communal Award that had separated the Congress Nationalists from the main Congress. It was the Communal Award which was bringing suppressed sneer and jeer for Bengal, the province which was the birth-place of nationalism. She had been reduced to a position of utter political impotence due to this award. Muslims should not blame the Congress. Mr. Gandhi had promised a blank cheque for the Muslims if they joined hands with the Congress for the attainment of freedom.

Sir A. H. Ghuznavi wished the resolution had been brought after a settlement had been arrived at between Hindus and Muslims, then Muslims would have supported it.

So long as the present mentality of the communalists lasted the "settlement" might be expected to be arrived at on the Greek Calends.

Tracing the history of the efforts made to achieve such settlement in the past, he blamed Hindu communalists for their failure.

Of course, it was the Hindus who were to blame for everything! It was the Hindus who suggested during the regime of Lord Minto that the Aga Khan should lead a Muslim deputation to His Excellency to ask for separate representation and other boons in view of the "political importance" of the Muhammadans! And so on and so forth.

He paid a tribute to Mr. Jinnah for his efforts for a settlement and declared that until an agreed settlement had been made Muslims must stick to the Communal Award. The Congress must show that it was prepared to safeguard minority interests, particularly those of Muslims, but by the way administration in Congress Provinces was carried on Muslim fears were not allayed.

Vague charges like these are worse than useless. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq made a definite charge against the Bihar Congress ministry and was given the lie for his pains with irrefutable facts.

Citing the example of Bombay, he declared that if a resolution of this kind was to be passed at all it should be with the amendment of Mr. Jinnah.

Sardar Sant Singh declared that no Constituent Assembly could be called on the basis of the Communal Award, for the Sikhs were pledged to oppose the Award stoutly in every shape and form. The Sikhs were ready to co-operate with those who wished to develop the Constitution on healthy lines but not on communal lines. If the Congress yielded to unfair and unjust Muslim demands, then he would not be with the Congress.

The debate had not concluded when the House rose. As the 17th September was the last non-official day of the session the debate will be continued in the Delhi session.

The Bihar Congress Ministry have weakly agreed to the election of representatives of minority communities to the proposed Constituent Assembly by separate electorates of those communities. Such compromises cut at the roots of democratic and nationalist principles. Nationalist members of the Central Legislature should beware of such weakness. The Constituent Assembly may or may not be convened, but principles should not be sacrificed in advance to propitiate rank communalists.

Foreign Delegation of Scientists to Jubilee Session of The Indian Science Congress

On the subject of the foreign delegation of scientists to the Jubilee Session of the Indian Science Congress, we have received the following statement from Professor Dr. J. N. Mukherjee, General Secretary, Indian Science Congress Association, approved by the Executive Committee of the Indian Science Congress Association, for publication in *The Modern Review*:

"In the editorial notes in the August issue of *The Modern Review* some comments were made regarding the Foreign Scientists invited to attend the Silver Jubilee Session, and in the September issue extracts from two letters of an Indian scientist regarding the same matter were published. Since both the comments and the letters were based on incomplete and incorrect information, the Executive Committee request you, in fairness to the Indian Science Congress Association, to publish the following statement. At the present moment, when the Indian Science Congress Association is busily engaged in making the final arrangement for celebrating its Silver Jubilee, it is unfortunate that such issues should have been raised.

"Since your correspondent's letters are primarily concerned with the fact that the Jubilee meeting is to be a joint session with the British Association, it is necessary to state briefly the steps leading up to this arrangement.

"So long ago as January 1935, the Executive Committee decided that the Silver Jubilee of the Indian Science Congress Association should be celebrated by inviting the British Association for the Advancement of Science, on which body it is modelled, to hold its 1938 meeting in India, and an invitation was sent in the same month. The British Association replied that they received the invitation with great interest, but pointed out that they had already accepted an invitation to meet at Cambridge in 1938. In place of a meeting of the British Association in India, they tentatively suggested that they might send a representative party to India during the winter, to meet in co-operation with the Indian Science Congress Association.

"The reply was considered, and it was decided to authorize two members of the Executive Committee, who were shortly proceeding to London, to discuss the matter informally with the British Association and ascertain the financial and other requirements. In England the two members met the Secretary and General Secretaries of the British Association, and discussion took place as to whether (a) there should be a full meeting of the British Association in India in September, 1938, or (b) a selected party representing the British Association should hold a joint session with the Indian Science Congress Association in January 1938. It was decided that the second alternative was the more practicable, and this was agreed to by our representatives, subject to confirmation by the Indian Science Congress Association. It was also agreed that the Indian Science Congress should appoint the President and Sectional Presidents for the joint meeting, in view of the fact that the occasion was primarily the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the Indian Science Congress in which the British Association was participating. It was also agreed that the Indian Science Congress should be free to invite non-British scientists to attend the Session. It was further agreed that it would be necessary to grant sibsidies towards the expenses of the delegates if it was to be fully representative of all the branches of science.

"Regarding the latter point, it is the custom when the British Association meets outside the United Kingdom for the Government and public bodies of the inviting country to meet the greater part of the expenses of the delegation, and after some discussion it was agreed that the Indian Science Congress Association should raise sufficient money to cover about half the grant to be paid to a selected number of delegates, the other half being raised by the British Association. (The share to be provided by the Indian Science Congress Association was subsequently fixed at £3,500, on the basis of about 65 delegates, while it was also decided to invite 10 to 12 eminent non-British scientists, and to offer each a grant of £100).

"Subsequently, at the meeting of the General Committee of the British Association it was decided to accept the invitation to meet in joint session with the Indian Science Congress Association at the celebration of its Silver Jubilee in the Christmas vacation of 1937-38, and the Council was authorized to carry on negotiations with the Indian Science Congress Association to that end.

"A full report of these preliminary discussions was placed before the Executive Committee, the Council, and the General Committee at their meetings at Indore in January, 1936. The action that had been taken was approved, and it was unanimously resolved to invite a deputation of scientists from the British Association and elsewhere to meet in joint session with the Indian Science Congress Association in celebration of its Silver Jubilee in January, 1938, and the Executive Committee was authorized to take the necessary steps in this connection, and to report progress to the General Committee at its meeting in Hyderabad in January, 1937.

"Subsequently, on receipt of the Government of India's decision to contribute Rs.20,000 to the Indian Science Congress Association to enable it to invite the British Association, a formal invitation was sent at the end of May, 1936, and it was at once accepted by the British Association.

"Since then the Executive Committee has been actively engaged in making arrangements for the joint session, and in drawing up a programme to enable the delegates to visit the more important scientific centres in India within the time at their disposal. A full report of the progress made was printed and circulated to all members of the General Committee in December, 1936, and at the Session of the Congress held at Hyderabad in January, 1937, the report was considered and unanimously approved by the General Committee.

"As regards the selection of the delegates, the British Association had courteously asked the Indian Science Congress Association to send a list of those scientists whom it would most

like to see invited, and lists of British and non-British scientists were drawn up with the help of the Sectional Committees, and sent to the British Association. Subsequently the British Association suggested that the invitations to the non-British delegates might be issued directly by the Indian Science Congress Association, and this has been done.

" It will thus be seen from the above statement that from the very beginning it has been our intention to celebrate the Silver Jubilee by holding a joint meeting with the British Association, and that at every step the action taken by the Executive Committee has had the full authority and unanimous approval of the General Committee. **Such being the case, it is only natural that there will be a preponderance of British over non-British delegates, for the meeting is not an International Congress, but a joint meeting with the British Association.** In all matters regarding the arrangements of the Session, *e.g.*, in the appointment of the General President and of the Sectional Presidents, the Indian Science Congress Association has remained autonomous, and the British Association has never suggested anything which might look like interference with our internal affairs.

" It will now also be clear that your scientific correspondent's statement that 'The Indian Science Congress had no special reason to provide all these funds and there seems little doubt that they would not have been provided but for the fact that someone conceived the idea of having a " joint session " with the British Association—which was translated into meaning that India should fork out the expenses of the delegates from which non-British scientists, no matter how distinguished, would be excluded, with a few exceptions' is based on a misconception.

" Your correspondent states that unless pressure is put upon the Committee, distinguished non-British scientists will not be invited on the same terms as the Britsh delegates. This is incorrect, for they are being invited on *better* terms than the British delegates, in order to ensure their attendance. In addition, of course, a certain number of non-British scientists (129) have been invited to come at their own expense; but the same has been done in the case of the British scientists, a number of whom are paying their own expenses. Therefore your correspondent's contention that 'The policy of treating the bulk of non-British scientists invited (differently) from the British scientists will be resented widely when the facts are known by those who are being asked to subscribe funds' is entirely without foundation.

" Your correspondent also states that scientific congresses never pay the expenses of delegates coming from other countries. This statement is incorrect, for, as we have shown above, it is the custom for the inviting country to contribute towards the expenses of the delegates when the British Association is meeting overseas; and, moreover, several Indian scientists have received invitations to attend international congresses, and have had their expenses paid either wholly or in part by the country organising the Congress.

" The present financial position of the Congress does not enable it to pay further grants over and above those already budgetted for. But it has already been decided that, if surplus funds become available, the question of paying grants to additional non-British scientists will be considered.

" In conclusion we would like to emphasize that the scientists, British or non-British, who are coming from abroad are our honoured guests, and all of us who have the success of the Jubilee celebrations at heart should avoid giving the impression that our invitations are half-hearted. It is easy to imagine the existence of racial issues in everything, but there cannot be any surer way of wrecking the arrangements that we are making for the celebration of our Silver Jubilee than by raising such false issues based on incorrect information. We need hardly point out that when a decision has been taken by a majority, especially, as in this instance, a unanimous decision, ordinary fair play and loyalty to the organisation demand that a reasonable attitude should be taken by its members regarding individual points of view.

" It is hoped that the above facts will enable you and the readers of your Journal to judge the position correctly, and will dispel the misunderstandings that are likely to arise if the mis-statements are allowed to go uncorrected."

The statement printed above is convincing and ought to remove all misconceptions.

The Indian National Congress and Federation

Along with other Indian nationalists members of the Indian National Congress accept and cherish the ideal of a Federated India. But this Federation must be based on democratic principles. No true Indian nationalist can agree to a division of India into two parts—one

whose affairs are to be administered according to democratic or progressively democratic methods and the other to be mostly ruled autocratically at the sweet will of the ruling princes and of their "captains' captains," the Political Agents and Residents. The ideal of a Federated India which Indian nationalists have in view is that the whole of India is to be governed according to democratic principles and that all Indians living in any part of India are to have the same sort of franchise and fundamental political rights.

As the idea of the Federation of India, embodied in the Government of India Act, is opposed to the Indian nationalists' ideal of Federated India, as that Act totally ignores the people of the Indian States and gives full recognition to the ruling princes' autocracy, the Indian National Congress has been all along opposed to the British Government's scheme of federation. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is both personally and as president of the Indian National Congress opposed to that sort of federation. His opposition to it has the support of all Indian nationalists. He has recently declared in somewhat vehement language, that Congress will break it, smash it and burn it. From the nationalist and democratic point of view there can be no objection to the destruction of the British-made scheme of federation.

We are sure that, so far as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is personally concerned, his abhorrence of and opposition to the Government federation plan will endure. But we are not so sure of the immutability of the Congress attitude. Both Congress and the Pandit were opposed to the British scheme of so-called provincial autonomy and the acceptance of ministries by Congressmen. Presumably the Pandit's attitude has not changed, but the Congress as a body, owing to a majority decision, has been working the Government of India Act through Congress ministries, so far as provincial autonomy is concerned. Federation, the other part of the Act and the new Constitution, is still to come into force. It is not beyond the range of possibility, or, rather, it is within the range of probability, that Congress may decide to work federation also, as it has been working provincial autonomy, for the opportunity that it may offer, like the provincial autonomy part, to serve and strengthen the nation. Should that eventuality come to pass, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru would be found to have spoken undoubtedly in utter sincerity from the fulness of his heart, but not as a diplomatically discreet politician. Perhaps he is not a "safe!" politician and therefore all the more likable and honourworthy.

Moslem Opposition to Federation

Genuine Congressmen among Muhammadans dislike the Government scheme of federation for the same reasons as other Congressmen. But Muhammadans in general appear to be opposed to it from a communalist point of view. So far as the British India part of the Constitution and the Central Legislature are concerned, the British Government and Parliament have been flagrantly unjust to the Hindus, having given them very much less representation than even their numbers alone would entitle them to, and flagrantly partial to the Moslems. Therefore, Moslems in general have been in favour of the British India part of the Government of India Act and Constitution. They would probably have liked the Indian States part of the Constitution, too, and therefore, the Government plan of federation also, if it had been laid down in the Act, and provisions made therefor, that of the representatives to the Central Legislature to be nominated by the rulers of the Indian States one-third were to be Muhammadans. But that has not been done. And as there are more non-Moslems than Moslems among these rulers, therefore there is just a possibility that, in spite of the Muhammadan prime ministers of many non-Muslim States and in spite of the pro-Muslim active influence of the Residents and Political Agents, the proportion of Muslims among the nominated States' representatives may fall below communalist Muslim expectation.

That apears to be the reason why Moslem Leaguers and others of the same way of thinking are opposed to federation.

Whatever their respective reasons, Congressmen and Moslem Leaguers will find themselves ranged against federation.

We are not and have never posed as political prophets. But it seems to us that Congress will not be able to wreck federation. As for the Moslem League, its opposition can be bought off, if necessary, by Communal Rewards Nos. 4, 5, 6,. . . Congress can never make a higher bid for Moslem support than Government. When at the Allahabad Unity Conference, it was decided that Mussalmans were to have 32 per cent. of the seats in the Central Legislature, Sir Samuel Hoare declared that they were to have 33⅓ per cent., and the Unity Business received its coup de grace. Those Mussalmans who would join the Congress

because of their nationalist and democratic convictions would remain true to the cause. Those who would join it in the expectation of greater advantages than would accrue to them from remaining loyal to the British Government, might be disappointed. Congress can make sincere Promise to be fulfilled on the attainment of Swaraj but Government is in a position to come out with offers of immediate Performance. In a battle of such Promise and such Performance, Congress cannot but come out second best.

Suggestions to Nationalists in Indian States

But we were saying that our guess is that Congress would not be able to wreck federation as it has not been able to wreck provincial autonomy. Whatever may be the outcome of the wrecking endeavours and strategy of the Congress, we are not in favour of wholesale condemnation of the administrations of all the Indian States. Just as Congress has thought it expedient to take advantage of the Government scheme of provincial autonomy in spite of its limitations and defects, nationalists among the people of the comparatively progressive Indian States may consider whether by working the defective constitutions of those States, the forces making for nationalism and democracy may not be strengthened. Let them also try to get nationalists nominated to the Central Legislatures from their States.

Shrinkage of the World and Selfishness and Isolation of Nations

The radius, the diameter and the circumference of the planet, known as the Earth, have remained the same during historical times Famous cities and obscure villages in the same or different countries are now as distant from one another as ever. Literally understood, the world has not shrunk. But it takes far less time now than before to travel from one part of the world to another by land and water and air. And it takes even less time for private and public messages and news to travel from one part of the world to another. Therefore, taking these facts into consideration, the world may be said figuratively to have undergone shrinkage.

The peoples of the world, distant and near neighbours, are in a better position now than ever before, to know one another by actual personal contact or by exchange of views and acquisition of knowledge relating to one another. Therefore, it might have been expected that, owing to the shrinkage of the world, there would be greater fraternity and friendliness among the peoples of the world than in ages past. But to all appearance, nations seem to be more inclined to fight than otherwise. It is not the object of this note to diagnose the causes of this phenomenon. We simply mention it. At the same time it should be noted that in many countries our times have seen the rise of eminent idealists and intellectuals who have been striving to promote friendliness and cultural and intellectual co-operation among peoples. Strenuous efforts are being made to spread and inculcate pacifist and anti-war principles. All this is to the good. But it cannot be ignored that the armaments race goes on unchecked.

Another fact has to be noted. There were times when at least some nation or other or some prominent person or other belonging to some nation or other was found to act chivalrously in other nations' freedom's fight —whatever the motive. Those who fought for their own independence in America and who founded the United States of America were helped by Lafayette of France. But in this twentieth century no foreign nation, no eminent man belonging to any foreign nation, has fought for the Ethiopians.

Greek liberty was finally achieved in 1828 with help from England, France and Russia. But neither England, nor France, nor Russia has helped Abyssinia to maintain her independence.

It may be that Lafayette of France helped the Americans partly because they were of European descent, and the Greeks were helped by some European countries partly because they (the Greeks) were Europeans and their enemies the Turks were not; and the Abyssinians were not helped because they were not Europeans.

At present war is going on between China and Japan. No nation has yet come to the rescue of China. If the interests of any non-Chinese and non-Japanese nation be directly affected by this war, it may side with the Chinese later.

During the Italo-Abyssinian war collective security and non-intervention were the hypocritical reasons given for nobody doing anything for the Abyssinians. These so-called reasons have been serving their purpose in Spain also. As regards the Sino-Japanese war, the United States of America has practically prohibited the export of all war materials to China. This will not go against Japan, as she has been making careful preparations for the war for some years past. China's preparations have not been so adequate. She will have to suffer.

It appears then that in its fight for freedom, either for keeping or winning it, no nation can

expect any help from any other nation—not any disinterested help at any rate. And that is not because nations have turned pacifist. They are making their own preparations for their own wars—with whom, they do not say and must not say.

Every nation struggling to be free must be self-reliant both on principle as well as because that is the teaching of realpolitik.

Rabindranath Tagore's Recovery

Along with those countless men and women in India and abroad whom Rabindranath Tagore's recent serious illness caused great anxiety, we rejoice at his recovery. Dr. Sir Nilratan Sircar and his colleagues, who took such devoted and unremitting care of the poet day and night for days together, have earned the profound gratitude of the public as well as of his family.

He has issued the following statement, which shows once again how the poet-sage lives for the service of humanity :

"Now that I am better I take this opportunity of thanking my friends and countrymen who, during the last few days, have overwhelmed me with their affection and solicitude. It seems worth while to recover if only to appreciate the affection of friends who, I hope, will accept my present condition of weakness as my apology for not being able to acknowledge their kindness individually. It was a grateful experience to regain my first contact with the outside world through the anxious care of so many loving hearts. The doctors who watched over me night and day and fought with death on my behalf have laid me under an obligation of which every hour of recovery makes me increasingly aware. The only pity is that they have saved a life whose capacity for service must diminish day by day while its responsibilities remain.

A Thanksgiving Offering

The following news will be read with pleasure and admiration :-

Mr. S. C. Mukerjee, retired I.C.S., has sent a cheque for Rs. 1,000 to the Poet as a thanksgiving for his recovery. In the course of the letter Mr. Mukerjee says, "As a thanksgiving I am enclosing a cheque which I would request you to kindly utilise in the way you think best, either for the Visva-Bharati or for any other purpose for which you have been raising funds. It is a great pity that at your time of life you have to go about to raise funds and to worry over such matters. We feel this most acutely. I wish I had the circumstances to contribute more."

The Poet was much moved on reading the letter and wrote back in his own hand, weak as he was :

"Deeply thankful for your really helpful expression of sympathy for myself and my cause."—*United Press.*

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on "Bande Mataram"

New Delhi, Sept. 18.

Mr. Ali Sardar Jafri, a resident of Balrampur, District Gonda (Oudh) has recently addressed a letter to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru seeking his opinion whether the Bandemataram was a national anthem or not.

Pandit Nehru in the course of his reply says :—

"The Congress has not officially adopted any song as a kind of National Anthem. In practice, however, the Bandemataram is often used at national gatherings together with other songs. The reason for this is that 30 years ago this song and this cry became a criminal offence and it developed into a challenge to British Imperialism. Thousands of people suffered because of this and it came to be associated in the minds of the public with a fight against British Imperialism. To this extent it became a symbol of Nationalism in India. I do not think anybody considers the words to have anything to do with a goddess. That interpretation is absurd. Nor are we concerned with the idea that the author of the book which contains this song had in his mind when he wrote it, because, the public does not think on these lines.

"I think that the whole song and all the words in it are thoroughly harmless and nobody can take exception to their meaning. But I also think that the song is not suitable as a National Anthem. It contains too many difficult words which people do not understand and the ideas it contains are also out of keeping with modern notions of nationalism and progress. We should certainly try to have more suitable national songs in simple language. But great songs and anthems cannot be made to order. It requires a genius for the purpose. I suppose in time we shall get something good. Meanwhile there is no reason why we should not give full permission for the use of the Bandemataram as well as other favoured songs which many people have come to associate with our struggle for freedom."—*A. P.*

Mr. Nehru is quite right in saying that "great songs and anthems cannot be made to order. It requires a genius for the purpose." Correct, too, is his observation that the "Bande Mataram" song "contains too many difficult words which people do not understand and the ideas it contains are also out of keeping with modern notions of nationalism and progress." But it is very difficult to have a national anthem for India which every one will understand. We have in Bengali some patriotic songs which even illiterate adults among us can generally follow. But they were never meant to be national anthems.

At the last Karachi session of the Indian National Congress the opening song was Rabindranath Tagore's "Jana-gana-mana-adhinayaka jay he Bharata-bhagya-bidhata." It was sung in chorus by Sindhi girls and ladies. We were told that it was very popular in Sindh. Unless the objection be raised that it contains difficult words, it is perfectly fit to be a national anthem. We have never raised or supported the objection that "Bande Mataram" is idolatrous. But those who have will be unable to discover the least trace of idolatry in Tagore's song. It is true, however, that it lacks the halo of association with the struggle for freedom which encircles "Bande Mataram."

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's Birthday Centenary

At a luncheon given by the Bengali P. E. N. Club Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan delivered a short address with his usual thoughtfulness and eloquence.

> Dr. Kalidas Nag paid a tribute to the services of Sir Sarvapalli in lifting the veil which had so long hung between the East and the West to the great loss of the common civilization.
>
> At his suggestion a committee was formed to take steps to celebrate the birthday centenary of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. It was also decided that a commemoration volume should be issued. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, President of the P.E.N., was elected President of the Committee, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President, Dr. S. Suhrawardy, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji and Dr. Kalidas Nag, members. Dr. Nag would act as Secretary.
>
> Dr. Chatterji and Dr. Suhrawardy contributed to the discussion, endorsing the suggestion of Dr. Nag and expressing their willingness to serve on the Committee.

Government Recognition for Professor Karve's Indian Women's University

It is good news that the Prime Minister of Bombay has promised Government recognition to the Shrimati Nathibai Damodhar Thackersey Indian Women's University, founded by Professor D. K. Karve. On otbaining this recognition the University will be entitled to the capital of 15 lakhs of rupees with which Sir Vithaldas Thackersey endowed it. Hitherto it has been receiving only the interest thereof.

This University teaches all subjects up to and including the post-graduate stage through the medium of the vernaculars, English being taught as a language. Calcutta and some other universities appear to be working towards that goal. It is objected by many opponents of the vernacular medium that those who will learn English only as a language, instead of learning everything in addition through the medium of English, will be less proficient in speaking and writing that language than those who have hitherto received their education through the medium of English. Perhaps some people attach exaggerated importance to mere proficiency in speaking and writing English. That question need not be discussed here. But if the graduates of Dr. Karve's university, in addition to possessing sound knowledge of their subjects, can also speak and write English like the average graduates of other Indian universities, that will hearten the advocates of the vernacular medium.

Compulsory Hindi in Madras Schools

Mr. K. Natarajan, editor of *The Indian Social Reformer*, is a South Indian long settled in Bombay and is accustomed to breathe the cosmopolitan air of Bombay. As next to Hindi or Hindustani, Bengali is spoken and understood by the largest number of persons in India, the opinions of Bengalis relating to making Hindi the lingua franca of India may be suspect. But South Indian publicists do not labour under that disqualification. That is our reason for making the following extract from *The Indian Social Reformer* :

> The Madras Premier has thought it necessary to issue a press statement through the Congress Publicity Office in Allahabad assuring Muslims that he has no intention of enforcing the use of the Devanagari script in his scheme of compulsory Hindi in the middle schools of the province. He states that it will be optional with every one to use either the Devanagari or the Urdu characters. In the 8,000 middle schools in the province, there will have to be engaged 16,000 new teachers, in order that each student may exercise the right of option between the two scripts. [What avoidable waste!—Ed., *M. R.*] Apart from that, it is not at all apparent why those who are anxious to have a common language for the whole country shrink from facing the adoption of a common script, without which a common language is a palpable imposture. Mr. M. Ziauddin, writing in the *Visvabharati Quarterly*, expressed his surprise that none of the Congress leaders is able to consider the great extent to which a language is conditioned by its script. A single language, he pointed out, if written in different scripts, is bound to develop into two differing languages. Without a common script the advantage of a common language will be limited to tourist small talk. What is printed in Urdu characters cannot be read by those who have adopted the Nagari character, though the writing is in the same language. Suppose English in Bombay is written in the Roman and in Sind in the Sindhi characters. Or that Marathi in some schools is written in the Nagari and in others in Telugu characters. It is easy to foresee that nothing but confusion can be the result. How can it be otherwise with Hindi? If the advocates of an Indian common language to replace English have the courage of their convictions they should boldly advocate the adoption of a single script, either the Persian or the Sanskrit. What prevents them from doing this is the assumption underlying all Congress schemes for promoting Hindu-Muslim unity, namely, that the Muslim is amenable only to considerations of self-interest, that any call on him to make a sacrifice, even a trivial one, for the common national good would meet with no response from him and may scare him away from those who make the call; that it is only by humouring him that he can be got to co-operate with a national movement. We have said before and we repeat, that this is not an assumption which any intelligent person can take as a compliment. Then, again, what is compulsion in the ultimate analysis but the British bayonet, the emblem of British Imperialism, which the Congress has in season and out of season denounced as satanic?

Though the conscious or unconscious motive of "humouring" may not be entirely absent, the Congress leaders may have considered language to be of greater essential importance than script and may have just tried to avoid the unjust suspicion of being Hindu Mahasabhaites in disguise. Convictions they may have which they do not want to obtrude on others.

Removal of Adult Illiteracy

It is said that at a meeting held at the Serampore College Hall for making the official scheme of adult education better known, Prof. B. C. Mukherji, a former member of the College staff, showed those present the Bengali primer especially prepared for the literacy campaign (whatever that may mean). We have not seen this primer and would like to know where it can be had.

It is also said that the meeting was informed that

> "plans were well in hand for starting a number of rural centres all over the area where the students during their vacation could join hands with local workers and make the scheme successful."

It is to be hoped that the police have been ordered, and steps taken to see that the order is obeyed, that there must not be any shadowing of these honorary and voluntary student teachers.

Being greatly interested in tackling the urgent problem of removing adult illiteracy, we try to acquire information relating to non-official voluntary endeavours having that object in view. Here is a letter from *The Leader* of Allahabad bearing on the subject, written by Pandit Brahma Datta Dikshit, superintendent of education, Municipal Board, Mirzapur, U. P.:

> Students who had appeared in the V. F. examination in March last were persuaded to open adult schools in their areas and teach them reading, writing and simple arithmetic. Many of them took up this work, started schools and gathered together about 30 students in each centre. They could get verandahs for this work rent-free. Very meagre financial aid was given to each teacher through private donations. As a matter of fact enterprising young men managed to collect enthusiastic learners and arranged for lamps, books, *takhties*, etc.
>
> After six weeks' coaching the pupils, who were adults, could read and write Deva Nagari but the work was carried on till June, for full three months, after which the pupils were tested and found literate. In order that they may not fall back into illiteracy a copy of the *Ramayan* was presented to them. Such centres are still working with success.
>
> From the above it is reasonable to infer that literacy, *i.e.*, ordinary knowledge of reading and writing, can be imparted within three months at the most. There are hundreds of unemployed vernacular final passed young men in rural and urban areas. If even a paltry sum of Rs. 10 per month is given for three months at least 30 adults can become literate. This comes to Re. 1 per adult for literacy. If suitable men are engaged or they are promised Rs. 30 in case they can make 30 adults literate, a great problem will be solved because literacy is the one sure foundation upon which any structure of social or political welfare can be built and without which no progress is possible.
>
> Rs. 10 per month, I dare say, will be a blessing to almost all V. F. examination passed men who are quite competent to teach but are without any means of livelihood. Here even this amount could not be paid and yet the spirited young men carried on the work. For every 30 centres, if the work is to be done on an extensive scale as it should be, one supervisor, preferably a high school passed man on Rs. 15 per month, should be kept.
>
> My experience is that suitable places can be obtained rent-free for teaching purposes. The would-be teachers may be asked to arrange for the place, collect learners and begin to teach them. The amount should be given in the form of conditional aid. *Takhties*, *tats* and books should be supplied free. All this will cost approximately Rs. 2 per pupil and this is not much.

Such work has been done in the past by very many students and other young men in Bengal without any payment and it is still done by some of them in some places. More such honorary workers can be had everywhere, provided the police can be brought under control and be made to work as public servants, as in Bihar, U. P., and in Congress Ministry provinces in general.

Hungerstrike Given Up

All but seven of the hungerstrikers in the Andamans had broken their fast; and these seven also have given up their hungerstrike.

Government can now consider and concede their demands without loss of prestige. All their demands are reasonable and have the backing of the whole of politically-minded India. In fact, all these demands had been made by the political leaders of India and by the press before they were made by the Andaman prisoners. Are the Government considering them?

The Indian public requested the hungerstrikers to give up their fast. The chief spokesman of the public was Mahatma Gandhi. It was principally at his request that the prisoners broke their fast. So Mahatma Gandhi and the public have a responsibility in the matter of the demands of the prisoners being met by the Government.

Recantation of Belief in Methods of Violence

When the Andaman hungerstrikers, with the exception of seven, broke their fast, they said that those of them who had formerly believed in the efficacy of methods of violence had now changed their opinion. It is to be noted that they did not say that they were all formerly advocates of violence. What they said meant that some of them were and they had changed their opinion. The recantation of the hungerstrikers in the Andamans or of the detenus and prisoners elsewhere must not, therefore, be construed to mean that all of them had formerly been "terrorists" and had now given up their belief in "terrorism." The only legitimate

interpretation is that some had been "terrorists" in belief or practice or both but have now ceased to be adherents of the cult of violence. As for the rest, as they had never believed in terrorism, no recantation on their part was necessary.

Officials concerned and their henchmen in the press have persistently spoken as if all detenus were actual or potential terrorists. But there is no warrant for such an assumption. But the question may be asked, why then were they placed under restraint for indefinitely long periods. None but those who are in the confidence of the police can give any satisfactory reply. Perhaps the nearest guess is that the police have their eyes on all who love liberty and talk of it or work for it even in non-violent ways, and among these very many of those who are not old or elderly have been victimized.

Bengali Youth's Struggle for Liberty

It has come to be known through official answers to questions in the Bengal Legislature that, in addition to the thousands of detenus and political prisoners, there are more than twenty-one thousand of Bengal's youth in the Chittagong district under some restraint or other. There may be an equal number in the Midnapur district under similar restraint. Had all these thousands been "terrorists," there would have been very many more murders of officials in Bengal than there have been. It may be presumed, therefore, that the vast majority were non-violent and active believers in freedom and have been suffering for the offence of loving their country. Are the Bengal Ministers powerless to end their misery?

The Andamans As a Penal Settlement

While vocal India has been insistently demanding the abolition of the Andamans as a penal settlement, Government show no signs of responding to public opinion. Only some of the prisoners in the Andamans are being repatriated. The largest number of prisoners in the cellular jail there belongs to Bengal. The Bengal Government cannot but be condemned for asking for the repatriation of only 28 of them. It has not been said on behalf of the Government of India that, if the Bengal Government had requested the repatriation of all Bengal prisoners, the former would have raised any objections: rather the contrary. Why then did not the Bengal Government ask for the repatriation of all of its prisoners? This is the least that they can do.

Ovations to Kakori Prisoners

We venture to think that Mahatma Gandhi is right in holding that the public receptions and ovations given to the released Kakori prisoners have been a political mistake. These persons have suffered for the error of their ways and have expressed their regret for the same and recanted. Nevertheless, lionizing them is apt to produce an impression that public opinion is not sufficiently condemnatory of political dacoities and political murders. We have not the least desire to sit in judgment on the Kakori ex-*prisoners*—particularly as, in the pursuit of the right path, we never took the risks which they took in following their wrong and sometimes cruel methods. They wear the mantle of suffering, no doubt. For that they are entitled to the solace of the sympathy of friends and relatives. But the mantle of suffering must not be turned into the martyr's crown, in the public interest, or at least for the full fruition of their future careers. We have nothing but respect for their courage, love of country, love of freedom and spirit of sacrifice.

Prof. Einstein Unable to Accept Science Congress and Calcutta University Invitations

Prof. Einstein, the world-famous scientist, it is understood, has declined on the ground of ill-health to accept the invitation to come to visit India on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee celebration of the Indian Science Congress to be held jointly with the British Association and under the presidency of Lord Rutherford, during the month of January in Calcutta.

It is understood in this connection that Mr. Shyamaprasad Mookherjee, Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University sent a telegram to the Professor who is now in Switzerland asking him to consider the invitation of the University to deliver readership lectures. Prof. Einstein, the Vice-Chancellor assured, would not be detained in Calcutta beyond the 3rd week of January. "Acceptance of invitation" Mr. Mookherjee added "will be greatly appreciated in all circles of India. The University offers Rs. 4.000 for expenses subject to your suggestion."

The following telegram has been received:

> "Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University.—I deeply appreciate your kind and honouring invitation. Conscious of the important achievements of Indian scientists in all fields of contemporary investigations. Unfortunately weakness of health does not permit me to accept. Gratefully and respectfully, —Albert Einstein."

Professor Einstein's ill-health has deprived the Indian public of the joy of having in their midst for a short time one of the world's greatest scientists, internationalists and believers in fundamental religion. Our old readers will remember the dialogue between him and Tagore which we published some years back.

Dr. J. H. Cousins On His Debt to "Gitanjali"

TRIVANDRAM.
(*By Mail*).

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's ideas of education had acted as sign posts for him ever since he heard a translation of the "Gitanjali" in 1912 in Paris, said Dr. James H. Cousins, delivering the inaugural address of the Arts College Association.

Dr. Cousins said that the fourth verse of the "Gitanjali" gave them the whole idealism and practice of education. He wanted them to practise it in their daily lives. They would thereby be giving a University extension course to themselves. Dr. Cousins paid great tribute to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore.

The subject of Dr. Cousins' address was "Some Necessities of Education."—*Associated Press.*

The fourth verse of *Gitanjali*, referred to by Dr. Cousins but not printed above in the "Associated Press" message, is quoted below.

Life of my life, I shall ever try to keep my body pure, knowing that thy living touch is upon all my limbs

I shall ever try to keep all untruths out from my thoughts, knowing that thou art that truth which has kindled the light of reason in my mind.

I shall ever try to drive all evils away from my heart and keep my love in flower, knowing that thou hast thy seat in the inmost shrine of my heart.

And it shall be my endeavour to reveal thee in my actions, knowing it is thy power gives me strength to act.

Cultivators and Landlords

Even if the Congress Election Manifesto had not made it obligatory on the Congress party to make earnest efforts to ameliorate the condition of the actual cultivators of the soil, ordinary humanity and patriotism would have made it incumbent on Congress Ministries and Legislators to do so. Therefore, their earnestness in the matter in some provinces is worthy of praise. In Bengal, the Ministers are under an obligation to make similar efforts because of the pre-election pledges given by some of them. But these pledges would have been perhaps dishonoured but for the fact that in Bengal most of the cultivators are Muhammadans and a large number of Hindu cultivators belong to the scheduled castes, whereas most of the landlords are Hindus. The Communal Decision has resulted in practically giving a majority of seats to the Muhammadans. This majority can do whatever is feasible under the Government of India Act. Now, the cultivators as cultivators have grievances against the landlords, and the majority of cultivators being Muhammadans may be against the Hindu landlords as Hindus. Hence in Bengal, the fight is both cultivator *versus* landlord as well as Muhammadan *versus* Hindu.

In many countries, such as Russia, Germany, Italy, Spain,. . . . which are not subject to any foreign nation, a conflict has been going on between the forces represented by Communism or Bolshevism on the one hand and those represented by Fascism or Nazism on the other. It may appear that in some countries one of these 'isms' has become triumphant and has come to stay and in other countries the opposite 'ism' has prevailed and bids fair to remain in the ascendant. But nowhere have the forces in opposition been absolutely crushed or destroyed for good. They raise their head now and then and bloody suppression or efforts at suppression follow. There is no knowing when, if ever, there will be a friendly understanding between the parties opposed to one another and consequent peace.

In India, the conditions are different. The country is not independent, but subject to a foreign nation, the British. The economic parties opposed to one another in this country are not known by the names of communists, bolsheviks, Fascists, or Nazis. They are known as factory labourers, ryots, agricultural and plantation labourers, landlords and capitalists. The conflict here between the parties opposed to one another cannot be for supreme power, which is in the hands of the British Government. That Government may sometimes favour this party, sometimes the other according as its interests require, playing off one against the other. The most favourable circumstance for the passing of the supreme power from the hands of the British people to those of the Indian people would have been the absence of internecine conflicts among us. Perhaps that is not to be.

Nevertheless, those who are now in the ascendant would do well to be considerate and reasonable. No party should aim at the entire or partial expropriation of its opponents without compensation, or at their crushing or suppression. Such efforts, even if successful for the time being, cannot but give rise to implacable hatreds and bitter conflicts as the result of reaction.

Parties in power appear to be rushing drastic land legislation through some of the Provincial Assemblies. In consequence the landlords of Bihar have threatened to adopt the method of civil disobedience against the Ministry. There would have been no substantial disadvantage if more time had been devoted to deliberation and consultation among the parties concerned in every province in which land laws are on the anvil.

Importing British Economic Adviser to Government of India

SIMLA, SEPT. 20.

In the Council of State Mr. Yuvrajdattasingh asked whether the post of economic adviser to Government of India had been filled. The Commerce Secretary Mr. Dow replied that the post had been offered on certain terms to a European Economist and the Government was not in a position to say whether he would accept the offer or not. Dr. Kunzru asked—Was the post advertised? Mr. Dow—No. Dr. Kunzru asked—Was no suitable Indian available? Why the Indians were excluded from applying for the post? Mr. Dow—I have not said that the Indians were excluded but the post had been offered to the best suitable candidate available. Mr. Hossain Imam—Is it a permanent appointment and what is the salary attached thereto? Mr. Dow—The appointment is for how long a period. I am unable to say and the salary is somewhere three thousand rupees a month. Dr. Kunzru—What were the grounds for not advertising the post which virtually resulted in the exclusion of Indians? Mr. Dow—The post was not advertised because the Government felt that such a course would not bring in the best qualified candidates. The Government is well aware of all leading Indian economists who could have any claim to hold the post. The Government is not sure whether the European economist who has been approached will accept the offer or not.—*A. P.*

The object of patriotic Englishmen, as that of all other patriotic nationals, is to consult the interests of their own people first. This they do in the affairs of their own country, as well as in the affairs of India and the other countries of which they are masters. Indian patriots want to consult the interests of their own people. But as they are not masters of their own country, they cannot do this effectively. Whether they wish, selfishly like Englishmen, to consult the interests of their own people first in foreign lands, is a question that does not arise and need not be discussed. For they cannot do it even in their own country and are not, and do not wish to be, masters of any foreign country.

Considering the disposition and habit of Englishmen to consult their own people's interest first, wherever they can, the British Government in India must be considered to have acted quite patriotically in desiring to import a British economic adviser. Indian economists may be suspected by them to be, prima facie, pro-Indian, and, hence, the claims of even the most eminent among them must be brushed aside.

By the by, the habit of Britishers or Englishmen in this country of referring to their own nationals as Europeans cannot be commended. They are Europeans, no doubt; but as they refer to Germans, Italians, Spaniards, Russians, etc., as Germans, etc., but not as Europeans, so they should refer to a Britisher or an Englishman as a Britisher or an Englishman. Why try to conceal the fact that they are insular in their outlook?

"Complete Absence of the Veil" in Iran

CALCUTTA, SEPT. 13.

"The contrast to the visitor to Afghanistan and Iran is that in Iran there is complete absence of the veil. Women throughout Iran walk about in European dress as in any European town. Up-to-date institutions cater to the educational needs of girls and boys, primary instruction being co-educational." Thus said Dr. G. M. D. Sufi, M.A., D.Litt., of the Education Service of the Central Provinces in the course of an interview on his return to Calcutta after a round-the-world educational tour.—*A. P. I.*

That Iranian women have been emancipated and that there is up-to-date provision for the education of both boys and girls, is commendable. But why do Iranian women wear European dress? Have they no national dress of their own? If they have not, they could have adopted some decent, decorous and graceful oriental costume.

Mr. George Joseph's Resolution Relating To Banned Books And Periodicals

SIMLA, SEPT. 13.

Mr. George Joseph, a Congress member of the Central Assembly, has tabled a resolution in the Assembly asking for the appointment of a committee consisting of officials and non-officials to examine the books and periodicals which are banned since 1921 by the Government of India under the Sea Customs Act, and to report in respect of how many, if any, the ban should be continued in view of the altered circumstances of the country.—*United Press.*

Such a Committee is necessary "in view of the altered circumstances of the country." Considering that in several provinces persons imprisoned for political offences more serious than verbal sedition are being released, it stands to reason that at least those publications which wanted Swaraj for India and criticised British rule to show why Swaraj was desirable but did not advocate violence, should cease to be proscribed. *India in Bondage,* by the late Dr. J. T. Sunderland, is the best and most authoritative of such books. Its American edition circulates in Great Britain.

All-India Educational Conference

The thirteenth session of the All-India Educational Conference will be held in Calcutta in the last week of December this year. It is a very important Conference. The office of its Reception Committee is situated at 209, Cornwallis Street. In an appeal to the public of Bengal, which we support. Mr. Sanat Kumar Roy Chowdhury (Mayor of Calcutta), its chairman, and other office-bearers ask all interested in education to "help the Reception Com-

mittee with adequate financial assistance to hold successfully the session in Calcutta this year in a way befitting the fair name of Bengal and the hospitality of the Bengali people. We also appeal to all educational institutions in Bengal (Primary and Secondary Schools as well as Colleges) to associate themselves with this Conference by contributing a suitable amount as donation and also by sending teachers as delegates."

World Educational Conference in Tokyo

The Seventh World Educational Conference opened in Tokyo on the 2nd of August last and continued till the 7th of that month. Three thousand delegates from 38 nations attended the Conference. Dr. Paul Monroe of America was its president. It had as its objectives :

(1) To pool and make available to the educators of all lands information covering educational movements, achievements, and events; (2) to facilitate through conference, correspondence, and personal contacts, the co-operation and collaboration of the official representatives of the educational organizations of all countries; (3) to achieve through education international understanding, appreciation, justice, goodwill, friendship, and co-operation.

According to *The Osaka Mainichi And The Tokyo Nichi Nichi*, "Disarmament is the Aim" of the Conference. If so, was it held in Japan as a lesson in incongruity or because Japan stood in particular need of disarmament?

But let us have the Japanese daily's summary of Dr. Paul Monroe's address.

What was regarded as the keynote of the 7th World Educational Conference, which opened on Monday to continue until August 7, was sounded by Dr. Paul Monroe, chairman of the conference, when he advocated education as a medium to achieve international goodwill and understanding.

The talk was given by him before the section meeting of the Herman-Jordan Peace Committee, after the talk by Count Hirotaro Hayashi, member of the House of Peers and former president of the Japanese Education Association.

"The Japanese are in a position to express themselves in two cultures, namely, in those of the East and West," Dr. Monroe began.

He then declared :

"The function of this section of the conference is to promote the idea of disarmament. Disarmament should be preceded by disarmament in individual psychology, which is the basis of international peace and understanding."

To achieve disarmament, he explained, there are two ways, (1) through elimination of military training in the schools and (2) in elimination of hostile comments in the text-books of various nations.

TEACHERS' TOUR URGED

To bring about closer international unity and understanding he advocated and encouraged foreign tours by teachers, saying they would be thereby enabled to obtain fresh information and form close friendships.

He urged the organization of teachers' tourist bodies so that the tremendous amount of money that goes to the upkeep of some 35,000 people engaged in the tourists industry in the United States alone might go to the benefit of teachers.

Incidentally he proposed the adoption of a universal calendar, universal measurements, and the consideration of a universal or an auxiliary language.

Lahore Abattoir Scheme Abandoned

The idea of establishing a big slaughter-house in Lahore for the supply of beef has been given up by the Government of India, as, in their opinion, religious susceptibilities, for whatever reason, would have been wounded thereby. But the Hindus and Sikhs objected to the scheme not merely on religious grounds. They, as well as many Muhammadans, objected to it on economic grounds also.

Congratulations to Poet Tagore from China

SANTINIKETAN, SEPT. 21.

Dr. Tsai Yuan Pei, President of the National Central Research Institute, who is recognized by the Chinese as the greatest cultural leader of China and the Hon'ble Dr. Tai Chitao, President of the Board (Yuan) of Examination of the National Government of China, both of whom are also responsible heads of the Sino-Indian Cultural Society, have sent the following cable to Prof. Tan Yuan Shan, Director of the Cheena Bhavan of Visva-Bharati, regarding the Poet's illness :

We are deeply concerned to hear of the illness of Gurudeva Tagore. We are extremely anxious to know how he feels now. Kindly convey to Gurudeva respectful greetings and best wishes of us as well as of all members of the Sino-Indian Cultural Society in China. We earnestly pray for his speedy recovery and good health.

Prof. Tan handed over the cable to Gurudeva and he received it with grateful thanks.

Rabindranath Tagore's Thanks and Message to China

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has sent the following message to Chinese friends :

"Deeply moved by your kind concern, I am on way to recovery. It is wonderful that in the midst of a life and death struggle of your country, you should still have thoughts to spare for me. I have been admiring the heroic resistance of your people to the unwarranted invasion of your great and peaceful land and praying for your victory. My sympathy and the sympathy of our people is wholly with your country. May justice and humanity be vindicated in your triumph. I, who have many friends in Japan, feel grievously hurt that the brave people of Japan should be misled by their rulers into betraying the best ideals of the East and that we who should be loving them should now invoke their defeat that they may wake to their wrong."—*United Press.*

Another Donation on Tagore's Recovery

SANTINIKETAN, SEPT. 21.

Sreemati Rajkumari Amrit Kaur of Simla, whilst enclosing a donation in thankfulness for Poet's recovery, writes to the Poet the following :

"We have all shared the deepest anxiety during your illness and equally now with the entire country we rejoice at your recovery. As a thank-offering for God's goodness in restoring your health for further service I am venturing to enclose a small cheque for Santiniketan.

"I pray that others may be prompted to do likewise so that the burden of financial anxiety which is always with you may be eased."—*A. P.*

Patrolling the Mediterranean

Britain and France want to patrol the Mediterranean for the prevention of depredations by piratical submarines. Italy, which has grown to consider that part of the ocean as more an Italian lake than anything else, does not like the idea. She would like to have a finger in the pie. Let us wait and see.

Later cables show that Italy also may participate in patrolling. Do the piratical submarines come from Patagonia?

War in Spain

The war in Spain continues with varying success of the parties. It is to be hoped the rebels will not in the days to come beat their own record in atrocities and barbarity.

Sino-Japanese War

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has told the reader in his article in the present issue why Japan is fighting China.

Whilst we all wish that China may succeed in beating back Japan, the prospects do not for the present seem hopeful. We wish prosperity to Japan no less. But she should be able to gain her object without the political or economic subjugation and humiliation of any other country.

China and the League of Nations

Abyssinia appealed to the League of Nations in vain. China has appealed to that same League. These appeals are practically fruitless. But as they cost nothing extra, League members need not refrain from making them. China has had previous experience of the League's proclivities and powers. When Japan set up the puppet state of Manchukuo but really annexed Manchuria and when the Lytton Committee reported against Japan, the League could not or did not do anything, and Japan contemptuously and defiantly severed her connection with the League.

As we write, the latest news is that on the 21st September last, M. Litvinoff, Russian delegate to the League Assembly, addressing it, made a slashing attack on the Spanish rebels and the Japanese.

He declared that two members of the League were being subjected to invasions in south-west Europe and in Asia. In the latter case Japan was without the shadow of a justification for attacking China, blockading her coast, pouring hundreds of thousands of troops in its territory and paralysing the trade of one of the world's greatest commercial centres. "We are still apparently only in the beginning of these operations. We cannot speak without irony of the non-intervention in Spain. Three States which have withdrawn from the League have in recent years attacked other States. They have resurrected the most savage and long dead theories of the dark ages. Undeclared war rages in two Continents and the League cannot maintain its existence if it always evades the fulfilment of its obligations. It can give more extensive aid to Spain and China than they are modestly demanding."

Mr. Bruce (Australia) suggested that the League should call a conference of Powers most vitally interested in the Far East, and endeavour to arrange a settlement or concoct practicable measures. The conference should also be open to non-League members interested in the Far East. Mr. Bruce deprecated the sidestepping of issues by meaningless formulas, while the interest of the League itself demanded that China should not be misled into believing that she could rely on the assistance which might not be forthcoming.

The Aga Khan and the League of Nations

His Highness the Right Honourable the Aga Khan, who does not rule any State, has been chosen president of this year's session of the Assembly of the League of Nations. He is reported to have said that this choice is a great honour to India. If the Aga Khan had been elected a delegate to the Assembly by the representatives of the people of India, the choice could have been regarded as some sort of recognition for India. But His Highness represents the (British) Government of India, not the people of India. As for the League honouring India, well—, that is a rather funny idea. The executive body of the League is the League Council. But, though India has been a foundation member of the League, she has never yet been given even a temporary seat in the Council, though much smaller countries who pay the League much less than India, have been its members. The fact is India was made a member of the League for increasing the British vote, for India being a dependency, the so-called delegates of India must vote according to British dictation. Her subject condition is also the reason of her persistent and deliberate exclusion from the League Council.

The Aga Khan's presidentship of the League Assembly is due to British influence. The diplomatic British imagine that the fact of his having been chosen president will soothe Muhammadan feelings, which have been hurt by British intentions about Palestine. Perhaps the Aga Khan has some following in India—

we mean in political matters; but has he any influence so far as independent and semi-independent Arab territories are concerned?

"*Harijans*" *and the Bengal Ministry*

Mr. A. V. Thakkar, the eminent servant of the people—particularly of the backward classes, including the aborigines, has contributed a brief article to this issue of our monthly on what the Congress ministries in six provinces are doing and intend to do for the Harijans there. Many, if not most or all, of the castes in Bengal which have got 30 representatives in the Bengal Assembly, do not like to be called Harijans. Hence we shall refer to them as the scheduled castes. Now these castes have got not only 30 seats in the Assembly but two ministers also in the Cabinet. Those who sent them to the Legislature may ask them what they have been doing for the scheduled castes. Take education. Have the scheduled caste M. L. A.s and Ministers added anything to the amounts, if any, previously ear-marked in the education grant for their special benefit? Have any new educational facilities been provided for them? Have any non-official bodies doing educational work specially for the backward classes, *e.g.*, the Society for the Improvement of the Backward Classes, got any additional grant from the Bengal Government this year?

Unfortunately, education has made so little progress among the scheduled castes, that these questions will not reach the vast majority of those among them who are voters.

Insurance Bill Debate and "*Discrimination*"

The debate on the Insurance Bill in the Central Assembly drew pointed attention of the Members to Chapter III, part V, of the Government of India Act, 1935, entitled "Provisions with respect to Discrimination, etc." The gist of these provisions is that, whenever you wish to make any special efforts or arrangements for the economic improvement of India in any direction, you must take particular care not to touch in the least any of the rights, privileges, concessions, etc., which Britishers have usurped in India, and whatever special measures you intend for the advantage of Indian economic enterprise, must be shared with Britishers doing business with or in India.

The more often we are reminded of this feature of India's present constitution the better.

Society for the Improvement of Backward Classes

This society, which was established in 1909 and is a registered body corporate, has been working steadily for more than a quarter of a century. The like of it is not to be found in Bengal. In the years 1932-33 and 1933-34 it had 444 schools under its management or receiving aid from it and in 1934-35 there were 18,747 boys and girls in these schools. Latterly, however, owing to the general economic depression and the death of some of its most zealous workers and patrons, there has been a decrease in the number of its schools and pupils, though not at all in its enthusiasm for the cause of the uplift of the masses. The following is a brief outline of the work done by it during 1936-37:

I. No. of Schools—327 including 90 Girls' Schools.
II. No. of students on the rolls—
Boys 10,817 (2,212 Muhammadans)
Girls 4,447 (447 Do)
15,287
III. 58 Scholarships (Boys 29 and Girls 29) of the aggregate value of Rs. 153 a month were awarded during the year.
IV. Prizes were awarded to 8 Schools during the year.
V. There were under its control—
(1) Three Public Libraries.
(2) One Boy-scout and One Cub-troops.
(3) Arrangements for delivering lantern lectures inculcating ideas of sanitary responsibilities.
VI. The amount spent in grants-in-aid was Rs. 58,777-4-4½ but the amount spent in Establishment and other charges stood at Rs. 6088-3-3.

The Society's work has been highly commended by Rabindranath Tagore, Sir P. C. Ray, the late Sir R. N. Mookerjee, the late Justice Sir C. C. Ghosh, etc., and in the Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission. The Hon. Sir N. N. Sircar, Law Member of the Government of India, is the president of this Society, and Mr. G. D. Birla, Mr. A. C. Sen, Mr. S. C. Mukerji, I.C.S. (retired) and Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, are the vice-presidents. Its office is situated in 210-1, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Its annual report for 1936-37 is illustrated, and can be had there of its joint secretary Mr. Hari Narayan Sen. Its affairs are managed very economically. Every pie is carefully spent. For keeping up and extending its present activities it requires generous help. Considering the present deplorable illiteracy in the country, particularly in villages and among the actual tillers of the soil and other workers, the Society's work can be greatly extended. It is capable of using thousands of rupees to the best advantage and at the same time would gratefully accept donations of pies and annas. Its pupils of both sexes come from all religious communities and castes.

Some of the incidents in the early history

of the work of the Society and the struggles and sacrifices of the workers and the risks they ran read like romance. The reader will find these narrated in the latest report of the Society.

President Roosevelt's Attack on Dictatorships

LONDON, SEPT. 18.

A spirited attack upon dictatorships was the feature of Mr. Roosevelt's speech on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the signing of the American constitution. It takes, said Mr. Roosevelt, foresight, intelligence and patience to meet the subtle attack which the spreading of dictatorship makes upon the morale of democracy. Lately there has been a clear challenge to the democratic idea of representative government. The challengers, whether they be called communistic, dictatorial or military, laugh at constitutions, predict copying of their own methods and prophesy early end of democracy throughout the world. Both that attitude and prediction were denied by those who still believed in democracy, said the President and democracy represented an overwhelming majority of nations of the world. That denial was based on the fact that modern men and women do not tamely submit to one man or one group and eventually insist on their right to choose as to who should govern.

The state of world affairs brought about by these new forms of government threatened civilisation. Armaments and deficits piled up, trade barriers multiplied and merchant ships were threatened on high seas. Fear was spread throughout the world--fear of revolution and invasion of death. American people are rightly determined to keep that growing menace from their shores.—*Reuter.*

Multiplicity of Laws and Happiness

If the multiplicity of laws in any country could make its people healthy, wealthy, wise and happy, then the people of India might consider themselves lucky. We do not know the total number of the laws enacted by the British Parliament, the Government of India and the Provincial Governments for the people of India up to date—perhaps even our most eminent lawyers and our central and provincial law members do not know. But the Schedule of Enactment Repealed attached to "A Bill to repeal certain enactments" published in *The Gazette of India,* Part V, dated September 18, 1937, contains a long list. The list extends over 19 pages and each page contains on an average the titles of 29 Acts. So the Bill mentioned above is intended to repeal wholly or in part more than 500 enactments. If this is the number of the enactments to be repealed, those which will remain unrepealed must be much larger in number. The year of passing of the earliest enactment to be repealed is 1863 and that of the latest, 1935.

A Bill to Provide Greater Safety for Miners

On the 13th September last the Central Assembly agreed to Sir Thomas Stewart's motion to refer to a select committee the Bill to further amend the Indian Mines Act of 1923 with instructions to report by September 22. The object of the Bill is to provide greater safety to workers underground. Such a measure has been long overdue and is urgently needed. Had there been adequate legal protection to miners, harrowing disasters like those at Poidih colliery would not have overtaken them.

Explaining the provisions Sir T. Stewart said that the bill was non-controversial and intended to secure the increase of safety of lives of workers underground.

Mr. Joshi supported the motion but considered the Bill inadequate to provide full safety in mines. He strongly advocated a further Bill embodying the recommendations of the Indian Coal Mining Committee, particularly relating to sandstowing, miners' wages and the suggestion that mineowners should be required to have some knowledge of the industry. Referring to wages Mr. Joshi drew attention to the 45 per cent. decrease since 1925 accompanied by increase in their efficiency and increase in dividends. Mr. Joshi supported the recommendation of the minority report of the Coal Mining Committee for nationalization of Mines. He declared that the administration of rescue stations should be controlled by the Central Government and if the intention was to carry out the administration by means of a committee, miners should have representation thereon.

Seth Govindas regarded the Bill as imperfect and objected to piecemeal legislation of this nature. He said what was wanted was a thorough overhaul of the 1936 Act. He would have also liked the Bill to be circulated so that representatives of Governments of provinces might express their opinions thereon but as circulation involved delay of what little improvement was suggested in the present Bill, he had given up his intention to move circulation. He wished however fresh comprehensive legislation would be undertaken.

Mr. M. L. Saksena, Mr. B. Das, Mr. Ramnarain Singh and Professor Ranga, all of them, while supporting the Select Committee motion, criticized the Government's dilatory policy in giving effect to the recommendations of the coal mining committees. Prof. Ranga declared that managing agents controlling the coal industry should have been done away with at the earliest possible opportunity, as they were exploiting the miners, paying them low wages for long hours of work.

"Hyderabad, The Premier Backward State!"

In *Roy's Weekly*, Delhi, P. Rajeswara Rao has written an article on Hyderabad, which he calls "the premier backward State." According to him the Hindus form about 85 per cent. of the population of this State, but they are practically a suppressed people.

About the economic condition of the people the writer observes :

The mass of the people are extremely poor. On account of lack of rains, agriculture is not at all a paying proposition. Though we hear tall talk of irrigation projects and specially the Nizam Sagar Dam, it should be noted that the schemes so far execut d do not even touch the fringe of the problem. The fate of the "Tungabhadra Project" is still hanging in the balance.

The sanguine expectations have not materialised so far. Well-irrigation is best suited to the climatic conditions of the State. This aspect of the problem has been totally ignored. The State authorities seem to be enamoured of the costly luxury of spectacular schemes.

It cannot be denied that Hyderabad is one of the States where there is much window-dressing to impress the tourist.

As regards taxation it is said :

The burden of taxation, apart from being crushing, is inequitable. Richer classes go scot-free as there is no income-tax. The modern amenities are enjoyed by the residents of the capital and other District towns at the expense of the villages. The excise policy of the State constitutes a flagrant violation of humanity and civilization. It is said that every fourth house in Hyderabad is a liquor shop! But the Government regards the excise department as a veritable *Kamadhenu* and *Kalpataru*.

If what the writer says is true, there is serfdom in the State under another name :

Above all there is the "Bhagela" system under which a vast majority of the poorer classes are reduced to the position of slaves. Under this system, the poor have to serve the capitalist for some generations in order to discharge a petty debt. The pity is that the amount of debt always mounts up on account of the exorbitant rate of interest. Under the pressure of the League of Nations the Government of India asked the State authorities to put an end to this system. But I do not think that can be rooted out easily.

The Osmania University must not blind observers to the deplorable educational condition of the State.

Educationally the State is most backward. Though vast sums are squandered annually on the Osmania University, primary education is exclusively ignored. Under the Osmania University the medium of instruction even in middle and high schools is Urdu, which is not the vernacular of the people. It is a pity that this suicidal policy is glorified as vernacularisation, in certain quarters. To the people of Deccan whose mother tongue is Telugu and Marathi, Urdu is totally foreign . . . . All that I can say is that the Osmania University is experimenting with a faulty apparatus. The results can never be encouraging. Most of the Hindu students either study in the local Nizam College, which is affiliated to the Madras University, or in some other Indian University. Obviously the Osmania University which is maintained by the State has failed to justify its existence.

About the "rights and privileges" of the State's people the writer says :

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is right in saying that in most of the Indian States "there is intensive and widespread suppression of civil, and in many cases, personal liberties amounting to a state of affairs that can rightly be called martial law." But certain progressive States like Mysore and Travancore allow their subjects to enjoy a fair measure of freedom. Hyderabad remained adamant all these days in spite of the changing conditions. Pandit Nehru once cogently remarked that "the suppression of civil liberties in Hyderabad never occurs, as there were none." There is no freedom of Press and Assembly here . . . . The power of the police here is supreme and the slightest public agitation is put down with an iron hand.

In the services the Hindus are deprived of their just rights.

In the services, the representation of the Hindus is negligible. Though there is the "mulki" qualification, which signifies State citizenship either by birth or domicile of 12 years for eligibility to State service, we find every year many Muslims coming from Northern India and capturing key positions. The poor and adventurous Hindus are harrassed under this pretext. The communal bitterness, which is by no means secret, is said to be due to these Muslim emigrants. Communal bias is in active evidence in almost all the departments of administration. The Muslims of Kashmir, the ignorant majority, have been raised by a Glancy Commission. But under His Exalted Highness the Hindu majority, which is more enlightened, is being kept suppressed in darkness! It is however gratifying to note that Dr. Pattabhi Seeta Ramayya—the President of the All-India State People's Conference,—has recently opened a "Bureau" at Masulipatam to ventilate Nizam State subjects' grievances and champion their cause. It is a useful and helpful augury.

The writer pays a tribute to some personal qualities of H. E. H. the Nizam.

In spite of the checks, counter-checks, and limitations it is the personality of the ruler that counts most in every walk of life. The present Nizam, H.E.H. Sir Osman Ali Khan Bahadur, is undoubtedly capable in very many respects. He is responsible for most of the modern improvements.

Then follows some criticism.

But, the progress is slow. His extreme simplicity and frugal habits have not found practical expression in the affairs of the State. In spite of his living example, the pomp and pageantry and the extravagance of the aristocracy are still at its height. Though he claims to be above communal bias, facts tell us a different tale. It is a well-known fact that his contributions—derived from Hindus—mainly go to the Muslim institutions which are not only outside his State but also outside India. It is high time for him to realize that Hindus of his State have the first and most preferable claim on his munificence. Further it is his bounden duty to see that the present disabilities of his Hindu subjects are removed promptly. If undesirable reactions and repercussions are to be avoided on the eve of the forthcoming Federation, his policy should be prompted by a juster estimate and more generous appreciation of the rights and privileges of his subjects.

The writer makes "Hindu culture and Hindu religion" indirectly responsible for the suppressed condition of the Hindus in Hyderabad.

It is Hindu culture and Hindu religion that have saved the Hyderabad authorities the kind of agitation that brought the Kashmir Government to its knees before outside agitation engineered by Muslims in favour of an ignorant mass who formed the majority.

But even the Hindus must turn—like the proverbial worm. And then ?

"*Change for the Worse*" *in Mysore*

The Servant of India, organ of the Liberal or Moderate party, writes :—

We note with regret that the State has promulgated an order under section 55 of the Mysore Police Act prohibiting all public meetings and processions in

Bangalore and other places for a period of six months. A gag order has also been passed on some leaders like Dr. Hardikar, Mrs. Chattopadhyaya and Mr. Masani.

Dr. Pattabhai Sitaramayya, President of the All-India States' People's Conference, deplores these signs of repression on the part of this enlightened State in India. While political prisoners are being released in British Provinces, Mysore has found it necessary to gag its citizens and even proceed under the law and deal with some of them severely. Even a simple matter like application for permission to hold a meeting in the city of Bangalore, it is understood, involves the humiliating process of waiting at and visiting the courts to obtain the necessary licence. The Mysore State Civil Liberties Union has taken the matter in hand and addressed an open letter to the Dewan. If the demands of the State people embodied in the letter are scanned, it will be found that they are not such as to cause any great inroad on the powers of the State. Security and freedom for the State's subjects, return of securities to the presses, withdrawal of prohibitory orders against public men, these are some of the modest demands of the people. It is hard to believe that a progressive State like Mysore, whose praises are sung even by great national leaders of India, finds it difficult to grant these elementary rights to its subjects and its reluctance to do so is a measure of the repressive autocracy that rules in other less progressive States. And we are asked to place our fate at the mercy of such States in the coming federation.

Plight of Indians in Mauritius

In a statement relating to the woes of Indians abroad issued by Dr. Rammanohar Lohia, Secretary, Foreign Department, All-India Congress Committee, it is written :

Nearer home, in an island of the Indian Ocean, the Indians of Mauritius are in a frightful plight. During the last one month alone, there were two occasions on which firing was resorted to and four deaths among Indians are reported. Even though they form nearly seventy per cent of the entire population. over 2½ lacs in a total of 4 lacs, the Mauritian Indians are mostly labourers in the French-owned sugar factories or work on the sugar plantations and are illiterate, ignorant and disunited. They have taken with them from here the barriers of language and province. A solitary Indian has come into the ownership of three sugar factories and some are moderately rich planters, but they do not seem to be very much concerned with the course of their collective destiny. And so the French sugar factory owners are left in the enjoyment of their super profits without any resistance. The handful of Creoles, who are of French-Madagascar extraction, are a far more united community and appear to have taken the lead in the recent workers' strikes.

News of the firing was printed in our September number, pp. 356-357. *Le Radical* of Mauritius, dated September 2, 1937, edited by M. Lois Lagesse, a copy of which is before us, contains a detailed account of the first sitting of the commission of inquiry.

The attention of the Gouverneur Interimaire (Officer Administering the Government) having been drawn to a resolution passed at a public meeting in the premises of the Chamber of Agriculture, by Mr. Monk, president of the Chamber and a member of the Commission, a reply was sent to him by the Acting Colonial Secretary.

An esteemed correspondent of ours writes from Port Louis, Mauritius, on the 2nd September :

Since last I wrote to you there has been a recrudescence in the strike especially in the south of the Island. Several riots broke out in the course of which one man was shot down by the Police and many others wounded. At a certain time there was "bataille rangie" between strikers and Police that only came to an end upon the arrival of the Military. At the time of writing both Police and Military authorities have pitched up their headquarters in Savaune District, the hot bed of strikers.

With a view to appeasing the peasants the Commission of Enquiry, which hitherto was sitting only in Port Louis, proceeded some days ago to Souillac, the very centre of the fight and summoned delegates of labourers, who ventilated their grievances freely.

'Why did you not complain to the Inspector of Immigrants who regularly visits the estates,' said Mr. Hooper to one of the delegates. 'Sir,' said he, 'I have been working on this estate during the past thirty-four years and I have never seen the face of that inspector.' The President thereupon asked him why he did not go and see Mr. Collet (who is a member of the Commission), Protector of Immigrants. The labourer answered : "My earnings hardly enable me to get a decent living; where shall I find money to go as far as Port Louis, which is 25 miles from my place."

The labourers told the Commission that they were sure to get into difficulties with the estates for having complained against the treatment which is meted out to them. "If any such thing happen to you," said Mr. Hooper, "please report the fact to me, I shall see that no harm is done to you."

As a general rule, the attitude of Government towards the strikers has been rather commendable. In spite of the repeated request of the Capitalist Press that the peasants' rising be suppressed with a strong hand, Government have been much considerate to these people and their handling of the situation has been very tactful. Virulent words were uttered against the "docile" policy of the acting Governor by the Chamber of Agriculture. but the head of the Administration has sent them all to hell. In the morning's paper. I find that his reply will be to the effect that he is conscious of his responsibilities and that he will not brook outside interference in his work. The pity of it all is that, through lack of organization, we have not a good press of our own that could have voiced our feelings at this crucial hour.

We have also been criticized for raising funds on behalf of those who have fallen as martyrs of labourers. But we certainly pay no heed to what others think of our action. Although work has not been resumed in the south up to now, the strikers are no more causing trouble to the authorities. They seem to have been satisfied with the coming of the Commission that is still sitting there, but precautionary measures have not been recalled yet. Police and Military are still guarding the place.

Mr. Jinnah On The Ideal of The Moslem League

On the 18th of September a reception was given to Mr. M. A. Jinnah by his admirers at

Simla and an address presented to him. In the course of his reply to it, he said :

> "There is no difference between the ideals of the Moslem League and those of the Congress or any other recognized political organization in the country, the ideal being complete freedom for India."

This is good news. But he ought to have told his audience what the Moslem League has done up till now to win complete freedom for India. Owing mainly to the struggles, sufferings and sacrifices of many members of the Congress it is now easy for anybody to publicly proclaim that he wants complete freedom for India. But there must be correspondence between profession and practice.

Mr. Jinnah further observed :

> There could be no solution, if people continue to believe in the principle of 'acquisition first and distribution afterwards' or in the latest dictum 'possession first and partition afterwards.'

What should be the correct dictum? "Partition first and possession afterwards"? There would then be Barmecide feasts galore!

Mr. Jinnah's words appear to mean in plain language, "At present India belongs to the British people. If they are dispossessed, to whom would it belong?" He suspects that Hindus may monopolise it, with all the rights, privileges and advantages of citizenship, depriving the Moslems of any share or their due share, as they think. Hitherto, the Congress, or the Hindu members of the Congress, have not shown the least trace of any such monopolising or unjust tendency. What they have been trying to win they have been trying to win for all Indians, irrespective of race, creed, caste, profession, or sex. If the Moslem League suspects that the Congress will use Mussalmans as soldiers of freedom and afterwards, when freedom has been won, they will be deprived of their rights as citizens, may not the Congress also suspect that the Muslim League, after obtaining from the Congress pledges relating to Moslem rights, privileges and advantages under Purna Swaraj, will use these pledges to bargain with the British Government for more rights and pledges and greater advantages for Mussalmans? Mr. Jinnah should consider that, if Congress be capable of depriving Moslems of their just advantages as citizens unless Congress is bound by pledge beforehand not to do so, then Congress may be capable of breaking its pledge, too.

Seeing that the Congress has been doing everything in its power to please the Mussalmans even by incurring the just displeasure of many nationalist Hindus, the suspiciousness of any section of Mussalmans cannot but be disgusting.

We suggest that, as the ideal of the Muslim League is complete freedom of India, which involves the ousting of the British masters of the country, the Muslim League should obtain possession of India from British hands by its own unaided efforts and keep India for itself. It need not give anything to members of the Congress—particularly to the Hindu members of the Congress. That ought to satisfy Mr. Jinnah.

Mr. Jinnah's maxim of partition before acquisition reminds us of the fond desire and demand or dream of Kalnemi, the maternal uncle of Ravan. Kalnemi wanted that, as the reward for the performance of job with which he was entrusted, he should get half the kingdom of Ravan. But he wanted to make sure of his share beforehand! What befell him is told in the *Ramayan*.

Mr. Jinnah talked glibly of the minority problems of other countries. But the Roman Catholics in England, the French in Canada and other minorities elsewhere never had, nor do they have now, separate communal electorates, reservation of seats, "weightage," and the other blissful provisions of the Communal Decision. He declares triumphantly, "The latest historical instance comes from Czechoslovakia." Latest instance of what? Not of communal electorates, or weightage, or reservation of seats, or of the protection of **majorities as** in Bengal and the Panjab. In Czechoslovakia and some other countries, the minorities have protection for their culture and language and freedom of worship. In India, who ever wanted to interfere with the cultural and religious rights of the Mussalmans? As for language, in every province Hindus also use the language which Mussalmans use. There is no exclusively Moslem language. Even Urdu is spoken and written by millions of Hindus. It is annoying that Mr. Jinnah repeats so-called arguments which have been refuted *ad nauseam*. The Minority Guarantee Treaties concluded under the influence of the League of Nations represent the collective political wisdom of the Occident. They are meant to protect the language, culture and religion of minorities, where these are different from those of the majority. They are not meant to secure for the minorities separate collective political existence. But it is such existence that Mr. Jinnah wants for his community! That would create "a State within a State," which it is the object of the Minority Treaties to prevent.

Continuing Mr. Jinnah said:

"It is no crime, if I wish to make my community strong as long as my activities are not anti-national, are not obstacles in the way of the freedom of the country and not against any community. If I make my community strong, independent and patriotic during my lifetime, I will feel that the purpose of my life has been achieved and I have not lived in vain, and if Mr. Bhulabhai Desai can achieve the same for his community, he would have done his part. Separate electorates or no separate electorates, we then both will fight for the freedom of our country. But the freedom of our country does not mean freedom for the majority and rule of the majority. I may assert that even ordinary majority can be extremely oppressive and tyrannical. It, therefore, stands to reason that the majority with fundamentally different culture, traditions, social life, outlook and religions from those of the minorities may always try to force its ideals on the minorities.

But the activities and aims of the Moslem League *are* anti-national and put obstacles in the way of the freedom of the country.

It was ludicrous to speak of Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's activities being meant for the advantage of the Hindu community alone. As a Congress leader Mr. Desai works for the strengthening of all communities, and also for winning political freedom for all.

Mr. Jinnah has wrongly assumed that Congress is working for the freedom of the majority. It is working for the freedom of all.

Of course, majorities may and can be oppressive. But it is foolish to think that paper pacts and pledges can prevent such oppression. The way to the prevention of such oppression is writ large in the history of countries like Britain.

If the majority be determined, as the Hindus are not, to impose their ideals on the minorities, they may be able to do so in spite of all safeguards like the Communal Decision and in spite of any pledges given by the Congress to humour them. Pledges cannot bind posterity.

Mr. Jinnah appears to think that the Moslems in India are, like the Germans in Czechoslovakia, a *racial* and *linguistic* minority. *They are not.* The vast majority of Indian Mussalmans belong to the same race or races to which other Indians belong. They or their ancestors are or were converts to Islam. That is the main difference between them and other Indians. The different religious communities inhabiting the same region generally speak the same languages and they are Indian languages. As for culture, there has been interpenetration of different cultures, and the process is still going on. That is not a fact which is to be deplored but rather welcomed.

Who Is To Be Congress President Next

In "The Modern Review' and in "Prabasi" we have discussed in detail the question who should be elected President of the coming session of the Congress. We have shown that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose should be elected. We have not found any refutation anywhere of any of our arguments. But it is now said that the foremost Congress leaders have decided or are sure to decide that owing to the present condition of his health he should not be elected this time. But has he ever said that he would not be able to undertake the duties of a president in February, 1938? Is the question of the physical capacity of a man to be decided by others, who, by the by, are not physicians?

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose should be elected to preside over the next session of the Congress, because he is by far the fittest for the office among those Congressmen who have not yet been asked to preside—fittest by virtue of his abilities, his knowledge and experience in the spheres of politics, economics and culture in India and abroad, his sacrifices and his sufferings in the cause of freedom.

It is said a Muhammadan is to be preferred this time in order to promote the Moslem mass contact movement. How is that movement faring in big Moslem majority provinces like Bengal? Next year and every succeeding year, too, this or other excuses may be trotted out to exclude Mr. Bose. It is said further that these many years a Muhammadan has not been elected. How often have Sikhs and Indian Christians been elected? Is it an illustration of

"I do not like thee, Doctor Fell.
The reason why I cannot tell,
But I do not like thee, Doctor Fell."

If Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose be not elected, a psycho-analyst should be imported from abroad to visit all important Congress centres and present a report on the subconscious.

If Mr. Bose himself expresses his inability on grounds of health to shoulder the burden of Congress presidentship a few months hence, that would be another matter.

Viceroy's Speech To The Combined Legislature

On the 13th September last the Viceroy addressed a joint sitting of both houses of the Central Legislature. Neither the tone nor the matter of his speech was such as to give offence. That he did not expressly or by implication

mention or refer to the Congress may be disliked by members of that body, but they, too, omitted to recognise him by absenting themselves from the house when he spoke.

In his comparatively brief speech Lord Linlithgow touched on many topics, from middle-class unemployment to federation. We shall refer to only a few.

He said in effect that, in regard to archaeological research and the preservation of ancient monuments, all that required to be done could not be done owing to "the inevitably limited funds available." Why "inevitably limited"? The direction in which the answer is to be found lies in the words of his speech, "The disturbances in Waziristan. . . . have resulted in heavy expenditure." Though fine words butter no parsnips, we must seek some solace in His Excellency's words:

> The monuments of antiquity, eloquent witnesses to the historical and cultural achievements of this great country, constitute a heritage of incalculable value and significance which it must be our privilege to guard and to hand down to posterity.

If this be not done by the Government, should not the people do it?

In order to maintain the efficiency of the "Army in India" (note the phrase; it is not India's army) at "the highest possible pitch, having regard to recent developments elsewhere in the matter of mechanization and the like," "the expenditure involved is inevitably considerable." So the Viceroy has asked the Government of Great Britain to help the Government of India. We do not at all like the idea, as such help would give Britain a fresh lien on India. By thorough Indianization of the Army and the like, India herself should be able to meet all expenses for increasing the efficiency of her army and maintaining it at the highest possible pitch.

The Viceroy has drawn attention to the economic and other aspects of federation. We all like the ideal of a federated India. But we do not like the kind of federation provided in the Government of India Act. Nor do we think that that was the only kind of federation possible or even practicable. That sort of federation has been devised to curb Indian Nationalism. We are not unaware of the economic advantages of even this sort of federation. But the political and economic obstacles in the way of India's self-realization and self-assertion, which are to be found in the Constitution of which that sort of federation is a part, far outweigh these advantages.

The Viceroy concluded his speech with the following well-worded peroration:

> Finally, let me say that I hold it as a matter for profound satisfaction that at a time when, over wide areas of the world, political liberty is being increasingly curtailed, we should witness in India the establishment, upon foundations patiently prepared of a new and vigorous system of parliamentary government. Differences of opinion there may be upon the merits of this or that provision of the new constitution. Yet I cannot but think that we shall be wise, in the circumstances of the world today, to make a supreme effort to concentrate our gaze rather upon points of agreement and of common interest than upon those things in which complete accord is yet to be reached. We have many things in common that are infinitely precious to both the peoples and many of those things are in grave jeopardy today. We love peace, and peace is threatened over half the world. Violence we both abhor, and the rule of force is in evidence in three continents. To democratic principles of government both the countries are deeply attached, and those principles are, at this time, under question and even challenge in wide regions of the world. The regimentation of the human mind proceeds apace, freedom of opinion is systematically suppressed, and the right of the individual to live, as he wills, in the quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the family circle is a thing denied to half the mankind. It is a common affection for these things, today in dire peril of destruction, a common determination to protect the elementary decencies of human life upon this planet—that holds together the people of the British Commonwealth of Nations in loyalty to the British Crown. I believe with every fibre of my mind that India at heart is loyal to those same ideals, and that here the highest destiny lies within that brave sisterhood of states which stands today as a bulwark against forces that threaten the very soul of man.

We are sorry to have to say that we have been again reminded of bluff John Bull's proverb, fine words butter no parsnips. India has been presented with a simulacrum of parliamentary government. Her British-made constitution is a travesty of "democratic principles" in the most important respects. The human mind has been regimented in India, too, and freedom of opinion is suppressed here also. "The right of the individual to live, as he wills, in the quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the family circle is a thing" which has been denied to numerous men and women in Bengal and elsewhere. India is certainly loyal to the ideals that Lord Linlithgow spoke of. But India refuses to believe that she is a part of the British *Commonwealth* of Nations. So far as she is concerned, that entity is not a sisterhood of states. She believes in a federation of the independent states of the world, of which she aspires to be one.

Ex-President Masaryk

The death has occurred of ex-President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia. He was the liberator of his country and the virtual creator of the Czechoslovak republic. Of his long and eventful career and his inspiring personality and

remarkable achievements it is not possible to speak in a brief note.

> He was born in March, 1850, at Hodomin, Moravia. Son of a coachman, he was apprenticed to a blacksmith; then he entered Vienna and Leipzig Universities and at the age of 29 was a lecturer in philosophy and later became a professor at Prague.

Those who want India to be as great a country in modern times as other modern countries are, ought to do their utmost to make it possible for the sons of India's coachmen, blacksmiths and other persons of the same kind to rise to the top in all walks of life.

Manishanker Trivedi

Mr. Manishanker Trivedi, a general secretary of the All-India States' People's Conference, died suddenly of heart failure while making a speech. He was a very quiet and very enthusiastic worker in the cause of the liberation of the people of the Indian States. His engaging personality will be long remembered by all who knew him.

Professor Ramdas Gour

Professor Ramdas Gour, whose untimely death at the age of 56, took place last month, was a distinguished writer of Hindi scientific books, for one of which he was awarded the Mangala Prasad prize this year. He was for some time a professor in the Benares Hindu University.

Servants of India Society's Appeal for Funds

The Report of the Servants of India Society for the year 1936-37, which was recently published, disclosed the fact that the Society suffered continuous deficits during the last three years. The President of the Society, Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, has made a special appeal to all friends who do not wish to see the work of the Society suffer to come to its assistance in a generous manner. We cordially support his appeal.

Non-communal Outlook of Many Bengal Moslem Students

We are glad to read in [illegible] Bengal Moslem students' org[illegible] has declared itself opposed [illegible] separate All-[illegible]

Tagore's Special Message To "The Comrade"

The Comrade, a Moslem Nationalist Weekly, published in its issue of September 4, the following special message sent to it by Rabindranath Tagore:

> "God seeks comrades and claims love,
> The Devil seeks slaves and claims obedience.
> The Tyrant claims freedom to kill freedom
> and yet to keep it for himself."

Indian Army Insufficient For Defence

Mr. Ogilvie, Army Secretary, said in the Assembly on August 24 last, "The present military strength in India is insufficient to repel an attack by any major country." Yet the British Government will not broadbase the strength of the Indian defensive forces on the physical capacity and patriotic enthusiasm of the people of India in all provinces and parts.

Position of Indians in South Africa

In a speech which Sir Syed Raza Ali, Agent General for India, delivered at the Indo-European General Council, he declared in effect that the position of Indians in South Africa could never improve so long as the South African whites sought to perpetuate their political dominance by keeping Indians deprived of the franchise and sought further to handicap and humiliate them by social and economic legislation of various kinds. There is no indication just now that the whites will change their mentality in the near or distant future.

"How Government Kills Indian Aviation"

Mr. Mohanlal Saxena's article in our present issue tells the reader how Government promotes radio and broadcasting research. An article in *Roy's Weekly*, Delhi, bears the heading, "How Government Kills Indian Aviation," which non-Indians will think startling. The writer of the article is an Indian aviator. He says the Civil Aviation Department of the Government of India was created about 15 years ago, and asks:

> What has this Department done during the last 15 years?
> What are the achievements to its credit?

[illegible] be found perhaps [illegible] the [illegible] , for a person [illegible] was stipul[illegible]

that he should do 50 hours solo flying, which at the cost of Rs. 30 per hour come to about Rs. 1,500. Spirited Indian youths come forward to qualify as commercial pilots. Then Government step in and prescribe 100 hours compulsory flying for every pilot appearing for a commercial licence. Still plenty of young men were showing their enthusiasm for flying. And then the Government coolly comes forward, make 200 hours compulsory flying for every commercial pilot! A flying licence which used to cost a pilot about Rs. 1,500 now costs well over Rs. 6,000, whereas in all the foreign countries it is still 50 hours flying for the same qualification!

Scores of our young men, finding a flying career being placed beyond their reach in their own mother country, went to England, qualified themselves as commercial pilots within a few months and returned home merrily.

"Here we are, fully qualified pilots from England," they told the Government of India. What did the Government do? It refused to recognize their qualification! They actually said this was a foreign qualification, which the Government of India do not recognize! They must appear in an Indian examination, and it is on official record that nearly 50 per cent of these fully qualified pilots and ground engineers from England, passed by the Air Ministry, London, failed in the examination set up by our Directorate of Civil Aviation. There is hardly a branch of knowledge or department in India in which British qualification is not recognized.

This has been going on for some time now and, strange to say, no one has raised a voice against this injustice.

The writer has asked the following further questions:

Have the Government of India any intention of creating openings in Civil Aviation for our enterprising youths? Or, are all the crores of rupees they are spending, merely to facilitate a smooth passage for the Liners of the Imperial Airways on their way to Australia?

According to the writer there is only one remedy.

Make Aviation a Provincial subject, let every Province have its own Directorate of Civil Aviation which will neither sit still nor fly backward, but will open up a vast field of activity beneficial to the province and country as a whole.

Congress and Hindu Sabha

It is reported that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has replied to a questioner from the Central Provinces that members of the Congress should not be members of any Hindu Sabha. If the rule applies to Moslems, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis, etc., also as regards membership of communal organizations, it cannot be objected to. Otherwise it is objectionable.

Congress and The Indian Women's Conference

An Ahmedabad United Press message says that the Congress President condemned, at a women's meeting, the attitude and methods of the All-India Women's Conference and expressed the opinion that "whatever progress Indian women have made, the credit must go to the Congress and not to such aristocratic institutions." These observations are rather too sweeping. Aristocratic ladies and officials' wives have, it must be admitted, too much influence in the Conference. But it has non-aristocratic members and workers, too. There was a time when Congress was under aristocratic influence. There are still some aristocrats in khaddar among Congress leaders.

Indian women owe much to the Congress for their political position and progress. But it is far from correct to say that they owe all their progress to the Congress. They owe much to the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the various social reform organizations, the All-India Women's Conference, the Nari Siksha Samiti, the Seva Sadan, Saroj Nalini Women's Welfare Association, and other women's organizations.

Women are entitled to credit for the establishment of the Indian Women's College for Home Science and to some of the credit for the passing of the Age of Consent Bill and the Sarda Act.

Its attitude in politics is indicated by its demand for adult suffrage, joint electorates and no reservation of seats for women. It works for the uplift of the depressed classes.

Puja Holidays

The office of *The Modern Review* will remain closed for the Puja holidays from the 11th to the 24th October 1937 inclusive. All letters, orders, complaints, and remittances received during this period will be dealt with after the holidays.

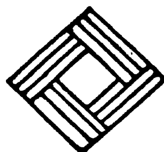
[illegible] Press, Calcutta.



Prabasi Press, Calcutta

WILD GEESE
By Bruno Liljefors

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JAPANESE AGGRESSION IN CHINA

BY HIS EXCELLENCY V. K. WELLINGTON KOO,

China's Representative on the Council and First Delegate to the XVIIIth Assembly of the League of Nations; Ambassador to France.

JAPAN'S armed invasion of China on land, on the sea and from the air is a clear case of aggression. Whatever incidents there were at the beginning, they were of Japanese creation in order to have an apparent pretext for their plan of territorial conquest. Even if the incidents had been free from Japanese instigation, they could not justify such a formidable invasion of the territory of a peace-loving neighbour. Given peaceful intentions on the part of Japan every incident, however serious it might appear in character, could have been settled amicably and without disturbing the peace between the two countries. For China had from the very beginning proposed and insisted, in the case of the Hungjao Aerodrome incident in Shanghai just as in the case of the Lukouchiao incident in the North, to settle these questions through the normal diplomatic channels.

It is also a fact on record that even after Japan had concentrated 20,000 troops and 100 warplanes in the Peiping-Tientsin area, China, after failing to persuade Japan to accept a peaceful settlement, had appealed to the Governments of the Powers signatory to the Nine-Power Treaty of Washington and the Governments of the two other Powers having important interests in the Far East, Germany and the Soviet Union, announcing her readiness to settle her differences with Japan by any peaceful means known to international law or treaties. But Japan persisted in her policy of force and plunged forward once more to invade China, in her attempt to realize her fixed program of conquest on the Asiatic mainland. Her action constitutes an aggression, pure and simple, against the territorial integrity and existing political independence of China, a member of the League, and a challenge to the League of Nations whose members undertake, under Article 10, "to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League." It also constitutes a violation of the peace of nations which, under Article 11, is a matter of concern to the whole League.

The real intention of Japan is obvious. It is the subjugation and conquest of China as an essential step to the fulfilment of her so-called sacred mission to dominate Asia, the Pacific and eventually the world. It may prove to be mere dream on her part but it nevertheless constitutes a real menace to the peace and security of nations. The responsible leaders of the Japanese Government have repeatedly and publicly declared their desire to "punish China" for lack of "sincerity" and relying upon their mighty war machine to "beat China to her knees." Let me ask what sins has China committed to deserve "punishment" from Japan. Is it because she has refused to kneel down on her own initiative and kiss the feet of Japan? What sincerity does Japan expect from China? Is it that of taking orders from Tokyo and doing its bidding?

The Foreign Minister of Japan tries to disguise the Japanese wolf in the lamb's coat

by complaining that the Chinese Government makes opposition to Japan and anti-Japanese agitation the basis of its national policy and professing a desire that the Chinese Government should entertain other sentiments. But what other sentiments China should entertain towards Japan are not specified. I wonder if it is not meant that the Chinese Government should cherish nothing but friendship, love and even perhaps gratitude to Japan for her neverending invasion of China's territory, for her ruthless slaughter of tens of thousands of innocent Chinese men, women and children, for her wanton destruction of hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of property, and for her tearing away from the Chinese body politic one province after another by the power of the mighty Japanese arms. Is it by such methods of devastation and spoliation that the Japanese Foreign Minister expects to establish " a harmonious co-operation between China and Japan ? "

The declaration of responsible Japanese statesmen betray the existence of a war mania and the lust for conquest in Japan as clear as the actions of the Japanese armed forces in China constitute a most flagrant form of international aggression. This attitude and this policy must be denounced because they are in violation of the principles of international law and treaty obligations including, particularly, the Kellogg-Briand Pact of Paris and the Nine-Power Treaty of Washington to which Japan is still a party; because they are responsible for the hostilities in my country and the sufferings of the Chinese people; and because they menace the peace and security of other nations.

What should the League of Nations do ? I know there are people who are devoted to the cause of peace but who, before answering this question, would like to ask what could the League do. While I realize that the experience of the League in the past years calls forth prudence and circumspection on our part, it does not follow that nothing could be done and therefore nothing should be attempted in the presence of a grave danger alike to the safety of a member State and the peace of the world.

If the League cannot defend Right in the face of Might, it can at least point out the wrong-doer to the world. If it cannot stop aggression, it can at least denounce it. If it cannot enforce international law and the principles of the Covenant, it can at least make it known that it has not abandoned them. If it cannot prevent the ruthless slaughter of innocent men, women and children and the wanton destruction of property by illegal and inhuman method of aerial bombardment, it can at least make clear where its own sentiments are, so as to reinforce the universal demand of the civilized world for its immediate abandonment.

In the moral and juridical fields there is nothing that prevents the League from discharging its obligations under the Covenant. On the contrary, in the interest of its own prestige and of the cause of peace, the safeguarding of which is the *raison d'être* of its own existence, there is every reason that confronted with a grave situation such as the present one in the Far East it should pronounce its condemnation of the flagrant violations of international law, treaty obligations, and the elementary principles of justice and humanity.

The ruthlessness of the Japanese war aviation in China has evoked strong protests from the Governments of the principal Powers and called forth the condemnation of the whole civilized world.

It is to be noted that the American Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, following a warning given by the Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese fleet at Shanghai of the intention of the Japanese Air Force to bomb Nanking, the capital, out of existence, states that " The Government of the United States disapproves of this imperilling of its citizens and of all the other non-combatants in general, as well as the suggestion that its civil servants and citizens at present residing in Nanking should evacuate the region in which they continue legally their legitimate occupations," and that " The Government of the United States holds that any general bombardment of an extensive region in which a large civil population resides is injustifiable and contrary to legal and humanitarian principles."

The Note of the British Government to the Japanese Government in regard to the attack on the British Ambassador in China by Japanese warplanes, stated that " it is one of the oldest and best established rules of international law that direct and deliberate attacks on non-combatants are absolutely prohibited, whether inside or outside the area in which hostilities are taking place." It considers the practice of bombing non-combatants " as illegal as it is inhuman."

According to the Press, on the occasion of the recent bombing of Nanking and Canton by Japanese airmen, the British Government instructed its Ambassador at Tokyo to express to the Japanese Government " the horror and indignation felt in Great Britain at the deplorable loss of life among the civilian population."

The Press in the leading capitals, regardless of its political complexion or its traditional policy on foreign questions, has lifted its voice in unison against it and been demanding of the peoples in their respective countries to denounce it, to take concrete action and co-operate in order to bring about its abandonment.

Let us take the English Press, for example.

The *Evening Standard* on September 24th, stated in its editorial :

"The most effective boycotts are not organized but arise from the instinctive revulsion of the man and woman in the street. No country which breaks the common law of humanity can ultimately be immune from the adverse public opinion of the world."

The *Daily Herald* on September 24th said :

"The hideous Japanese air raids upon Canton and Nanking are a plain challenge to the conscience of mankind, to the authority of all the peaceful nations. . . .

"Japan is peculiarly dependent upon importing and exporting. And in particular her dependence is upon the British Empire and the United States. . . .

"While this is so, . . . those nations who consent to that trade cannot escape the charge of acting as accessories, however, involuntary, in the crime. . . .

"Each individual must ask whether his own purchases may not in fact be part of the economic structure upon which Japan's military might depend."

The same paper declared on the following day :

"For all Japan's strength rests upon one simple thing, the willingness of other countries to buy her goods.

"Withdraw that willingness, and before long the Japanese Government is helpless.

". . . No other action would be needed to stop the war beyond a joint Anglo-American decision to buy no silk or cotton goods from Japan, and to sell her no oil, iron, cotton, rubber or machinery, and make no loans.

"It is not a choice which self-respecting nations should find difficult to take."

The *Daily Express* on September 24th had the following :

"Japan looks so strong, and behaves contemptuously to those who protest against her barbarities. However, Japan lives by selling merchandise, and this is where she sells it : to the British Empire 28.1 per cent., to America 23.6 per cent., to the Dutch 6.5 per cent., to China 6 per cent., to the French 3 per cent. Tokyo might figure out those figures, and remember that customers' feelings are important."

The *News Chronicle* on September 25th emphatically pointed out :

"Refuse to buy or sell any Japanese goods. If this means a certain sacrifice on your part, that is your contribution to human decency . . . .

"Twenty-eight per cent. of Japan's exports are taken by this country. The oil that fuels her bombers comes from Britain and the U. S. A. Japan's economy is dependent upon the commercial good will of the world. This is the route by which Tokyo can be brought to its senses."

The same paper, two days later, had the following front page editorial :

"The way for individuals to make their protest effective without waiting for Governments to act is by boycott of Japanese goods. Whether ordinary retail customers or manufacturers, they can do this by refusing to purchase anything which is Japanese."

A list of the main goods imported from Japan by England was given by the paper.

The *Sunday Referee* on September 26th said :

"Don't give your child a Japanese toy. Parents should remember that now and at Christmas time. . . .

"The Japanese have entirely captured the market here for cheap toys of the toddy-bear type. Japan sends to Britain 2,259,016 dolls every year.

"Don't buy them."

The London *Times* on September 27th, published a letter on the editorial page from Francis D. Acland, part of which read :

"More than three-quarters of Japan's present total trade is with countries under the flags of the Netherlands, the United States, and the British Empire. The heads of those countries are men of a high civilization, humane, merciful, peace-loving, having the same faith and "ideology." They could act together and at once, and could in effect stop Japan's trade inward and outward within a week."

On September 27th, the Advisory Committe of 23 of the League of Nations on the Sino-Japanese Conflict, unanimously adopted a resolution condemning Japanese indiscriminate bombing of open town and civilians in China. The Assembly of the League the day after adopted the same resolution. The resolution reads :

"The Advisory Committee,

"Taking into urgent consideration the question of the aerial bombardment of open towns in China by Japanese aircraft :

"Expresses its profound distress at the loss of life caused to innocent civilians, including great numbers of women and children, as a result of such bombardments;

"Declares that no excuse can be made for such acts which have aroused horror and indignation throughout the world.

"And solemnly condemns them."

As regards concrete measures to discourage the continuance of general aggression on the one hand and encourage resistance to it on the other, the obligations of the member States of the League under the Covenant are clear. The Chinese Government believes that in spite of our experience in the past, there are certain concrete and feasible measures which the League could recommend to the Governments of the member States for this purpose, and that the question of what measures will be at once most effective and practicable in the present

circumstances to aid China should be studied by the Advisory Committee. We particularly ask that, within the limit of feasibility, the utmost measure of encouragement and assistance be extended to China, the victim of flagrant aggression.

In conclusion, let me emphasize again that the situation in the Far East created by the Japanese armed invasion is very grave. It calls for urgent consideration and action by the League of Nations. Every new day means to China, without counting the loss of life on the field of hostilities, the killing of more thousands, of innocent men and women whose eyes are turned on the civilized world and whose hopes are pinned upon the League dedicated to the principles of peace and humanity, praying that one and the other will hasten to do something to restrain the unbridled forces of aggression, to rescue them from indiscriminate slaughter and to mitigate their sufferings. In the name of humanity as well as in the interest of justice to my country and peace in the world, I earnstly hope that the League will act speedily as well as effectively.

October 4th, 1937.

A MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF INDIA

From HIS EXCELLENCY DR. V. K. WELLINGTON KOO,

China's Representative on the Council and First Delegate to the Assembly of the League of Nations, Ambassador to France.

INDIA and China are two great peace-loving countries in Asia. While we are in the throes of a life-and-death struggle, we wish India and her people peace and prosperity.

Japan's aggressive and atrocious activities in China since 1931 have known no bounds. She has invaded Chinese territory by land, sea and air. The recent conflicts on the North China and Shanghai fronts have already caused untold suffering to the thousands of innocent civilians living in those areas. During the last few weeks, the Japanese air force has been carrying out a campaign of frightfulness and mass slaughter of civilian population, of men, women and children by indiscriminately bombing open towns and non-combatants. This inhuman method of warfare has not only shocked the conscience of mankind but evoked the condemnation of the whole civilized world. In this hour of distress, the Chinese people have not wavered in their grim determination to fight to the last man to defend their country. In fact, Japan's war of conquest against China has consolidated the Chinese nation as never before. 475,000,000 souls are now solidly behind the Central Government in their struggle against the Japanese invaders.

China feels confident that her people will have not only the understanding and sympathy of the people of India but also their collaboration and support such as is being spontaneously advocated by the peoples of the great democracies of Great Britain, United States, Australia and elsewhere.

October 4th, 1937.



THE CHINESE RED ARMY GOES TO TOWN

By AGNES SMEDLEY

It wasn't exactly the Red Army that went to town, but it was a part of it. And it also isn't generally called the Red Army any more. It is the 8th Route of the National Revolutionary Army of China. But everyone knows what the 8th Route Army is, and when asking you about it, they always call it the Red Army.

We, who went to town consisted of a party of about fifteen men and women, including two foreign women—myself, and another American woman trying to reach her home in a coastal city. I was going to Sian for X-ray examination of an injured back, then on to the front as a war correspondent. Many men in our party were going out to " White territory " for one kind of work or another. But the men, or rather youths, of whom I now write, were only four of this whole group. One was the bodyguard of the foreign woman friend. This guard was in reality a squad commander from the First Front Red Army—now renamed the First Division of the Eighth Route Army. He was a Kiangsi peasant about twenty-five years of age who had fought for years, had gone on the long march from Kiangsi to the northwest, a distance of eight thousand miles as the crow flies—though the Red Army did not march as the crow flies. My own bodyguard was a young Szechuen Provincial peasant about twenty years of age from the former Fourth Red Army Corps, also with a long marching record. A Chinese woman had a bodyguard who, at times, was with us later in Sian. He was a Szechuen peasant. Then there was my *hsiao kwey,* or "little devil" as these lads are affectionately called. He is a Szechuen peasant boy about thirteen years of age, as tough as the mountain birch.

These three bodyguards and the *hsiao kwey* are the main characters in the story, so to speak.

Coming down from Yenan, the "Communist stronghold," to the north meant ten days of marching, riding and wading mud up to your thighs. The men thought nothing of this, for they had marched through mountains of eternal snow, and for weeks over the swampy "Grass Lands" of Sikong where, it seems, no man had ever been before. So wading landslides of mud and crossing rivers on ferries operated by boatmen labouring in a row and chanting a melancholy, primitive chant like galley slaves of ancient days, did not seem at all unusual to them. What was unusual to me was exactly what they took for granted.

The unusual, for them, commenced when we began to strike the contraptions of modern civilization. First came the trucks. Of course, they had seen trucks come to Yenan—when landslides of mud did not block the roads. They had seen these, but had never been in one. Now, at one section of the road, we found many trucks, stranded between landslides, broken bridges and rivers. They took us a distance of thirty miles only, until we had to halt in the rain on top of a mountain, and the trucks sank up to their hubs in the mud. But when we first got in the trucks, the four characters in this story took up their positions along one side of the machine, holding on like grim death. Grinning at each other and at the landscape speeding by at fully ten miles an hour, they got their first thrill of an automobile ride. When we halted at a village they all took turns sitting behind the wheel of the truck to see how it felt.

Well, they quickly got used to trucks, which by now had become a part of their ordinary experience. They were later to stop gasping at motorcycles, or to wonder at private cars even when they rode in the front seat beside the driver. It was only when we reached Sian that they began to experience wonders. None of them had ever been in a city before. This is not much of a city, and the one, two and three storey shops are filled with piles of trashy, expensive things. As a friend once remarked: " Japanese goods are rotten and cheap. Chinese goods are rotten and expensive." The shops of Sian are filled with both, for Chinese merchants do not hesitate to sell the goods of the enemy invading their country. They would sell their own grandmothers if that could bring them money. A city of a quarter of a million, with trashy shops, however, to these Red Army lads, Sian was a great city filled with wonders.

They began to enrich their experiences when we finally reached the Sian office of the 8th Route Army, where we all were to live—all except the foreign woman friend who put up at the modern hotel, the Sian Guest House. Once at local headquarters, I went to my room and lay down. The door at once became blocked with people,—but not to look at me. From

beyond the crowd I heard the voice of my foreign woman friend saying:

"I can't get into your room! I can't even get near the electric light!"

I looked around and saw my four leading characters and a number of others, clustered like bees around the electric light switch. They were taking turns switching it on and off. Each one tried a number of times, his face turned upward to watch the light bulb on the ceiling. His hand would be pushed aside, and another would take his turn.

Well, that was also not so much, either, when the boys once got used to it. The time came when, in passing the switch, they would reach out and turn it on and off just like that, just like veterans. They did not want anyone to see them at it, for they hate to be regarded as greenhorn. They had thought Yenan had made them wise, for there they had at first been treated as greenhorns. Until the Communists entered that town with its one main street bordered with one-storey open shops, the whole town did not consist of more than a thousand people. Still this was a large town for the Red Army boys,—so large that the merchants swindled them right and left. This had taught them something of a lesson and they approached Sian somewhat gingerly. What their real experiences in the city were I do not know. In the first days there they would disappear for hours at a time, walking the city from one end to the other. I do know that my guard came home triumphantly with a leather case for which he had paid double, while next day my "little devil" went out and bought the same case, in a larger size, for half the price my guard had paid. This made my guard lose face so badly that they had a quarrel. He only got the upper hand two days later when he saw a train before the "little devil" saw one. This led to another quarrel. The "little devil" dashed off to the railway station, but he did not know that he had to buy a platform ticket. So they would not let him through the gates to see the train. His defeat was sad to contemplate, and only a few days later could he actually see a train.

Once, as we passed through the streets, the two boys halted and showed me a modern barber shop. They did not know I had ever seen one before. Red Army barbers are individual men who, with kit in hand, go from unit to unit.

At one time we all went to the modern hotel to visit my foreign woman friend. This is a fine hotel with polished floors, upholstered furniture in the lobby, electric lights, curtains, white table cloths in the dinning room, and goodness knows what. My friend had a room with a private bath. So the boys all poured into the bathroom with its white tiles and nickel, glass and mirrors. They turned on the hot and cold water, tested the wash basin, flushed the toilet repeatedly, and turned around and around, admiringly, looking at themselves in the big mirror.

They visited the hotel to see the bathroom a number of times until they were veterans in that line also. But one wonder of wonders they could never get over—the moving pictures. Coming down from Yenan, my foreign woman friend had tried to explain to her guard what a moving picture was. He did not know what she was talking about. So, on the night of our arrival, she took him to the movies. Such was the wonder that the other boys waited impatiently the next morning for the time the theatre would begin its first show. They saw a jungle film, returned with wonder still in their eyes, and told me they had seen lions, tigers, elephants and a huge hairy animal that looked something like a man. None of the boys had ever seen such animals, though they had seen old prints of tigers. In Szechuen and Sikong, they had perhaps even seen tigers, or leopards. In any case, the tiger made no impression on them.

They became movie fans. The next day they said they were going to see a foreign movie, and asked me to go along. I went. They led me to a theatre with gaudy advertising posters outside. The film was called "Diamond Jim." Though my heart sank, still the film was still more "heart-sinking." I sat through it, but lost my "face" entirely, completely. Everything in the miserable film the boys called "American." It began with Diamond Jim, a huge fat fellow with a protruding stomach (supposedly an "American worker") taking off his overalls and getting into a high silk hat and a cutaway. From that moment on, all the male characters wore this costume which, for the boys with me, became the ordinary American dress. "Diamond Jim" began to wear diamond buttons, pins and rings, but the boys did not even know what a diamond was. So that part at least passed over their heads. All the women in the film were dressed in elaborate, gaudy trash, and this the boys thought was the way American woman dressed. The rooms in which the film was staged were filled with huge chandeliers, overstuffed, ornate furniture and bars. The boys did not know what a bar was. They solemnly watched a "bad man" drive his horse and

buggy through a saloon door and up to a bar. But they didn't know what a saloon was and they could not understand such conduct. There was also a scene in a Stock Exchange, with a ruined speculator sitting before a ticker, with tape in hand. This was utter Greek to the boys, as was a gaudy wedding scene later. The characters talked and talked—and I was glad the boys could not understand. The talk carried absolutely nothing of any sense or value to anyone.

There were four shots in the film that had some meaning for them. One was a horse race, which interested them. Once was when Diamond Jim and three of his friends, back in the early nineties, went out riding on a bicycle built for four. Later, in the streets, these Red Army youths, halted before a bicycle shop and laughed at the bicycles on sale there. They were built for one person only, while in America, according to them, modern and advanced as it was, there were bicycles built for four!

Another scene was taken back in 1865, presumably, and showed an engine and train of ancient vintage. They had not yet seen the trains in Sian, and this before them was, to them, an American train. Still another scene was the inevitable Hollywood love scene. One of the actors pressed the leading lady to his manly bosom and held her in a passionate kiss Just as this started, my guard was searching for his lost ticket on the floor. But the squad commander, his eyes staring from his head, gave a loud exclamation, punched him violently in the ribs, and cried "look!" My guard ,still bending, lifted his head and sat transfixed. His mouth was open and he did not even straighten his back until the sight before him finished. The squad commander had more presence of mind. He shot a startled glance at me to see how I was taking such a shameless sight. As I was engaged in watching him and my guard, he quickly turned his guilty head away. The "little devil" was watching the scene in amazement. For him it was in the same class as the jungle film—as the hairy animal that looked like a man. For such scenes as that before us happen only in the bedrooms of husband and wife in China.

At last came the high point in the experience of these Red Army youths—the railway train and engine. When my woman friend left the city we took her to the train—all except the "little devil," who was nowhere to be found. The boys examined the train thoroughly, including the toilets at the end of each car. A few days later they climbed the mud wall surrounding the railway yard and made a closer examination of trains, which took many hours. When they returned, my "little devil" did not talk about the trains. He was depressed and miserable because one of the trains had been bombed by Japanese bombs.

This "little devil" is still a child, but he is a melancholy child. He has been bombed from the air and he has suffered much. It has left a deep imprint on his mind and his entire personality. Many things depress him. Once he and my bodyguard and I were going through the streets when they halted to watch something. It was a usual sight in all China except in the Communist-administered areas. Twenty or thirty workers and peasants had been captured in the streets, roped together, and, guarded by army officers, were being taken away to do forced labour, or carrying, for the Kuomintang armies. My guard watched in silence and did not talk for an hour afterwards. My "little devil" came close to me, put his hand on my arm, and said: "They have captured the *lao pei sin!*" That is—"they have captured the common people." The "they" was the ruling class, now as before the national front became a reality. The wise little boy was filled with a dull, dejected misery. I wondered what memories this scene awakened in him. His manner was the same as when he told me of the bombed train. Later, also, I took him to a hospital to be treated while I, at the same time, was being treated in another department. Coming out, I found him in misery standing before the hospital. He was bitter when he told me they had demanded fifty cents from him, and he did not have it. He had been in the Red Army for three years and never realized that one had to pay for medical care. Even when the money was paid and he was examined and given medicine, still he hated the hospital.

All the boys distrusted the city. Before long they would begin shouting at the slick merchants in the shops who tried to cheat them.

"One dollar! I'll give you ten cents and not a cent more!"

Still, they are guileless youths and they were often cheated. Most merchants of China would pick the pennies off dead men's eyes. Friends argue with me that there are certain old branches of trade such as silk that have an ancient code of honesty.

But there were beautiful things now and then which I saw while we were in Sian. Once I saw a young soldier about the age of my own guard, halt my guard and smile at him. They stood smiling at each other. Then they reached out and held each other's hand and began

telling each other their names, where they came from, where their native home was, and where they were going. It was a beautiful picture of class brotherhood—also a picture of youth meeting youth.

There was another incident which I recall with laughter. One day the squad commander and I went in the fine modern hotel. We went down to the lobby, intending to pick up a camp bed which had been left for us in the office at the further end of the lobby. Now this squad commander is a gruff fellow who made the long march. He is slightly stooped and he walks rapidly, looking up from beneath heavy eyebrows. He has a gruff voice and he speaks only the Kiangsi Provincial dialect which few other men can understand. He is a fine fighter, but he is no star on polished floors of fine hotels. So, just as we entered the lobby, filled with silk-gowned gentlemen drapping themselves over the upholstered chairs and couches, this commander lowered his head and bawled at the top of his voice at the clerks behind the desk at the other end of the lobby.

"Where is our camp bed!" he bawled.

Then he went for them, right across that fine polished floor. They stood stupefied. So, half way across, he bawled again, "Where's our camp bed!"

These clerks are polished Shanghai chaps in foreign-style clothing, and they did not understand a word of the Kiangsi dialect. Furthermore, they had never before had a Red Army commander charging across the lobby at them, ordering them to surrender, so to speak. I was tickled half to death by the scene. For the commander was instinctively hostile to everything around him and the clerks were paralysed. I explained to them that we merely wanted the camp bed. Silently they surrendered it and I could not help adding:

"Never mind—such men as this, alone, will save China from the Japanese."

The squad commander tossed the camp bed over one shoulder and charged through the silly swinging doors, and outside charged toward the iron gates and the street beyond.

Well, there were many other things in Sian from which the boys learned. They visited the electric light plant, for example, and had a two-hour lecture in detail of how electricity is made. They walked around and around and over and about the huge machines. Up to them, the largest machine they had ever seen had been a motor truck engine. I would give a lot to hear exactly how they explain electricity to others. Outside, in the city, they are silent —perhaps, lest they be taken for greenhorns. But once with their comrades they talk ceaselessly, explaining what they have seen and learned. Once back in local headquarters, they are at home and in their natural environment. Typical of their life there was the mass meeting held on the evening of September 26th—the day after the First Division of the Eighth Route Army, commanded by Lin Piao, had met the Japanese invaders on the Great Wall in north Shansi Province. This Division of Kiangsi revolutionary fighters got in the rear of the Japanese—their tactics have no parallel—and cut an enemy division to pieces, taking prisoners, field guns, shells, fifty trucks and five armoured cars. The Japanese had been rolling over north China with no-one to stop them except the regular Chinese armies that simply could do nothing. But the first encounter between a Communist division of seasoned fighters and the invaders, had ended in a great victory for China. When we received the news in Sian a meeting was held in local headquarters. I got out of bed and went. Everybody in the building was present, from all the men in charge, to the cooks and cook-assistants. There were many released political prisoners from Nanking and Soochow, students from Peiping and Tientsin going to Yenan, political workers from Yenan en route to various places of China, Red Army men, guards, "little devils," and two foreigners —one of the foreigners a New Zealand Englishman, a newspaper correspondent.

This meeting was a wildly enthusiastic one. We were told of the victory in the north and men interrupted the speaker to shout slogans. Chou En-lai's wife led the celebration. The New Zealander contributed an aboriginal maori dance of his country. I tortured the audience with two songs—but then, many of these men had made the long march or been in prison for years, so they could stand almost anything. A student back from Japan tortured *me* when he sang what he called a Japanese love song. A Red Army man told an incident of the long march—how the Red Army crossed the treacherous Datu River in Sikong, while enemy troops raked their ranks from across the river. As he ended, Chou En-lai's wife arose and sang two stanzas of a beautiful song of the long march. The melody was the ancient one about a wife singing of her husband, killed while building the Great Wall during the ancient Chin Dynasty, two hundred years before Christ. Chou En-lai's wife sang:

In May in Lutingchow,
Liu Hung-kwei's troops
Fought us fiercely.
But we crossed the Datu River.

Hawk and Dove by Bruno Liljefors



Black-cock in its nest by Bruno Liljefors





Top : Sea Eagles by Bruno Liljefors *Bottom* : Sea Eagles nest by Bruno Liljefors

Seventeen heroes gave their lives
In the crossing.

In August we marched northward
Across the Grass Lands,
But never felt the cold.
Never had men crossed these Lands before.
The strongest of all armies is the Red Army—
There is no difficulty we cannot conquer.

After this fragment of a long ballad, with its haunting melody, a group of Peiping students rang the patriotic song. "Fight Back to your Manchurian Home!" Then arose a Red Army fighter from Kiangsi Province and sang the strangest song I had ever heard. I thought it a song of the aboriginal tribes of Sikong which he must have learned during the long march. It was harsh, sharp, clear, militant, jerky. It stirred the blood. But it was no aboriginal song. It was a Kiangsi folk song as sung by Kiangsi Red Army fighters,—now the 1st Division of the 8th Route Army of China.

We sang and spoke and danced strange dances, then ended the mass meeting by all standing up, lifting our fists, and shouting slogans in praise of the heroic Eighth Route Army, for "there is no difficulty it cannot conquer, no fort it cannot take." And we shouted slogans against the Japanese.

Near me sat or stood my four characters, the three guards and my "little devil," laughing or shouting slogans. This was their natural element. They belong to the revolution, to struggle, to warfare. And as I looked at them in the midst of their comrades, I knew that not one of them would know anything else their whole lives through. For the independence of China will not be gained in a day or a year, and the revolution in China will last throughout their lifetimes even if they live to be fifty—which is doubtful.

BRUNO LILJEFORS—THE SWEDISH ARTIST

By LAKSHMISWAR SINHA

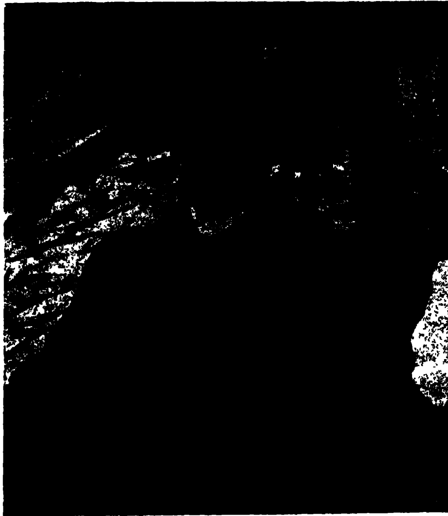
Three contemporary artists, who represent Swedish art within the coutry's frontiers and beyond them, and whose pictures adorn today a great many art-galleries, are Carl Larsson, Anders Zorn and Bruno Liljefors. The first was a water-colour painter, and painted pictures of Swedish homes. Some of his wall and fresco paintings are to be seen in the National Museum, the ceiling decorations in oil in the Royal Opera House, the Royal Dramatic Theatre and in many other public buildings. The second, namely Anders Zorn, earned a world-wide fame for himself as an etcher and as such, he has no rival in his line. I had had the fortune of visiting the homes of both the artists in the province of Dalarna some three years ago and still today I carry the impressions made on me by the atmosphere of their homes. Both the artists are dead, but they are still living in their classic creations, which have undoubtedly immortalized them in the history of the fine arts.

The last of the trio, namely, Bruno Liljefors is a fore-runner of the artist-devotees of Sweden to the open scenery and, as such, has endeared himself to all who love nature and art. Herein are reproduced only a few of his pictures which are to be found, besides the museums, in most of the Scandanavian homes.

A true work of art itself expresses its essential purport without any explanatory note to all who are capable of seeing and feeling like an aritst—says an art-critic. It is, therefore, without going into the interpretations of the pictures reproduced here, a short sketch of the artist and the atmosphere which in reality served as a source of inspiration to him—as it does, I presume, to all artists—are given below.

Born in 1860, in the plain of the province of Uppland, Liljefors has devoted his talents to interpret in colours, the mysteries of the forest and its animal kingdom. From the scenic points of view, Uppland is characterised by the protruding rocks—interrupted here and there by plains and forests. Important as it is, in the Nordic history and early civilization of the country, and where lies today the oldest University of Sweden—namely, Uppsala, the seat of learning, Uppland cannot, however, claim to possess the striking scenery of the lofty mountains with snow-clad peaks of Norrland and shimmering lakes with verdant shores of

the southern province of Scania whose home-life has so often made its appearance in novels, lyrical poetry and art. Liljefors, whose favourite subjects of painting are forests and the animal world, has mainly taken his motives from Nature in Uppland and its adjacent provinces of Sodermanland and the coast district of Smoland. No doubt, the forest plays an important role in making the country's



Bruno Liljefors
from a painting by Anders Zorn National Museum

landscape as it does in the life of national economy. The atmosphere of the forest with its mysteries has its counterpart in the Swedish character, marked by the melancholy of loneliness, which otherwise is also expressed in the country's songs and poetry. The variations of climate and their effect on all existence and beings are also to be taken into account. In winter the sunlight is rarely to be seen. The trees then become leafless and look lifeless during eight months in the year. The greater part of the country appears in its white mantle of snow. Then there comes the spring—so eagerly longed for by old and young alike. Everybody hails it, as it brings with the increasing sunlight, an atmosphere of unreality and dreams which pervades all things and beings. These contrasts and variations in Nature as a whole have also influenced the most inspired creations of the artists of Sweden.

Again, it is the forest where the people renew the memories of their early days and hear the echo of childhood resounding through the ages. As an art-critic remarks, "It is the forest and sea that he (Liljefors) most loves and he paints them, one might almost say, from the animal's point of view. He paints a duck family as a duck would paint it, if it could." Liljefors has wandered and is, I think, still wandering with hunter's passions in the forest and all he has witnessed, "the horn-owl with its glowing eyes hissing and puffing, perched on its rock in the forest—the wily foxes hiding in the clefts of the rocks, while the crescent moon shines in the sky,—the fat grey hen which sits torpid and complacent on its perch in the fir, —the dramas of the wandering elk-family in the midst of the forest,—the wooing pair of Capercailzies,—the animals of prey panting with passion and hunger, slay their victim,—the loves of the big forest birds, their curious cries and frenzy," have been painted over many a time and revealed in all their vividness to us and make us understand what is deepest in the Swedish nature.

The National Museum and Theils Gallery exhibit the richest collections of the pictures of Liljefors, and when I used to visit them, I could never leave without having a look at the Liljefors' paintings which recalled to my memory many a vivid picture of Nature that I happened to witness during my long wandering days in Sweden.

A portrait of the artist which adorns the National Museum in Stockholm painted by his colleague and contemporary, Anders Zorn is also reproduced here.



MY FIRST VISIT TO ENGLAND

By BEPIN CHANDRA PAL

II

WHILE my pulpit services brought me in contact with one class of British society, the most liberal and free-thinking class, with a broad outlook upon life and frankly appreciative of non-Christian peoples and civilizations, my work in connection with the temperance movement in Great Britain brought me in contact with another class of British society. They were mostly Non-Conformists, Liberals in their politics but narrow conservatives in their religious life and social outlook. They had no appreciation of alien cultures and civilizations. The temperance movement, apart from its moral appeal, offered a convenient ladder to the economically better sections of the lower classes of English society to bring themselves into some sort of social contact with their superiors. These people subscribed liberally to the funds of the Temperance Association, and were in many places prominent officials of the local organizations. It was particularly so in the smaller towns.

One particular experience of mine of this class of pervenu leaders of the British temperance movement has stuck to my memory all these years. I was invited to lecture at a temperance demonstration in a town in Yorkshire. My host was evidently one of the "new wealthies" of the local society. He had a goodly sized house, fairly well-appointed, though the decorations and the furnishing gave more evidence of wealth than of refined taste. But I did not notice these at first. They attracted my eyes after I had been acquainted with the mind of my hostess. When we sat down to dinner, my hostess out of innocent and natural curiosity, asked me if we in India used tables and chairs and forks and spoons like themselves at our meals. I replied, "No." We squatted on the floor on carpets or reed mats, each seat being separated from the other. We took our food as a rule out of banana leaves and used our fingers instead of forks and spoons. This provoked loud laughter from the company, my hostess calling her husband to hear the story, saying, "Father, do you hear what Mr. Pal says how they take their meals in India. They sit on floor, have their food on banana leaves and eat with their fingers." This was followed by a loud storm of laughter by the whole family. This put my back up; and after the laughter had subsided I quietly said, "But do you know the reason why? Our people consider your ways as horribly unclean. The table linen you are using are not washed after every meal; the remnants of food that fall on it are only removed by a brush. This would not be considered sufficiently clean by my people. Then the spoons and forks that you use. Can you be sure that they are scrupulously cleaned after every meal, and in every house? Your plates are dipped in hot water and then rubbed dry with a napkin. We would not consider it sufficiently clean. But the banana leaves are thrown away after they have been used every time that we take our meal. Our fingers are scrupulously washed before and after every meal. Then we squat on the floor, sitting on pieces of carpet of reed mat or polished wood. We have therefore, saved the worry of counting our chairs before we can invite friends to our house. On festive occasions we have a company that counts even up to a thousand. You cannot entertain in your home more than twenty or thirty people, even that is a large number, and you have to arrange special functions where your guests exceed this number in some big restaurants or hotels. If you consider all these you will have to admit that our barbarism in this matter is more sanitary, more clean and certainly much less costly than your civilization." These remarks turned the laugh against them, and they never tried after this to pass any rash judgment upon the ways of my people.

But my hosts of the temperance movement in England were not all of this class. In some places I had the privilege of being entertained by the best educated and most refined members of the community. One of them was Bishop Freemantle, who was at that time the Dean of Ripon. He was one of the leading lights of the Broad Church Section of the Anglican Communion. When I went to keep a temperance engagement in Ripon, I was privileged to be his guest for the night. He took the chair at my meeting, and after the meeting he drove me to his home where I spent an interesting and

profitable evening. Our conversation at dinner naturally truned on important theological subjects. In course of it I asked the Dean if he knew that we had a doctrine of Trinity or something like Trinity in our Hinduism also. He said: "Yes, I know. They are Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva." I said, "We don't call them a Trinity, the more correct name for them is triad. This triad is not really a philosophical concept. The real Hindu trinity is found in our Vaishnavic thought, in the term *Satchidananda*. 'Sat' means Existence or what may be rendered as The True, in English. 'Chit' means Consciousness and 'Anandam' means literally Joy or an attribute of the Deity, Love. These, however, are not three Persons, but only three aspects of the same Being or Unity. 'Sat' is Brahman of the Upanishads; 'Chit' is Paramatman or the Indweller; 'Anandam' is that aspect of the Deity in which He reveals Himself as the Supreme Person entering into responsive relations with the human soul. Our Trinity is not composed of three persons, but it is the realization of the one and the same Being from three stand-points. When we contemplate Him through our experiences of the outer world we realize Him as Brahman; when we contemplate Him through our inner experiences, we find Him as the witness who holds together our varied and passing sensations, sentiments and emotions, thereby establishing the unity of our inner self or individual consciousness. When, however, we approach Him through the relations of our inner consciousness with the world of outer nature and the social relations we have with other humans, we realize Him as the Lord whom we call in our language Bhagaban. Brahman, Paramatman and Bhagaban—these are the three terms of our Vaishnavic Trinity. This Trinity is the basis and realization of what you call the Personal God. Brahman is the Father; Paramatman, to translate it in the terms of your Trinity, is the Holy Ghost, and Bhagaban is the Son, but with this difference that while in the conception of Christian Trinity the Father representing the Absolute or the Universal holds within Himself both the Holy Ghost and the Son, in our realization it is Bhagaban, corresponding to the Son of the Christian Trinity, who holds together in Himself the other two, Brahman and Paramatman. In this Hindu conception, Brahman is described as the effulgence of the body of Bhagaban, and Paramatman as a part-manifestation of His Consciousness. Bhagaban is the Full and Complete Person; it is He who is the root and realization of our Rational, our Volitional and our Emotional life and experience." I fear I did not make the position of the Hindu Trinity as clear as I have tried to make it out here. I had myself at that time hardly any clear conception of it except what was conveyed by the familiar phrase 'Sat-Chit-Anandam.' But the very imperfect presentation of it which I was able to make to Dean Freemantle helped, I think, to make some impression on him regarding the transcendental experiences and speculations of the Hindu mind.

I inferred this from our conversations next morning over our breakfast. After breakfast the Dean took me to his library and opening one of his own translations of the early Christian Fathers, he pointed out to me a remarkable passage in which the author (was it Tartulian ?) makes an appeal to his church in favour of adopting the Buddhist monastic disciplines which had been found so helpful in their endeavours after the higher spiritual and ethical life by the followers of Buddha. The suggestion was exceedingly flattering to my national culture, and I asked myself, if Christianity in the early centuries took many things of high ethical and spiritual value from our Buddhistic realization why should not we in this age be able to contribute from the larger and deeper experiences of our saints and savants to the broadening and deepening of contemporary Christian thought and piety ? And I felt that here was a clear call to Bengal Vaishnavism, associated with Sree Chaitanya Mahaprabhu, to take up this world mission.

Mr. Caine sometimes accompanied me and then we were always put up in some first class hotel. One of my earliest temperance works, if not the very first, was in Glasgow. I think Mr. Caine accompanied me there. We put up at St. Enoch's Hotel. It was the anniversary of the National Temperance Society of Scotland. Scotland was then a great centre of the temperance movement. The meeting was held in the biggest public hall of Glasgow. I just now forget the name of it. It was crowded by an audience of nearly three thousand, men and women, gathered from all parts of Scotland, who packed the hall "from floor to ceiling" as a Glasgow paper put it. And when I got up to speak, this audience gave me a rousing reception, the like of which I never had in my life before. And after I had finished they not only cheered me for some minutes but somebody started the familiar song, "For he is a jolly good fellow," the whole gathering standing and stumping with the foot on the floor to keep time with the tune of this familiar English song. This was my first experience of Scottish

hospitality, and I shall never forget it as long as I shall live. The platform was crowded by the City Fathers and ex-City Fathers of this historic Scottish town and the body of the hall was filled by representatives of the public life of Scotland.

Later on, I was invited by the National Temperance Association of Scotland for more than a week's lecturing tour in and about Glasgow. My hosts did not know that I was not a Christian, and when they came to know of it the warmth of their welcome seemed somewhat to cool down. In Scotland Christian orthodoxy has a much stronger hold than in England, though even in England going about addressing temperance meetings I had some queer experiences. I was invited one day to a small place not very far from Oxford. The gentleman who came to receive me at the station introduced himself as one who had known my country. Asked what part of India he had been to, he replied, "Not India exactly, but East Africa." This reminded me of a familiar question which students from my district of Sylhet were sometimes asked by our brothern of Calcutta, namely, if we knew so and so from Chittagong. These people had no idea of the geography of Eastern Bengal and did not know that Sylhet and Chittagong were not exactly next door neighbours. This English friend similarly had no idea of the geography of what they called the East. Asia and Africa are both Orient, and therefore, in their mind, they are classed practically as one. While we were walking to the house of my host, this gentleman said: "Of course, you are a Christian." I replied, "No. I am not." This seemed to have surprised him somewhat. Evidently he could not imagine an Oriental who is not a Christian being invited to lecture on temperance to Christian audiences. His next remark was, "Have you read the Bible?" I replied, "I cannot say that I have read it, I cannot say that I have not read it." Evidently my answer was too deep for him, and he replied, "Why, the Bible is translated into every language. It must have been translated into your vernacular also." I said, "Yes, it has been translated into my vernacular, and we sometimes read this translation to enjoy how our language could be innocently murdered by these foreign translations." But he rejoined, "They were all very learned men." "I agree," I said, "only they did not know sufficiently well the language into which they were translating, having learnt it from grammarians and dictionary-writers." He gave up the subject in hopeless confusion, but returned to his original question, "But you know English sufficiently well to be able to read the Bible." I said, "May be, but my people don't understand why they should specially read the Bible. They have their own religious books; and these books contain things of as real ethical or spiritual value as the Bible. In fact, they believe that the ethical and spiritual treasures of their own books, the Vedas, for instance, and the ancient Hindu epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, and the other ancient records of their religious life and spiritual experiences, contain much more valuable lessons than the Christian Bible." His next remark was, "But pride is not a great moral or spiritual virtue." I said, "Certainly not,—the pride of the Hindus in their ancient scriptures any more than the pride of the Christians in their own books." After this he gave me up as a hopeless subject for mission propaganda. And we commenced to talk of commonplaces of politics.

My temperance work brought me also with another and a much higher class of people, both socially and culturally. It was in the larger demonstrations in cities like Birmingham, Manchester and Glasgow, not to mention London, that I met the real leaders of the movement. At one of these, I forget the name of the place, I had the privilege of standing on the same platform with Sir Wilfred Lawson, the distinguished Liberal M. P. and world-renowned temperance reformer. He was the greatest wit in the House of Commons of his day, and I had from his own lips at this meeting the story of nine stalwart British jurors (or was it Scottish) and the stolen pig. The evidence against the accused was as clear as it could possibly be. But the jury brought in a verdict of not guilty. This verdict very much surprised the presiding judge, and meeting one of the jurors at some social function, the judge asked him, how was it that in the face of the clearest possible evidence of the guilt of the accused, they brought in a verdict of not guilty. The juror scratched his head and somewhat ashamed of himself said, "The truth is, we all had a slice of the pig."

I remember another temperance demonstration in the Exeter Hall in London, where I had the honour of occupying the same platform with Dadabhai Naoroji. I forget who presided. But the meeting was very crowded. I was the last speaker. I put in a strong plea for the introduction of local option in my country. My last appeal was: "If you cannot let us govern ourselves as you do in your own country, for God's sake give us the right to

protect ourselves from an evil from which you yourselves are suffering so seriously." This appeal brought the whole house to its legs, and as I sat down the audience commenced to clap for some minutes. I did not know then that it meant a call to me to stand up and receive their ovation. Dadabhai Naoroji, who was sitting next to me, at this asked me to get up and acknowledge their cheer, which I did. And then the meeting dispersed.

My scholarship was tenable for two years in the Manchester New College at Oxford but I decided to give it up at the end of the first year, because I felt, to continue it for another year would mean a waste of a £100 to the Unitarian Association, and 12 months of my own time, which I could better spend in the propaganda of the Brahmo Samaj and generally of the higher culture of my people, and the more practical problem of national autonomy or self-government of India. Though during the first year of my stay in England, I had some opportunity of presenting the ideals of the Brahmo Samaj to Unitarian congregations, I had little opportunity of doing any political work for my country except in a very indirect way, from the platform of the temperance organization. Before deciding, however, to resign my scholarship, I wrote to the Vice-Principal, Dr. Carpenter, explaining the reasons that led me to think of it. I did not write to the Principal, because my relations with him were practically official. But my relations with Dr. Carpenter were of a more personal nature. He fully appreciated my reasons, and in reply told me that I was right in thinking that I had already made myself acquainted in a general way with the methods and principles of scriptural interpretation familiar to modern European scholars. As regards details of the application of this principle to different scriptures or to the Christian scriptures, that would take not one year or two years but practically a whole life-time. Besides so far as my work in connection with the Brahmo Samaj was concerned, these studies would hardly be of any practical help to me. Dr. Carpenter indeed was generous enough to go still further, and told me that I would certainly be more helpful to the Unitarian congregations by presenting our view of God and man in the light of the higher spiritual experiences of our race than I would profit myself by continuing for another year in his College. Thus encouraged I sent my resignation which was accepted, and I found myself free for propaganda work in England from June, 1899.

During my stay in Oxford though not exactly in the University, I had some opportunity of coming into contact with the cultural life of that ancient British seat of learning through some of the learned societies of it. We had a philosophical club in the Manchester College after Dr. Martineau. Professors of philosophy of the other Oxford colleges were members of it, and they used to attend the meetings of this club more or less regularly. One of these meetings towards the close of my first session in Manchester College was held, if I remember aright, at Christ's College, and was fairly well attended by professors and students of the University. The subject of the paper, which was read, I think, by one of the professors of moral philosophy, was the "Ethics of Forgiveness." I must say that both the paper and the discussion which followed were exceedingly disappointing. Nobody cared to go to the root of the subject. I was asked by the President, I think at the suggestion of Dr. Carpenter, to say something from the Indian or Hindu point of view. In response to this call, I said that the ethics of forgiveness could not be separated from the ethics of punishment. If punishment was retributive, then there was no place for forgiveness, strictly speaking, in the scheme of retributive justice. At one time we were very much exercised over reconciling God's justice with His mercy or love. That had been an old problem in Christian ethics. This problem had been sought to be solved by Christianity through the dogma of atonement or, more correctively, the vicarious atonement of Christ. Christ took upon himself the punishment of man for his transgressions, and by so doing he saved man from the wrath of divine justice. But if punishment were not retributive, but only remedial, then we had a clear view of the ethics of forgiveness. In other words, forgiveness was right and justified only when it helped to remedy the wrong committed. When Jesus said, "If a man smites thee on thy left cheek turn to him the right cheek also," he went to the very root of this Ethics of Forgiveness. What is the wrong committed by the man who smites me? What is the divine law which he violates here? It is the law of brotherly love that ought to rule the relations between man and man. If I try to get him punished by law, or if I punish him myself, do I really help to re-establish the law of brotherly love; or, on the contrary, by provoking a spirit of revenge in my assailant, contribute to break that law further? There can be only one answer to this question. By punishing the offender I do not help to restore the moral relation which he has broken, but further

prevent its restoration. The ethics of forgiveness therefore is in this and similar cases the law of non-resistance preached by Jesus. But when the wrong done is not a personal wrong but a grave public wrong, the punishment of which involves no personal feeling and therefore may not necessarily provoke any personal enmity in the offender against the person who punishes him or secures his punishment, there not forgiveness but punishment is the moral duty. Non-resistance or positively loving forgiveness is the law in the case of all personal wrongs. Punishment is the law in all public wrongs. I tried to present this view, but I did feel sure that it commended itself to my audience.

England was then passing through a great war fever. Within a few weeks of my arrival in Oxford the last Boer War (1898-1900) broke out. In the first stages of that war, the British forces in the Transvaal met with repeated reverses. Every reverse sent up the temperature of the British public, and the spirit of revenge stalked over the whole country. Publicists and politicians, as usual with them all the world over, were not slow to exploit these reverses and the feeling of revenge that took possession of the national mind like a vice, to advance their party into popular favour, and strengthen their position in the national Parliament. It was in the height of this fever that I think the *Daily Mail* came into being. And it at once commenced to capture the public mind by its cry of revenge. The Boers must be crushed. The capitalists who had made their pile in the Rand or the Diamond mines of South Africa had been scheming for years previously to get about this war. The notorious Jameson raid was specially staged for this purpose. But it failed to achieve what it had wanted. But it left its poison behind it both in the mind of the British and the Boer in South Africa. The British were not able to conquer their lust; the Boers were not able to get rid of the suspicion which that raid had naturally created. This was the psychology of the last Boer war in a nutshell. The early stages of that war was studied from day to day, if indeed not from hour to hour, from my lonely lodgings in London. I could not help sympathising with the two brave little republics that in their deathless love of freedom staked their all in this fight with a world-wide Imperial Power. The British, on their side, however, made a very poor show. They had to requisition almost every possible military help from all their overseas possessions,—they were not Dominions as yet but only Colonies, though the incidents of the Boer War were slowly and silently laying the foundations of this new development in the imperial policy of Great Britian. There was a talk in the earlier stages of the war of indenting Indian sepoys to the South African front. But the mere mention of it provoked almost universal opposition all over Europe. The white races could not contemplate the use of non-white soldiers to fight a white enemy. Though the Indian sepoys could not be indented for fighting Great Britain's little war in the Boer land, all the British Colonies sent their contingents to save the honour and prestige of the mother-country. All this quite naturally appealed to the inherited instincts of chivalry in the Indian mind. Frankly spaking, I enjoyed the open evidences of the straits into which our masters found themselves in their little war with the Boer. Few Englishmen could muster sufficient courage to speak out against the inequity of this war. Those who did dare were persecuted for their freedom of thought and conscience by their fellow countrymen. In December 1899, which marked one of the acutest stages of this war, I was in Scotland with Mr. Caine. And I remember one evening when the news of the fall of a valiant Scotch general (I forget his name just now) had flashed through the wire, Mr. Caine and myself were walking from a meeting to our hotel in Glasgow. Mr. Caine, who never supported this war, but was nontheless therefore very much depressed by these reverses, and was for the greater part of the way walking in silence by my side, suddenly said: "Pal, we are a nation of Pharisees. We Liberals are opposed to this war. We have tried our best to condemn the inequity of it. But all the same we *must* win this war. And when we have done it, and come back to power at the end of it, do you think we shall reinstate the Boers in their old freedom? No. We, liberals, shall quietly pocket these two republics without any sign of contrition. We are a nation of Pharisees." This wayside talk revealed to me not only the character of British politics, but also the inner soul of the man with whom I was walking. The man stood head over shoulders ethically above the politician in my friend. It is so all the world over. The politician in the present stage of our evolution are an undeveloped race morally and spiritually.

THE PATTERNS OF SOCIAL RELATIONS, EASTERN AND WESTERN

BY PROF. RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.

As a sociologist from the East visiting the fields and factories, cities and workshops and coming across dissimilar social institutions and relations in the West, I have often asked myself the question, what are the fundamental differences in social norms and attitudes in the two worlds. It appears that in the East the familial or organic type of social groups and relations is more universal and pervasive in its influences. The norm derived from the family tends to organise and regulate other social activities and relations including the economic, and this has humanised and socialised economic life in the East. In the West the contractual or artificial type of social relations dominates, and has even invaded family relations which in most civilisations are pitched up not to specific, rationally formulated ends of the partners in marriage but to fidelity and devotion which have a kinship to the ultimate values. The supremacy of a contractual group, based on a calculation of individual efforts and sacrifices, is represented by the power of the class in modern industrial society which today stands opposed to the unity both of the personality and the state. In the East religion has borrowed profusely its symbolism from family loyalties, and the religious-familial symbols, pregnant with emotions derived from the mystical experience and tradition, have become condensed expressions of norms of human relations and regulate behaviour in the work-a-day world. The accumulated force of religion and social tradition has in the eastern countries proved too strong for the new industrialism to modify the more highly integrated and organismic behaviour.

Such dichotomy of social relationship and behaviour is, however, neither final nor complete. The materialistic unculture of the Renaissance, the disregard of symbolism and tradition during the Reformation and modern technology and specialisation, all have been responsible for the rational-contractual aspect of social life in the West and for the supremacy of groups that express instrumental values as compared with the intrinsic values, which the familial type of groupings seek. The big business and the national democratic state which grew out of the same forces and conditions have developed new mental patterns contributing towards the establishment of relatively mechanical and impersonal relationships in every field. But the Great Society which is no community is today aspiring to be such. The state in the West is being moralised and socialised through the functional and regional idea that pictures the community as theoretically and programmetically an organic whole. Regionalism and functionalism are based neither on the supremacy of the class nor on the power of the state, which has hitherto stood opposed to each other, but on a planned participation of all groups and individuals in the fair fruits of culture. The aspiration of modern industrial planning in the West also is the decentralisation of industry, the breaking up of industries into small sectional or regional units, with powers of self-government. In the narrower spheres of action there may be an easier integration of divergent economic interests in each self-governing industry, co-operative or guild; while the greater the delegation of powers of the state and the more decentralised the industrial structure, the greater will be the opportunities for active citizenship, and for art and culture. The development from the contractual to the ethical family, from profit-seeking industry to industry regulated by social and ethical standards, from a society dominated by mechanical and impersonal relationships to one governed by intimate and spontaneous strivings is an advance which lies along the Eastern road.

In the East, on the other hand, wherever the ancient social framework, caste, rural community or joint-family, has thwarted individual initiative and efficiency, the ideal of individualistic justice, derived from the same contractual-rational aspect of social life which has shown its abuses in the West, has been imported and brought about a new, vital orientation.

There is thus today an interpenetration of Western and Eastern Social attitudes and norms, more and more stimulated by the technical development of communications and by culture contacts. The East is becoming West, and the West becoming East, and the twain are meeting ever more closely.

Summary of a speech at a luncheon given to Dr. Mukerjee by the Washington Chapter of the American Sociological Society.




Ridderholm quarters from the Town Hall tower Stockholm



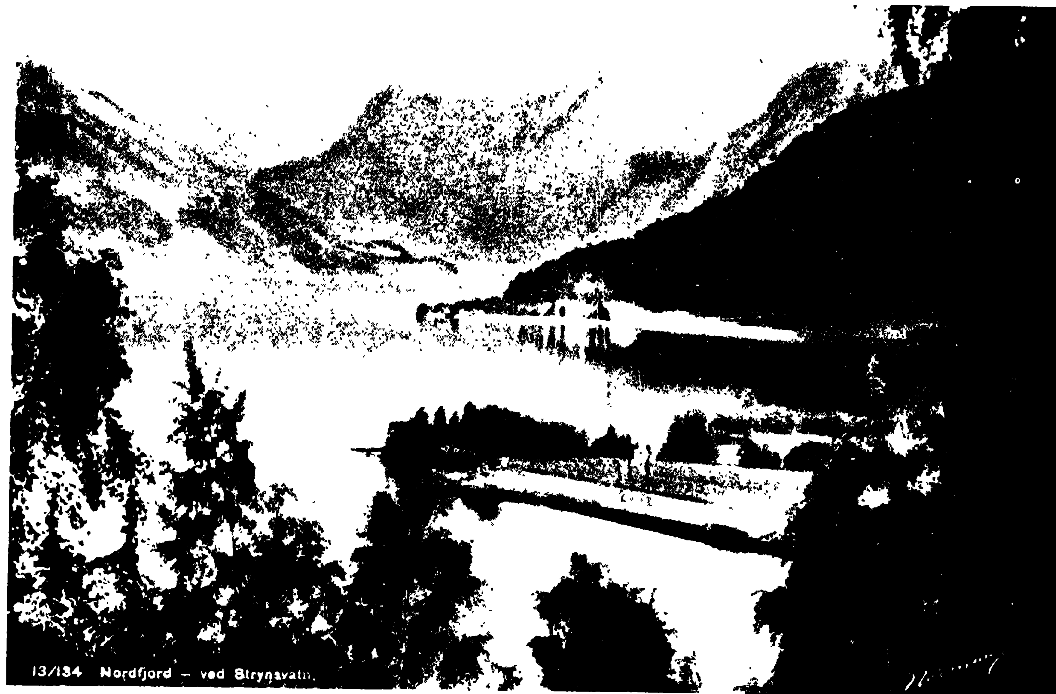
Sweden's Monument of Liberty Statue of Engelbrekt (Stockholm)





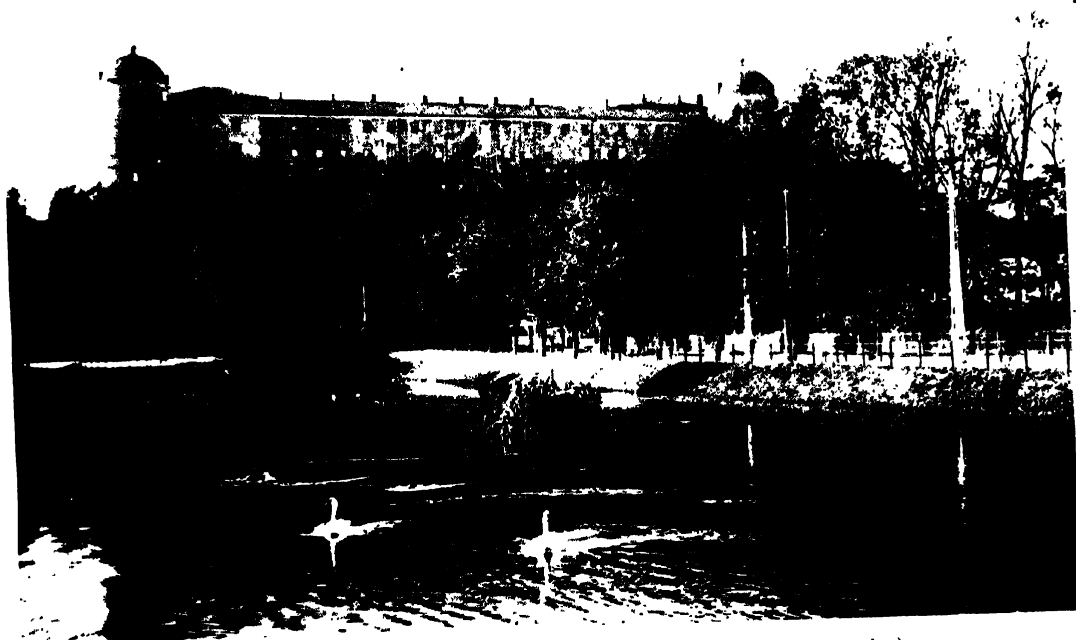


Top : Summer Evening—North Cape *Middle* : Hill-side view of Ulvjk
Bottom : Regatta at Stockholm





Top : Nord Fiord—Norway *Bottom* : Ulvjk on the Hardanger Fiord (Norway)



Top : The Legendary Trolle-Ljungby Castle of Skane (Sweden)
Bottom : The Historic Uppsala Castle (Sweden)

UNDER THE NORDIC SKIES

By MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK, D.Sc. (Rome)

"Ja, vi elsker dette landet, som det stiger frem
furet, farbitt over vannet, med de tusen hjem.
Elsker, elsker det a tenke pa varfar og mor
Og den saganatt som senker, senker dromme pa var jord."

Thus begins the Norwegian national anthem composed by the greatest national poet of Norway, Bjornsljerne Bjornson, whose statue now stands in front of the National Theatre in Oslo. My personal acquaintance with the Norwegian people began through this song, even before I had reached the shores of the land of the thousand sagas. I was on a small Norwegian boat, proudly named *Kong Dag* (King Day), which plies between Hamburg and Oslo. It was summer time, and although the wind was not very cold, the waves were still unruly and the anger of the North Sea was being abundantly hurled upon our tiny vessel. The young boys and girls on board, most of them Nordic, gathered on the deck, and began to sing their national anthem as they were looking eagerly towards the distant horizon for their beloved but still invisible shore. The soft melody of this anthem attracted me, and I joined them as did some other German passengers. Thus began my friendship with Norway. I got the first few lines, quoted above, of the anthem translated by a friend on board. It runs thus: 'Yes, we love this country, emerging out of water, rough and rugged, with thousand homes. We love to think of our father and mother, and of the saga-night which gives dreams to our world." Its simplicity and passion are remarkable. Is it not something different from "God Save the King"? It is nearer to our *Bandemataram* than to any other European national anthem. Bjornson is the Bankimchandra of Norway.

I confess, modern Norway and the city of Oslo disappointed me, when I contrasted them with my imaginations about their reality. I had read that Norsemen were pagans and that they were worshippers of Thor, the god of thunder, of Odin, the lord of war and the inventor of song, and of Frey, the god of fertility. We were taught that Norsemen loved war and women, wassail and song, pillage and slaughter; that their mythology was distinguished for a fatalism, fierce as the northern seas and grave as the arctic skies. They knew too much about the wild elements of Nature and the furious passions of man to ask of life more than life could give. "And so the old Norse literature, in which the record of this pagan civilization is faithfully preserved, stands out among the literatures of the world for its freedom from rhetoric and sentiment, its closeness to the facts



On board the "Kong Dag"
(Author in the Centre)

of life, its abstinence from moral comment or literary embellishment, but, above all, for the picture which it gives of society at once aristocratic and anarchic, violent and tenacious of the past, but ennobled despite all its lusts and cruelties by a manly veracity and a proud acceptance of inevitable fate." The exterior of Oslo (the old name of the city was Oslo; it was changed to Cristiania by a vain king of Norway after his own name on whose reign the people gave their verdict by restoring the old

name of the city in 1924), a modern city with a brisk traffic and busy people, full of English and American tourists in summer and ski-lovers in winter, did not tell me anything about the Norwegian sagas nor of the Viking glories except its museums. I did not realize to what



Hardanger Fiord (Norway)—A typical landscape
(Photo by the author)

the Norsemen owed their pagan philosophy of life before I had seen the fiords on the west coast of Norway.

The fiord landscape of Norway, which has inspired so many poets and authors, is really something unique in the world. Its grandeur and peace, its awe and grace, its colours and lines, are without any parallel in entire Europe. There is something in the spirit of those rugged and bare rocks above and still blue waters below that is a despair of the poet and that sends you to meditation. For a temperament so nearly pantheistic as mine, the fiords were something like a revelation of the divine, magnificent in their silent majesty and baffling in their mysterious moods. The grandeur of the Italian landscape, for example, is in its wealth of colours and in its pleasant contrasts. Swiss lakes give the impression of a closed world beyond which the eyes of the traveller do not reach, while the fiords with their infinite bends and turns penetrating the rocks look like currentless rivers flowing towards eternity. Canaletto who is the greatest landscape painter of Renaissance Italy would be a failure in the Norwegian fiords. In fact, specimens of the several landscape artists portraying fiord scenery which I found in the Oslo art galleries completely disappointed me. It is not the proper subject for European landscape painters. Its excellence is not in colours but in forms, in its wonderful lines, in its heights and depths and in its wild and primitive ruggedness. The fiords could be fit subject of treatment for the Chinese and Indian landscape painters, and particularly for the former who are perhaps the cleverest race of artists to portray the mystic moods of Nature. There is something unreal about that fiord landscape which haunts me always like the fond memory of an almost forgotten dream. Its charm consisted in the fact that it was more a contemplation of beauty than beauty itself; it was like the artist's vision of beauty, and the saint's intuitive experience of divinity. And to all this, add that unforgettable twilight of the arctic summer "nights." I stayed one week in the Hardanger fiord, at Ulvjk and Norheimsund, and I could not sleep more than a couple of hours per day throughout the entire week. I dare say it is difficult for any Oriental to resist that twilight. After sunset, the light of the day gradually fades into twilight which does never become dark, and a thin veil of mist covers the snowy peaks



Norheimsund—On the Hardanger Fiord
(Photo by the author)

of hills and clouds linger in the valleys. Sometimes from my hotel balcony I have watched for hours and hours the transformation of this twilight, and sometimes I have walked solitarily in the hill-paths of Ulvjk and thought

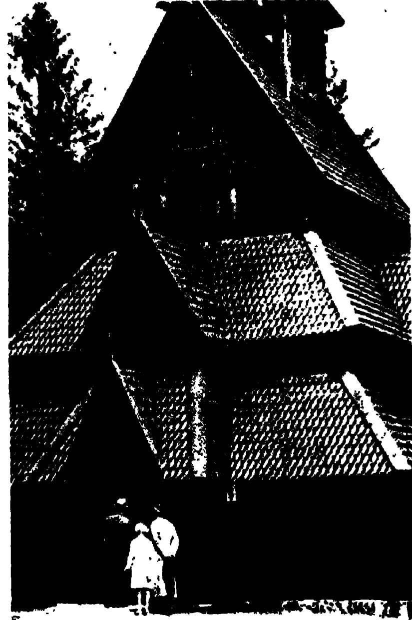
of myself as the last man in the world making my endless pilgrimage to the heaven of eternal twilight.

My intimacy with the fiords solved the many riddles about Norwegian life and history with which I was confronted on my first acquaintance. I realised why the Norsemen were pagans—a Nature so mystic and grand could not but inspire awe and worship in a primitive people. I saw why the Vikings raided northern Europe and for two centuries filled the world with noise and fury—they did it out of their pure love for sport and war, and not, as some historians have tried to prove, as a reaction against the forced conversion of the Saxons by Charles the Great. After the gloom of a northern winter, it was a rare amusement for the Vikings to set sail with the first favouring breeze of summer in search of a quick fortune beyond the western sea. I could recognize the scenes of Bjornson's *Sunny Hill*, Ibsen's *Peer Gynt*, Bojer's *Great Hunger* and Hamsun's *Victoria*. The simplicity of the fiord life, with its sturdy fishermen and contented peasantry, gives a delightful touch of reality to the great works of Norwegian artists that make this country one of the most attractive places in the whole world.



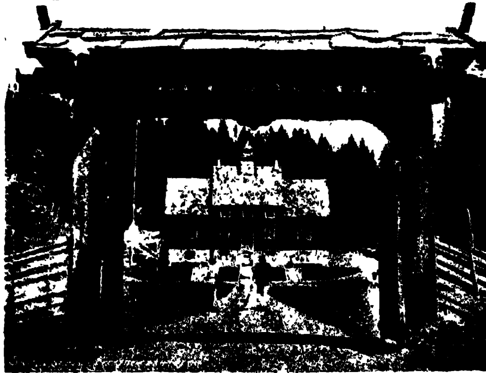
Costume of Hardanger—A Maiden of Norheimsund
(Photo by the author)

The Nordic races had a very cloudy mythology which is responsible, in part, for the rich old Norse literature and also for the modern version of the sagas. Even long after the introduction of Christianity into Norway and Sweden (about 1000 A.D., although as early as 830 A.D., St. Anschar, a Picard trained in the monastery of Corvey, voyaged through Denmark, Norway and Sweden preaching the Gospel, a gallant adventure soon overpowered by the might of the pagan tradition), the Nordic people could not completely break away from their past, with all its chivalries and superstitions, that continued to influence their social life and individual conduct, to a certain extent upto the present day. This will be explained by the fact that the conversion of Scandinavia into Christianity was due more to political pressure than to spiritual experience. The Scandinavians, like the Franks, Goths and Saxons, went over to Christianity not as individuals directed by an inner light, but as peoples subject to mass suggestion and under the direction of political chiefs. The modern renaissance in Norwegian literature derives its primary inspiration from that glorious past when the Norsemen first planted colonies on the bleak shores of Greenland, explored, six



The Stave Church in the Folk Museum—Oslo
(Photo by the author)

hundred years before the voyage of Columbus, the North American coast (the Vineland of the Icelandic Saga), sacked Irish monasteries and established in compensation many flourishing Irish trading towns, gave to Russia the first



The Ski Museum—Oslo
(Photo by the author)

experience of political life extending their reign from the Dnieper to the Bosphorus, and gave to England, through Canute who was a Dane, not only the impress of Nordic law (the word law is Norse), but also that passion for litigation which is a distinctive feature of the English character. In political domination as well as commercial leadership, different branches of the Norse people established their supremacy over northern Europe. The Hanseatic League, for example, was controlled by the Norsemen and their brothers of northern Germany. This consciousness of national pride was never absent in the popular mind. After centuries of self-forgetfulness the latent passion of the pagan spirit has again manifested itself in creative efforts which have brought about the renaissance in Norwegian literature and art, and which partly explains the pagan revival in Germany today.

There can be no better testimony to the Norwegians' desire to preserve their glorious past than the scrupulous care with which they have organized the Folk Museum in Oslo. It is an entire village on the eastern bank of the Oslo fiord, and the history of the Nordic peoples beginning from the dawn of history down to the present day, can be seen in every particular detail in this museum. The wooden houses in which the Norsemen lived in mediæval times, the costume of different regions in different epochs, the implements of agriculture and war, the mediæval churches transplanted *in toto* from their original locations, the evolution of all these things into their modern forms, make this museum one of the most remarkable stores of ethnological research in the whole world. One can see here the dismantled ruins of Viking ships, excavated some years ago from the western coast villages, as well as Henrik Ibsen's drawing room and study exactly as he left them. The dragon motive still to be found on the top of the Stave Church and on the rudder of the Viking ships, is a relic of the superstitious belief of the ancient Norsemen in the efficacy of their deities in scaring the devils away. The Viking ships, only three of them have still been found, are considered even to this day as prodigies of naval construction. Recently a Norwegian constructed a vessel exactly on the same model as that of the Viking ships and crossed the Atlantic with that, thus proving its endurance against the waves. A vigorous research is



Kalmar Castle—Sweden
(Photo by the author)

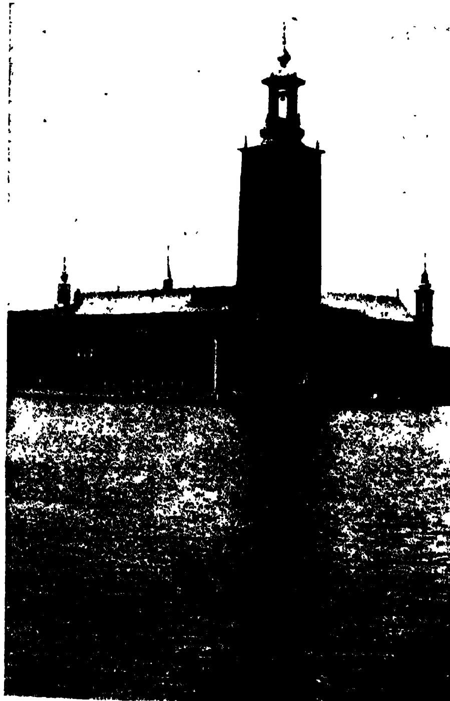
being carried on now in Norway and Sweden in regard to Viking civilization. It is also contended by some scholars that the dragon motive came to the North through the Viking expeditions in Mongol territories and through their contact with Mongol peoples. But it is not my purpose here to write the history of Norway; I intend to record only some of my impressions

about Nordic life and manners from the purely subjective point of view.

One very interesting exhibit near the Folk Museum in Oslo is the arctic ship "Fram" with which Nansen made his first expeditions in the North Pole and which was again used by Amundsen for his subsequent expeditions in the ice-bound seas. The entire ship, which is made of wood as were the Viking ships, was equipped with metal propellers as well as sails. Inside the "Fam" there was almost a museum for these two great Norwegian explorers. Their diaries, written from day to day, their dresses, their technicil equipments, their unposted letters. a few bottles of unconsumed brandy, and a thousand other things connected with these expeditions are preserved there. The sea-faring tradition of Norway has never faded in the least since the Viking days. Shipping and fishing are the biggest national industries of Norway today. Unlike Sweden, Norway has got very little agriculture. Norway is a country of rugged hills and endless forests that provide the people with wood that keeps them warm in winter and that has given to Norwegian paper industry such a differential advantage over that of other European countries. Waterfalls give them an enormous quantity of mechanical power, and even the remote parts of the country may be reached by car through an extensive network of metalled roads. Norway has the reputation of having the most contented peasantry in the world, although the industrial labourers are not exactly so. The waves of socialism have reached even the Northern shores, and the existing elected House of the Norwegian Parliament has a socialist majority. But Norwegian socialism is not at all aggressive or anarchic as the French type, neither it is based on an elaborate syndical organization. Norwegian society is still aristocratic and capitalistic, and remnants of the feudal system are still evident everywhere.



Gripsholms Castle—Sweden



The Town Hall—Stockholm
(Photo by the author)

Mention should be made of another unique thing in Oslo, that is, the Ski Museum, the only one in the world. The location of the only Ski Museum in the world in Oslo signifies not only that Norway provides the most abundant snows for the lovers of Ski who find in its delightful slopes as well as steep descents their sporting paradise, but also that the art of plying through the snows was first practised in Norway and Sweden. One can see in this museum models of the most ancient coaches of the canoe shape which used to carry passengers across miles and miles of snow. The evolution of the modern ski from such primitive apparatus is presented there in a remarkable manner.

It is very little known in our country that even in very far off places one may come across friends and sympathisers of India, both persons and institutions. Such was my experience in Oslo. There is a Society for the dissemination of Oriental Culture in Oslo which takes great interest in India. Madame Dybwad who is the President of the Society is not only acquainted with Indian philosophy and art, but also with the political problems of present-day India. Mr. John Egeberg, the Sufi leader of Norway, who has translated the works of Enayet Khan into Norwegian, is another personage of the widest sympathies for India. The warm and generous hospitality which they extended to me convinced me of their genuine interest in the welfare of India and of their desire to see India occupying her legitimate place in the hierarchy of nations.



Typical Swedish Architecture (Stockholm)
Sunset Reflections on the "Sound"
(Photo by the author)

The racial and cultural history of Norway is inseparably bound up with that of Sweden. Until the year 1521, when Gustaf Vasa led the war of liberation and put an end to the Danish association with Sweden, Norway and Sweden had almost the same history of war and peace, of liberation and expansion. They constituted the mainland of Scandinavia, and were guided by the same conception of life and by the same principles of conduct—the same Viking expansion, the same pagan philosophy and the same social system. In the Middle Ages, Scandinavian countries were ruled by Danish kings, although this period was characterised by internecine struggles between these countries, Norway, Sweden and Denmark. The first rising against the Danish monarchy was led by Engelbrekt in 1434, which placed Sweden under native rulers, called Protectors, for almost a century. The statue of Engelbrekt, placed on a high column in the gardens of the Town Hall in Stockholm facing the "Sound," is Sweden's Liberty Monument. But the task begun by Engelbrekt was completed only in 1523, when Gustaf Vasa—Gustavus I—ascended the throne of Sweden. His accession signifies a definite separation of the distinctively Swedish interests from those of the other Scandinavian countries, liberation from the economic dependence of the Hanseatic League, and the consolidation of the country's resources in the Swedish Crown. On the economic as well as the political side, his reign was the most important one in purely Swedish history; he made Sweden for the first time an emancipated and self-conscious nation. The period of Swedish monarchy was characterised by many vicissitudes which it is not possible to discuss here, but it produced a long line of able Swedish statesmen, educators, generals and administrators. When Sweden was involved in the Napoleonic wars, a serious conflict arose with Russia, at the end of which Finland had to be ceded to that country. This misfortune and other causes aroused serious discontent and led to the deposition of the King. Out of this revolution was evolved the constitution of 1809 which is still existing. During these hundred and thirty years Sweden has enjoyed unbroken peace and has built up a social and economic structure which has withstood many threatening revolutions and is an envy of her continental neighbours today.

During the Middle Ages and after the establishment of the Swedish monarchy with Gustaf Vasa, many castles were built in Sweden with which legends as well as historic events are associated. These castles offer a glowing tribute to the growth of a characteristic Swedish style in architecture. The most well-known of these castles are those of Kalmar, Gripsholms, Skane, and Uppsala. The Kalmar Castle is the oldest one, and the other three were all built by Gustaf Vasa. The Kalmar Castle was built towards the end of the twelfth century on what was then an island. Gustavus Vasa



"*Children's Island*" in the Stockholm Archipelago

strengthened the outward defences and in the time of his sons Erik XIV and John III, it became the foremost Renaissance Castle in Sweden. Among the apartments that have preserved their fittings from the Vasa times may be mentioned the Royal Chamber with rich panel works and frescoes. Since 1872, the castle has housed the Kalmar Archaeological Society's collections, or the "Kalmar Museum." The Gripsholms Castle at Sodermanland on the southern shore of Lake Malaren begun by Gustaf Vasa in 1537, is now a National Picture Gallery, containing one of the most valuable collections of historical portraits in the world. The Castle has played a remarkable part in Swedish history. The Uppsala Castle is a stronghold from the Vasa period; King Vasa commenced the building of this Castle in 1540, and it was completed by 1654. It was in the State Room of this Castle that Queen Christina declared her abdication of the throne. When I was introduced to this Room and was informed of its historic associations, the meteoric career of this amazingly talented and capricious queen, naturally flashed across my mind. "For ten years, 1644-54, this woman glittered in the eye of Europe, scattering her bounties with a prodigal hand, performing feats of physical endurance which the hardiest veteran of her father's army might admire, and charming by her brilliant and indefatigable curiosity the choice circle of philosophers and literati who had been enticed to Stockholm by the magnet of her sympathy, her favour and her largesse. Then, out of her feeling for the Roman Church, into which she was received, or from a sudden weariness and dislike for the routine of business, or desiring to create a spectacular effect, the 'Pallas of the North,' resigned her throne in favour of a cousin." This Castle was burnt down in May, 1702, but its reconstruction was completed nearly a century ago. The County government offices, the Uppsala County Archives and other institutions are now housed in this Castle. Uppsala has also the oldest University in Sweden founded in 1477.

A very interesting legend is connected with the Trolle-Ljungby Castle of Skane, from which it derives its name. The legend which is well-known in Sweden and has inspired a Swedish opera is as follows:

Not far from the castle of Trolle-Ljungby in the South of Sweden a huge piece of rock, called the Maglestone, is still to be seen in a field.

Long, long ago it was inhabited by trolls, and every Christmas night they used to raise the stone on golden pillars and drink, sing and make merry. The people in the neighbourhood used to close their doors when they saw the golden glare from the stone, it is not safe to venture out when the trolls are making merry.

At that time there lived in the castle of Trolle-Ljungby, a fair widow, the lady Sissela Ulfstand, and she was more than a little curious to find out what really was going on over at the troll festivities during the Christmas night. She therefore gladly agreed when one of her young squires asked permission to ride to the stone and find out.

When the Holy Night came he went down to the stables, saddled the swiftest horse and rode to the stone. From far off he could hear the din and laughter and see the golden glare. But he was a courageous man and feared neither the trolls nor the devil so he rode up to the stone and there he stopped his horse.

A lovely troll woman came up to him and smilingly gave him a pipe of a curious shape, which she asked him to blow, and offered him a drinking horn filled with foaming mead and asked him to drink to the health of the king of the trolls. The man knowing that trolls cannot be trusted lifted the horn to his lips and pretended to

drink, but instead of doing so he hurriedly emptied the contents of the horn on the ground, dug his spurs into the horse and rode for life.

With a terrible cry the trolls were after him and to his horror he noticed that they were gaining on him at every stride. A large field that had just been ploughed was between him and the castle and instead of following the road he dashed across the field. Now, trolls are adverse to cross a furrow where steel has been put into the ground, so they had to follow the road—and the young squire reached the draw bridge of the castle in the nick of time and fell fainting from his trembling horse. The bridge was pulled up and the screaming trolls were left on the other side of the moat. They now started to threaten the lady Sissela that if she did not give them the pipe and the horn, which the man still clutched in his hands, the most horrible things would happen to her and to her family. She, however, refused. Several times in the years to come the trolls tried to regain their treasures, but in vain. The pipe and the horm are still to be seen at Trolle-Ljungby, but the stone was since that day never again raised on golden pillars on Christmas night.

The "Ljungby Horn and Pipe" may still be seen in this Castle, which now contains a big collection of manuscripts and a library.

These Castles, and some other palaces, manor houses of an older date in different parts of Sweden, have given rise to an architectural style which is distinctively Swedish. The fact that they are all adaptations of conventional styles, the Renaissance and the rest, does not detract from this claim. Genuinely native Swedish architecture, like the Norwegian one, is on the whole only represented by houses built of wood. The ravages of fire and other destructive agents have left comparatively few specimens of such buildings from mediæval times. Those remaining from earlier times as well as those of later date—spacious log houses of the kind found in Dalecarlia and the northern parts of Sweden—show a fully developed style, constructional inspiration, and fine interior as well as exterior ornamentation. But apart from these primitive log houses and a few mediæval castles, there is a modern movement in Swedish architecture, dating from the beginning of this century, of which the most representative expression is the city of Stockholm. The outstanding edifices embodying new ideals are the Stockholm Law Courts, the University of Technology, Engelbrekt Church and the Stockholm Town Hall. The Nordic Museum in Stockholm is also a striking example of modern Swedish architecture. This rather stately and austere style has not, however, been favoured by a younger generation of architects who have turned with more sympathy to yellow-hued stucco houses of simple lines, a sort of modern revival of classicism. A certain severity of style is no doubt a distinguishing character of modern architecture, whether brick or stucco, in that way following up old tradition in Sweden. The latest phase, the concrete and glass architecture, referred to in Sweden as "functionalism," has since 1930, found enthusiastic followers in Sweden. It may be expected that this new style, as all other styles imported into Sweden, will be in time adapted into a Swedish variant.

As I have pointed out above, Sweden does not depend upon her industries so much as Norway does. According to recent statistics, 39 per cent of the population are now engaged in farming and allied occupations while 54 per cent are employed in industry and commerce. Cities do not play, and have never played a great role in Swedish economic history. It is a characteristic feature of Swedish economic life that industry is not concentrated in cities, it is scattered over the entire countryside. That is why the industrial population of Sweden forms such a large percentage (nearly 40 per cent) of the total population. But this has an economic advantage in that it makes for stability. A crisis has not the same immediate and devastating effect on workers who are in so close contact with the soil. It is also significant that the labour union organization of Sweden is remarkably complete both in respect of the number of trades it embraces and its geographical distribution. The national federation thus comprises 42 trade federations with a fellowship of about 720,000. The social insurance legislation of Sweden is very advanced, and there is a liberal scale of protection against unemployment, sickness, maternity etc. There is a colony in the Stockholm archipelago called "The Children's Island," where poor children enjoy their summer vacation and where they are looked after with great care.

Stockholm is the most picturesque city I have ever seen. In the delightful rhythm of its life, in the stern indifference of its citizens, I found the Viking and the modern spirits blended together. But when I took leave of Sweden it was not only Stockholm or Uppsala that had left an impression on me, but also its silver birches, winding lakes in meditation, green valleys, peasant homes, fishing villages and endless forests brought back to me the picture of a lovely country with a glorious past that the Swedes love and strangers admire.

THE JUTE CRISIS

By Prof. P. B. SARKAR, D.SC.

The abnormal fall in the price of jute as a result of the world-wide depression is one of the main factors responsible for the sad plight of the Bengal tenants. The Report of the Bengal Jute Enquiry Committee tells us that during the period 1925-29 the cultivator used to get Rs. 10-4 for a maund of jute; and from the speech of the Minister of Agriculture in the Bengal Legislative Assembly on the 1st of September last, we learn that in 1933-34, he got only Rs. 4-3 for the same and further that the price now stands at Rs. 5-12 per maund. It is difficult to say accurately what the actual cost of production for a maund of jute is, inasmuch as besides other factors, the day-labourer's rate varies widely from place to place and is seldom constant at the same place throughout the year. A member of the Proja Party said the other day in the Bengal Assembly that the figure lay near about five to six rupees; but according to the Bengal Jute Enquiry Committee it is only Rs. 3-8-6. If we accept this lowest figure as the correct one, it appears that the cultivator did not get even a rupee for his maund of jute in 1933-34; four or five years back he used to get at least 6 or 7 rupees. Paddy is the principal crop in Bengal, covering by far the largest area (nearly 87% of the cultivatable land). But the population is so very thick and the yield per acre is so low, that even with this huge area under paddy, the province is not independent as regards its supply of food grains. She imports every year about one million tons of rice from Burma. Next to paddy comes jute, covering as it does about three million acres which represents 10-12% of the total land under various crops. Jute is practically the only source of income of the cultivator as he can seldom grow surplus paddy—the value of the winter crops being rather insignificant. Thus both paddy and jute are of vital importance to him, as the failure of the one and low price of the other affect him equally. The peasant in Bengal has to sit idle for about 4 to 5 months in the year for want of suitable work. With his able body and the desire to work he can hardly augment his income otherwise as the possibilities in the country-side are so limited. No other crop used to bring him so high a return as jute. During the last few years he is getting almost the cost of production only and as a consequence, he is sinking headlong into debt—there appears little chance of his recovery.

But jute is practically a monopoly of Bengal —more than 90% of the total output being produced here. It is a fact that they grow jute out-side Bengal, *e.g.*, in some parts of Bihar, Orissa and Assam, but obviously these are not so important as jute-growing provinces. The soil, geographical situation and climatic conditions of no other country have been found to be so favourable for jute. Repeated attempts were made in Brazil, Egypt, Java and the Phillipines for growing jute but in vain. China grows about 35,000 bales (five mds. making a bale). Nepal about 12,000 tons and Japan and Formosa together 5,000 tons per year. Surely all these represent only a very small fraction of the total production of jute in Bengal which in 1927-28 was estimated at 12.3 million bales. Thus the position of Bengal as a jute-growing province remains unassailed even today. But in spite of all these the miserable condition of the Bengal peasant beggars description. It is worthwhile to make an attempt to analyse the situation and find out what this maladjustment is due to.

Table I gives the figures for the total area under jute in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam, the quantity of jute produced therein and also the amount of wealth it brought during the last 20 years.

Table I

Year	Area under jute (in million acres)	Jute produced (million bales)	Value of export (crores of Rs.)
1913-14	3.175	9.85	59.10
1914-15	3.275	10.65	38.73
1915-16	2.375	9.00	53.62
1916-17	2.625	8.75	57.96
1917-18	2.65	8.75	49.29
1918-19	2.50	7.95	65.35
1919-20	2.75	9.00	74.71
1920-21	2.50	7.70	69.35
1921-22	1.52	7.30	44.04
1922-23	1.45	5.93	63.03
1923-24	2.30	8.90	62.28
1924-25	2.70	8.70	80.85
1925-26	2.90	9.0	96.78
1926-27	3.60	12.30	79.98
1927-28	3.38	11.30	84.22
1928-29	3.18	10.70	89.25
1929-30	3.30	10.45	79.10
1930-31	3.506	10.075	44.74
1931-32	1.98	6.541	33.11
1932-33	2.143	8.663	32.00
1933-34	2.479	—	—

It will be seen that since 1926-27 the figure for production is gradually dwindling even before the Bengal Government started its jute restriction propaganda. In 1931-32 both the crop and the crop-area became almost half the highest. So one may easily see that over-production is not responsible for the present situation. Regarding the value of the exported jute and jute manufacture we have to bear in mind that the lion's share goes to the mill-owners, the middle-men pocket more than 12½%, the poor cultivator gets only less than half. A rough idea regarding this may be made from Table II taken from the Report of the Bengal Jute Enquiry Committee (1934).

TABLE II

Year	Harvest price of jute per ton Rs.	Calcutta Price per ton Rs.	Price of jute manufacture per ton Rs.
1920-21	.. 164	214	641
1924-25	.. 246	296	569
1926-27	.. 513	563	726
1927-28	.. 225	275	606
1929-30	.. 246	296	627
1930-31	.. 97	147	414
1931-32	.. 89	139	333

In the opinion of the above-named Committee the cultivator has received for one maund of jute the following amounts: (the figures for 1933-37 are taken from the speech of the Minister of Agriculture, Bengal).

Year			Average price of jute received by the cultivator. Rs.	as.
1900-04	..	..	4	1
1905-09	..	..	5	2
1910-14	..	..	6	8
1915-19	..	..	6	15
1920-24	..	..	8	8
1925-29	..	..	10	4
1933-34	..	..	4	3
1934-35	..	..	4	12
1935-36	..	..	5	15
1936-37	..	..	5	12

It is almost literally true that India is an agricultural country—as industrial development up till now has been but little. And so all the money she gets from outside is by exporting raw materials and agricultural products. Jute occupies the topmost place in export figures of such goods—representing nearly 25% of the whole. Thus during the year 1929-30, for which the figures are at hand, of the total value of exports, *viz.*, Rs. 31,08,55,000, jute represents 25.45% (raw jute 8.74% and jute manufactures 16.71%). Cotton comes next, being 23.42%, paddy third—10.0%, etc. And still the suffering of the Bengal peasant knows no bounds.

The demand for jute outside India has diminished considerably in recent years. The prolonged economic crisis is, of course, the main reason. Trade has contracted to an abnormal extent resulting in diminished export and import. Jute trade has been hard hit accordingly, as 70% of raw jute is utilised in the manufacture of gunny bags. No nation likes to be dependent on others for its supply of containers; so Russia, Germany and France have discovered various jute-substitutes and are therefore importing far less amount of jute these days. The demand for American cotton (she produces 60% of the total amount of the world) having diminished considerably, they are using cotton in place of jute, for making bags. Japan is exporting powdered sulphur in containers made of straw. Bulk-handling and grain elevators have done a great havoc to the jute industry. The use of paper as a packing material has greatly affected the jute trade considerably during the last few years. In U. S. A. alone 20 million paper bags are being used for packing cement; formerly they used gunny bags made of jute. Dry fruits are being exported from Australia in paper containers and in bags made of sisal fibre. Jute has thus been dispensed with.

Jute at one time was the world's cheapest packing material, it is no longer so. During the economic depression, every nation is trying its utmost to develop its own industry with indigenous products and to reduce the cost of transport as far as possible. Many of them have, more or less, been successful in their attempts. And so jute trade is in a critical state now. Like several dozen other problems, we have now a jute problem in Bengal. And unfortunately, it is none the less complex.

But restriction in the cultivation of jute, either by propaganda or by legislation, is not the sovereign remedy. If we concentrate all our attention on gradually diminishing the production of jute and spend all our energy for it, the day is not very far when it will no longer be paying to grow jute in Bengal. There is Japan at our door to supply a much cheaper but more attractive substitute even in spite of almost prohibitive tariff. Indigo is no more grown in India, the mother of indigo; but only 40 years back (1896-97) 15 lacs acres of land were under indigo cultivation every year and it used to bring a fortune of 4.5 crores of rupees annually. The German artificial product has done this miracle. Fixing up the minimum price of jute should not therefore absorb all our activities, it can give us but a temporary relief.

If in the present scientific era, any nation wants to live with the narrow outlook of the middle ages, it is doomed to be crushed. The

case of India will serve as a nice example. She is moving with the snail's speed in the march of life and is rapidly being sucked white by more advanced nations of the world. To improve the financial condition of a country only by exporting raw materials to foreign lands is an impossible proposition. But India is doing the same for the last few generations. To solve the acute unemployment problem prevailing in the country thereby is still more absurd. With her almost inexhaustible store of mineral wealth and vast stock of agricultural products, India is the poorest today—many of her children remain unfed or half-fed throughout the year. Intensive industrialisation of the country on up-to-date scientific lines is the only possible solution. New uses of raw jute must be found out by well-planned scientific research. True, the task is not an easy one, but it is certainly not impossible. It is very likely that no tangible result will be achieved within a short time but one must have patience in scientific work. The Germans tried for long 19 years incessantly before they could prepare synthetic indigo. Once we succeed in our attempt, the demand for jute will certainly increase both inside and outside the country. By agricultural research the quality of jute should be improved and the yield per acre must be enhanced. This again may not be quite easy but surely not impossible. Take for instance the case of cotton—the yield per acre in India is only 87 lbs on the average, but in Egypt it is as high as 2783 lbs. while in Japan, the highest, *viz.*, 3040 lbs. per acre.

Let us also consider the case of cane sugar; in India we get only 2400 lbs. of sugar per acre but in Java it is five times as much,—12000 lbs. and in Hawaii the figure is higher still, *viz.*, 19000 lbs. All these miracles have been done only by scientific research. To us it would appear to be the doing of Aladin's lamp.

The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has up till now spent lacs of rupees with the avowed object of improving Indian agriculture. That the Indian peasant has not in the least been benefited by it so long, has been frankly and openly admitted by the Minister in charge of Agriculture in his speech in the Bengal Legislative Assembly the other day. This 'Governmental' confession—let us hope—will have some far-reaching influence on the future mode of working of the Council. It is perhaps time for the above-named Council to explain its position to the people, for it started work about a decade back. If the cultivator derives absolutely no benefit therefrom as the Minister says, one wonders if its existence is really justified. He should decide whether only highly theoretical research will serve to improve Indian agriculture.

The increase of population is by itself a big problem in Bengal. No other province in India is so densely populated. It has been calculated that the minimum cultivatable land should be two acres per head in order that a country may be independent in respect of its suppy of food grains. In U. S. A. there are 2.6 acres per head, in France 2.3 acres and in India, whose children depend almost entirely on agriculture, the figures is 0.75 acre. But the case of Bengal is the most hopeless—we have only 0.48 acre per capita. We must bear in mind that in those countries modern scientific methods are employed in agriculture, as a result of which the yield of crop per acre is many times higher than ours. The above fact alone will explain why Bengal imports about one million tons of rice annually though 87% of her lands is under paddy. If we can increase the yield of jute per acre, a fairly large area will be released for growing other crops even if we continue to grow as much jute as now. If according to the Jute Restriction Scheme, 20% of the jute area be made free, 600 thousand acres of land will be available for various other crops. The cultivator must grow some such crop therein as will bring him as much money as, if not greater than, jute. Otherwise there will be no end of his misery. If only paddy be grown in this entire area, the situation will improve but little, as we shall produce therein about 5 lacs tons of rice which is only half the import figure. In other words, Bengal will still remain a rice-importing province. The price of paddy on the other hand, has fallen considerably—nearly to the extent of 47% in recent years. There is little chance of improvement, as Burma has a surplus of 3 million tons of rice and Bengal is the nearest dumping ground. The yield of paddy on the average is 21 mds. per acre, which will bring about Rs. 30. The average yield of jute is 15 mds per acre. This means about Rs. 37/8 if the harvest price be taken as Rs. 6 and the cost of production as Rs. 3/8 per md. In Bengal, we can have 17 tons of sugar-cane per acre on the average—if the cost of production be taken as 3 as. and the selling price as 5 as. per md., he gets Rs. 60. So he will prefer sugar-cane to jute so long as the price of the latter does not rise higher than Rs. 7/8 per md. The total consumption of white sugar in Bengal is near about 1.5 lacs tons annually. If Bengal decides to manufacture the whole amount, it will be necessary to grow sugar-cane in one lac acres of land. Prescribing cane for jute therefore will not solve

the problem. Experts recommend oil seeds for the rest of the area. In 1931-32 India exported 6 lacs tons of ground-nut, valued at 10 crores of rupees. Even during this depression the production of ground-nut in India is on the increase and during the last few years the export figure has doubled. So growing ground-nut in Bengal will not cause over-production. In some places as high as 36 mds. of ground-nut per acre has been grown in Bengal which means an income of Rs. 200. With an average yield of 18 mds. the total production in the area under consideration will bring nearly 4.5 crores of rupees to Bengal. This deserves careful consideration by all interested in the peasantry of Bengal.

There has been a good deal of hot discussion in the Bengal Assembly the other day regarding the fixation of the minimum price of jute by legislation. According to the Government view this is not practicable—the plea is that jute is not an absolute monopoly of Bengal —jute growers of Bihar, Orissa and Assam will cause trouble. But 90% of the total production is from Bengal alone; secondly, there appears no valid reason against working in co-operation with these provinces. Then again, in Bihar and U. P., Government has fixed up the minimum price of sugar-cane (-/5/- per md.). In Egypt and U. S. A. it has been possible to fix up the lowest price of cotton though many other countries—notably India—grow cotton. One therefore fails to understand why jute should be considered as an exception. One thing, however, is certain —namely, that the middle men and more particularly, the mill-owners will be hard hit thereby. But they have exploited the dumb millions for a fairly long period. This legitimate claim of the peasants of Bengal cannot be over-looked on any plausible ground.

Manufactured goods from Great Britain represent 40% of the total import in India whereas only 25% of India's raw materials is purchased by Great Britain. Of the 495 millions inhabiting the British Empire 352 millions live in India; India has all along paid her quota for the consolidation of British power in and the protection of the vast empire. We should start an agitation immediately so that Britain may be compelled to buy more of India's raw goods. The average figures for the export of jute for the 4 years ending in March, 1930 are interesting in this connection.

Country	Quantity of jute imported (*in thousand tons*)
Great Britain	190
U. S. A.	86
Germany	227
France	103
Italy	52
Spain	41
Belgium	48
Other countries	76
TOTAL	423

Many people have the erroneous idea that during the last Great War a huge quantity of jute in excess of the normal consumption was used and the Bengal cultivator simply rolled in gold at that time. And in their sincere desire to get back the old prosperity of Bengal peasants they fervently wish for another world war to break out. But the export figures during the war period tell a different tale : in 1913-14 (pre-war period) jute brought 59.1 crores of rupees, in 1914-18 (war period) it fell down to 49.29 crores per year. In an average, 2 million bales of jute were exported to Europe during the war period, but 3-4 million bales after the war as also before.

If attempts to find out new uses for jute be successful, the demand inside India will increase enormously. India is the common market place of all the manufacturing countries of the world. That she alone can absorb all the jute of Bengal is no absurd proposition at all, provided some cheap but useful things are made from it. In that case Bengal will not care whether Germany, France or U. S. A. buys her jute or not. But every attempt should be made to have a cottage industry for making new products out of jute, for otherwise only a handful of mill-owners again will be mainly benefited thereby, the condition of the poor peasant will remain as miserable as ever.

At Ariol, a village in Vikrampur, paper is being made from jute. It is a cottage industry there. But the quality of the paper is poor, it is only suitable for printing invitation letters. It is not known if they tried to make blotting paper; it is worth trying. But paper made from jute cannot possibly compete with ordinary paper which is made from cotton rags, bamboo and grass. Also paper from jute cannot be so strong as the ultimate length of the jute fibre is far too small. For a similar reason it cannot be used for manufacturing artificial silk. The use of jute in road-making however seems to be quite encouraging.

Scientific investigation has revealed the fact that ultimate length of jute fibre is only 1/8 in. while that of cotton is about 1½ in. So the question of using jute in place of cotton does not arise in many cases. Jute contains about 15% of a gummy substance called lignin, which is a source of trouble. Lignin has made the

jute fibre worthless in many respects. The colour is due to lignin, the toughness of the fibre is also due to it. Jute is a coarse fibre and so it cannot be used for making a fine fabric. Even in the manufacture of gunny bags the fibre has to be softened with batching oils before spinning. Cotton contains no lignin and it is both soft and white. A jute cloth is very rough and so unfit for wearing. But half a century back, jute cloth was woven in hand looms in the villages and put on by the natives of Bengal. Germany and Japan have succeeded in making a cheap variety of woollen fabric mixed with jute softened by chemical process. India purchases a huge quantity of this winter garment every year. No such attempt has been made here. If lignin be removed from jute, it becomes as white as milk and almost as soft as cotton. But unfortunately the strength of the fibre in moist condition is practically nil. Obviously therefore yarns cannot be made from it. During the last five years we have tried to improve the strength by various means but in vain. We do not for that reason consider this an impossible task. If this attempt be successful, we shall be able to use jute along with cotton in cloth manufacture.

Jute deteriorates in strength if it comes in contact with moisture. So it is not so durable. Many do not prefer jute for this defect even in the manufacture of gunny bags. A cotton bag is on the other hand, softer, more attractive and far more lasting. Our attempt to prevent this bacterial decomposition of jute has been, to a great extent, successful. We have also been able to increase the tensile strength of the fibre considerably. It is not unreasonable to expect therefore that with a wide application of the results of these investigations the demand for jute will increase sufficiently. During the last 12 years of intense research carried on by the writer, Prof. Dr. J. K. Chowdhury and his pupils in the chemical laboratory of the Dacca University many interesting facts of fundamental importance regarding the jute fibre have been discovered. As a consequence thereof many erroneous ideas about jute have been dispelled. We fervently hope these results will be utilised in solving the jute problem by the Indian Central Jute Committee to the real benefit of the poor peasants of Bengal. Very shortly the technological laboratory of the Committee will perhaps start the work which we could not finish for want of necessary equipment and funds. On the successful operation of this laboratory depends the future of the jute industry. The public will watch with great interest how it solves the jute problem of the country. The line of research should be so directed that the dumb millions at whose cost this Committee has presumably been set up, and not the few mill-owners only, are benefited thereby.

TEACHERS AND DISCIPLES

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THE Jaina scriptures have given an estimate of good and bad teachers and disciples, and have indicated what teachers are worthy or unworthy to impart scriptural knowledge and to what disciples scriptural knowledge should or should not be imparted. Illustrations have been given. Modern teachers and students may perchance find them interesting.

In determining who are worthy, or unworthy, *sisyas* and *acharyas*, the following illustrations have been cited :—(1) *Goni* (cow)—In a certain town a man purchased of a trickster a cow which was diseased, unable even to rise. He purchased her even while she remained sitting. Then he wanted to sell her. The intending buyers said : "We will see how she walks, measure the quantity of milk she gives, and then we will buy." The man said, "Thus-sitting she has been taken by me, if you believe; thus-sitting you also take her." The others said, "If you have been a fool, then, should we be fools too? We are not taking her." Similarly, a professor *(acharya)*, who when asked a question is unable to explain correctly and says, "Thus have I heard, thus hear ye also," should not be listened to, inasmuch as if he fails to clear the doubtful point, which may contain an untruth, he will mislead his pupils. He who, however, like the buyer of an undeformed cow, has gone to the further end (*parangami*) of distinction (*nirnaya*) should be heard. Likewise, a *sisya* who like the first buyer of the cow, is indiscriminate, is unworthy; those who are like the other purchasers are worthy.

(2) *Chandana kantha*—In Dwarka Vasu-

deva had three drums, *viz.*, *sangamiya*, *abbhuiya* and *kaumuiya;* the first was sounded, when the time of battle arrived, to warn chiefs and others (*samantadinam jnapanartham*); the second, in case of any emergency as an alarm to chiefs and people; the third for announcing the Kaumudi mahotsava. All the three were made of sandal wood known as *go-sirsa*. His fourth drum was called evil-suppressing (*asivappasamani*).

Its origin is narrated :—At that time Sakka was king (*Indo*) of the gods; he was one day praising Vasudeva before them :—"Oh, he is an excellent man; he does not mind others' faults, he does not fight in a low manner." An incredulous god comes down to test him. Vasudeva goes forth to adore the Jina. The god meanwhile assumes the form of the stinking corpse of a black dog, all people flee from the stench; Vasudeva sees it and says, "Oh, the yellow teeth of this black dog shine like pearls in a vessel of *marakata* (a kind of blue gem)." The god thinks, "Verily does he appreciate merit." Then he takes away the excellent horse (asarayana) of Vasudeva. The stable-keeper looking for it ultimately traces it and informs the princes and *rayas* who come out to recover it, but are repulsed (with killed and wounded) by the *deva*. Then Vasudeva comes out himself and says, "Why do you steal my horse ? This is my horse (it does not belong to you)." The *deva* says : "Defeat me in battle and take it." Vasudeva says, "Very well, but how do we fight ? You are on the ground, I am in the chariot; you take the chariot." The *deva* says : "I do not want the chariot." Then he discards the horse and the elephant, and other methods of fighting proposed to him, such as fighting by arms etc. (wrestling, *vayajuddhaiyaim*), and demands to fight sitting (*ahitthanajuddhena*). Vasudeva says : "Well, I acknowledge defeat, take the horse, I do not fight in a low manner (*niyajuddhena*)." Then the *deva* becomes pleased and says, "Ask for a boon, what shall I give you ?" Vasudeva says, "Give me the evil-suppressing drum." It was given; this is the origin of that drum.

It is sounded every six months. He who hears it is cured of old diseases and is guarded against attack of new diseases for six months. Now, once a certain foreign trader arrives, he is sore afflicted with burning fever; he says to the keeper of the drum, "Take ye a hundred thousand, and give it to me for a moment." He gives it through greed; it is returned with a patch sewing up a rent and covered with sandal (? *chandanathiggaliya*). He gives it to others also and in time the drum becomes wholly overspread with patches covered over with sandal paste (*sa sabba chandanakantha jata*). Now, once it becomes necessary for Vasudeva to suppress an evil, so he strikes the drum. But it emits a strange sound. He orders it to be examined if it is not impaired; they examine and say it has been patched (*kanthikaya*). Then the keeper is killed. Vasudeva pleases the god by a fast of eight days and gets another such drum and another keeper is appointed. The new man keeps it with care and is honoured. So a *sisya* who mixes up (patches up, *kantham karoti*) the *sutra* or its meaning with "other" (heretic) doctrine, or doctrine contained in books other than his own, or when he forgets the *sutra* and the *artha* does not like to ask others owing to egotism that "I myself am well taught, I shall never ask anybody about anything," and completes it by mixing up with other doctrines, is not worthy. Likewise, a teacher who so mixes up is not fit to explain.

(3) *Chediyo* (Girls)—There lived in the town of Vasantapura, the daughter of an old banker (*Sresthi*), and the daughter of a new banker. They were mutual friends. Once, both of them went to bathe in a tank. The daughter of the new banker was adorned with fourteen kinds of (*tilagacoddasagena*)[1] ornaments. She deposited them on the bank and entered the water; the daughter of the old banker took them and fled away. The first girl thought that the other was merely joking. So she informed the latter's parents, but they admonished her to hold her tongue. Then she went and told her own parents, who asked the old banker to return the ornaments, but were refused with these words : "What we have (*uvatthiyani*) is enough (*i.e.*, we have riches enough); have we no ornaments ?"

The matter was brought to the court, but there was no witness. Then the judges (*karaniga*) asked the two girls to come forward and wear the ornaments. Thereupon the daughter of the old banker put the ornament of the hand on the leg, that of the leg on the hand. She did not know what was the proper ornament to wear. These therefore all ill-fitted her. The judges found out that the ornaments were not hers. The other girl was then asked to wear them. She put them on one by one, and these fitted her well. She was then asked to put them off, which she did very neatly. Thereupon the daughter of the old banker was punished . . . . Thus the teacher who explains the one thing to be the other—that which is to be told thiswise is told otherwise is punished with the punishment of *samsara;* such an *acharya* is not to be listened to. As the daughter of the new banker received praise, as well as the pleasure of wearing ornaments, so the teacher who does not distort (*visamvaei*) and obeys the order of the Arhats, is fit to explain the *sutras*.

(4) *Sravaka* (layman)—A *sravaka* once saw his wife's friend arrayed in peculiar clothes and ornaments. Doting on her he daily grew

1. *Tilaka* means *tika*, a mark on the forehead with sandal paste or vermillion; may be an ornament like *tikli*.

weak. His wife insisted on telling her the cause of it, eventually he yielded. She promised to bring her to him, and then in the evening she wore those very ornaments and clothes which her friend wore and appeared in darkness. On the second day he became impatient and complained that she did not keep her word. She replied, "No, I have kept my word; it is I who came," and convinced him by credentials. One is not a worthy disciple, if he like the *sravaka* does not remember (recognise) the *sutrartha,* though of long acquaintance.

(5) *Bahiragoha* (the deaf man)—In a certain village lived a family wholly deaf—the old man, the old woman, their son and his wife. The son used to plough. One day as he was going to the field with his bullocks, some wayfarers asked him the way; he replied, "My bullocks are inclined to go home," then he went away to the field. When his wife brought him food (boiled rice), he said to her, "Look here, my bullocks have horns." She replied, "Salted or unsalted, I do not know, your mother has cooked." Returning she told this to her mother-in-law. She was spinning at the time. She said, "Thick or thin be my threads, these will make a cloth for the old man." The old man was the keeper of a sesame field. She said to him, "Your daughter-in-law was saying this and this. I say, with the threads will be woven a cloth for you." The old man replied, "Upon my word, I have not eaten a single sesame seed." Now the teacher who being asked about one thing, explains, like the deaf, another thing is no teacher nor is he a fit disciple, who hears one thing and says another.

(6) *Tankana vavaharo* (the custom of the *Tankanas*)—In Uttarapatha there lived Mlechchas named the *Tankanas;* they took gold and ivory—the merchandise of Ḍakkhinapatha; they did not know the language of the merchants, so they collected the things and piled them up with their hands till their desire was fulfilled. The teacher should explain the subject to the disciple till the latter fully understands it; the disciple should also ask as long as he does not fully grasp it.

Then the merits and demerits of desciples are especially discussed.

What teacher has no unpleasant disciple? But all disciples are not unpleasant. Those who do not apply themselves to the scriptures (*aniveditatma*) are unpleasant. Not all those who so apply themselves are pleasant, *e.g.*, those who do not do good to their teachers (*gurunam nirupakaraka*). Not even all those who do good are pleasant, *e.g.*, those who are self-willed (*atmachchanda*). Not all those who are governed by the will of the teacher are pleasant, *e.g.*, those who want to go away, and those who second them. They say, "Who goes to stay near the *guru*? As soon as I am able to learn *Srutaskandha* etc., I will go away." Such a disciple is not fit to be taught. These are the demerits of the *sisya*. Now his merits are recounted. He bends low with modesty (*vinaya*) and is ready to salute, he folds his palms at the time of asking questions, he is ever ready to follow his teacher's will, by showing respect or giving support to him. Thus adored the teacher quickly imparts *srutam,—sutras* and their meaning and many other things to the disciple.

The following examples are cited as tests of a disciple. (1) *Selaghana* (stone and cloud) —*Sela* (*saila*) is a piece of stone of the size of a *mudga* (*Phaseolus radiatus*) and *ghana* is cloud. Here the allusion is to the story of a (supposed) quarrel between *muggasela* and *pukkhala-samvattato,* the great cloud.[2] On being challenged the cloud was determined to pierce the stone by continuous shower; the latter being excited said that it would not bear its name if a portion of it—even so much as a sesame or husk-measure of it—could be drenched. The cloud poured down incessant showers for seven days and nights together and thought, "Now, the poor fellow must be gone" and stopped. The other, growing brighter and brighter, began to shine ever more, and hailed the cloud, "Bon jour, monsieur." The cloud became abashed and disappeared. Even likewise, take the case of a disciple, who like the *muggasela,* does not comprehend a single word (*pada*), then comes the professor roaring, "I will make the wretch understand the passage," and with a conceited mind reads—"If the student does not understand, it is owing to the laziness of the teacher, just as the cows are led to a wrong landing place by the cow-herd." Then he begins to teach vigorously, but utterly fails to make any impression and is abashed. No lesson is to be imparted to such as he. And why? Because as a sterile cow, however, softly or kindly may she be touched on the head, the horns, the face, the back, the belly or the tail cannot be made milk-giving, so such a pupil, even if strenuously taught, cannot be made to understand a word. Not only is no good done to him, but even harm is done, for people blame the teacher and the *sutras,* saying that the teacher wants the requisite skill to explain, and such a study is

2. *Pukkhalasamvatta, samvattaya; "pukkhalavattayenam mahameghe egenam vasenam dasavasasahassam bhaveti"* (*Thananga,* 4.4).

not proper, otherwise why does not the pupil understand? On the other hand, owing to the pupil's incapacity to comprehend, the efforts of the teacher at explanation of the *sutra* and the *artha* are wholly wasted, and other good students are further hindered in their progress. The opposite illustration is that of the black soil which absorbs all water, even if it rains profusely; the pupil who is able to comprehend and retain the entire *sutrartha* is like the black soil tract; he is worthy to be taught.

(2) *Kuta* (jars)—Jars are of two kinds—new and old; the old are of two kinds—odourless or odoriferous; the odoriferous are good, such as scented with camphor, *aguru,* (aloe-wood, *Aquillaria Agallocha*) sandal, etc., or bad, such as smelling of onion, garlic, wine, oil, etc. Odourless are those which do not smell, not having come into contact with anything. Likewise, pupils are of two kinds—new and old; those who being young are ignorant, just beginning to understand are new; the old are of two kinds—*abhavita,* uninfluenced by any doctrine, and *bhavita*—influenced by bad philosophy . . . . . . The new and the old but uninfluenced . . . are all worthy. Or, there are four kinds—*Chhidrakuta* (having a hole at bottom), *khandakuta* (wanting a portion on one side), *kanthahina kuta* (wanting a beak), *sampurna kuta* (complete in all its limbs). Even so pupils are of four kinds:

(1) He who in the lecture-circle understands every thing, but rising out of it does not remember any thing is like a jar with a hole at the bottom; for example, so long as the jar with the hole at the bottom remains firmly attached to the ground, no water flows out of it; likewise as long as the teacher explains the *sutrartha* in all its bearings, so long the pupil understands it, but if he rises from the circle, he loses his bearing and does not remember any thing. (2) He who in the lecture-circle understands half or one-third, or one-fourth, or even less of the *sutrartha,* but remembers it is like a jar wanting a portion. (3) He who understands the *sutrartha* a little less, but later on forgets it, is like a jar wanting a beak. (4) He who, however, fully understands the *sutrartha,* and later on remembers it fully is like the whole jar. The first is wholly unworthy, the others are in the ascending order of worthiness.

(3) *Chalani* (sieve)—As water being thrown on a sieve immediately falls through and does not stay for a moment, so even while the *sutrartha* is being imparted, it enters the ear of the pupil but forthwith reaches the path of forgetfulness, such a pupil is like a sieve and unworthy. The opposite illustration is that of a bamboo platter of *Tapasas,* through which not a single drop of water percolates.

(4) *Paripunaga*—It is the nest of house-sparrows, which is used by *abhiras* (*goalas*) for straining ghee. Just as it holds the refuse and allows the ghee to pass, so the pupil who, at the time of explanation, retains the demerits and relinquishes the merits, is like the nest and is unworthy.

(5) *Hamsa* (goose)—Although milk be mixed with water, a goose discards water and drinks the milk only. Likewise a pupil who discards the faults of the teacher arising from inappropriate explanations and takes (minds) only the right ones, he is like the goose, and very worthy. How does the goose separate the milk from the water, so that it can drink the milk only and not the water? Because its tongue has got some acid property which separates the milk from water.

(6) *Mahisa* (buffalo)—As a buffalo arriving at the drinking place, enters the water, and striking it again and again with horns renders it all impure, so that neither can he drink, nor his herd, so a pupil at the time of exposition, by suddenly asking trivial questions or raising frivolous quarrels creates obstruction which diverts his own, and others' attention from the subject-matter (*anuyogo*), he is like a buffalo, entirely unworthy.

(7) *Mesa* (ram)—As a ram, owing to the smallness of his mouth, and his own sedate composure, drinks water contained in a place of the measure of a cow's hoof (*gospadamatrasthitam*), without polluting it, so the pupil who by his modesty pleases the mind of the teacher before asking him to explain even a single word, is like a ram, he is entirely worthy.

(8) *Masaka* (mosquito)—The pupil who creates pain in the mind of (hurts) the teacher by alluding to his caste etc., is like a mosquito and utterly unworthy.

(9) *Jalauka* (leech)—As a leech, by inflating the body, sucks in blood, so the pupil who (*adunvan*) drinks in the scriptural knowledge like a leech is worthy.

(10) *Bidali* (female cat)—A female cat drinks milk by spilling it from the vessel on the ground on account of her innate mischievous propensity. A pupil, who, for fear of having to behave with modesty before the teacher, does not personally go to him and hear, but hears from others who have arisen from the lecture-circle, is like a female cat and is unworthy.

(11) *Jahaka* (a kind of animal, porcupine)—A *jahaka* drinks milk little by little, and licks up the sides. A pupil who thoroughly

familiarises himself with the *sutra* or the *artha* previously grasped by him, before asking another question, is like a *jahaka* and is worthy.

(12) *Go* (cow)—A certain householder in a certain festival gave a cow to four brahmins who had mastered the four vedas. Then they considered like this : "This single cow has been given to four of us, what should be done ?" One said, "She should be milked neatly." This proposition looked proper and was approved by all. Then the man to whom the cow came the first day thought, "I will milk her today, to-morrow another will milk her; why should I for nothing, give her fodder?" So he gave her no food, likewise the remaining Brahmans. So she fallen amongst *chandalas,* as it were, became bereft of life, having been deprived of grass and water; then people blamed them and cried fie on them; ultimately no one would give them cows. Likewise, there are pupils who think, "The teacher explains not only to us, but also to other casual students (*praticchakanam*), therefore it is they who should attend on him (*vinayadikam karisyanti*), what matters it to us ?" The others think, "His own disciples should attend to all his needs, we stay here for a little while, why should we bother ?" While they go on thinking like this, the teacher goes unattended and becomes sad; people blame them, in other *gacchas* the *sutrartha* becomes inaccessible to them. So they are unworthy like the four brahmans who received the cow. The opposite illustration is that of four brahmans who mastered the four vedas, but who each at the time of milking the cow fed her, fearing the sin of cowslaughter, for if she were not fed she would die of hunger, and no one would give them a cow again; on the other hand, if properly fed and nourished she would be milked by the last brahman, and come in turn to him to be milked; so all of them became sharers of milk for a long time, and were praised by the people. Similarly there are pupils who think, "If we do not at all attend on the teacher, he will certainly go thin and die, and people will blame us as bad pupils and we will get no admission in any other *gaccha;* on the other hand he is our great benefactor in helping us to perform our duties relating to *pravarjya* etc., at present he is the master of the rare gem of scriptural knowledge, so we must attend on him. What have we not gained, if on account of our service rendered to our teacher, the *pratichhakas* (outside students) also derive benefit from our teacher? So we get twofold merit." The outsiders also think, "Our teacher is our benefactor, although we have done no good to him. For us who else takes such a great care in explaining things ? Can we not do any good in return? Yet whatever we may do will be for our benefit." Thus each section independent of the other, attends on the teacher, who, therefore, does not grow weak, and the discourse on the *sutra* and the *artha* flows on uninterruptedly, all people praise them, in other *gacchas* they are easily admitted to discourse and scriptures, and they gain *sugati* etc., good life in other worlds.

(13) *Bheri*—as before.

(14) *Abhiri* (wife of an Abhira)—An Abhira, accompanied by his wife, and taking ghee in a cart (*gantrya*) went to a city for selling it; having come to a cross-road he wanted to sell it in the shops of merchants, the ghee had to be measured; the woman was standing below the cart catching every time the pot into which he was decanting the ghee and handing over to her; then owing to some inadvertence either in handing over or taking it, a light pot fell on the ground and was broken to pieces. The Abhira, his mind being afflicted at the loss of ghee, reviled his wife in harsh words accusing her of distraction caused by seeing attractive young men. She returned the abuse with equal ferocity; their mutual crimination and recrimination incensed them so much that they came to blows, dragged each other by the hairs, and in the scuffle and violent stampeding nearly all the ghee in the cart fell on the ground, which absorbed some of it, while the remainder was licked up by dogs and stolen by by-standers. Other dealers, after selling their ghee, were then returning to the village. When the greater part of the day was done, their fight subsided and they became calm. The Abhira and his wife, purchased some articles with the money they got for the ghee they sold at the outset, and proceeded towards their village. Meanwhile the sun set and the darkness of evening supervened; robbers attacked them, snatched away their things, clothes and the bullocks and decamped, subjecting them to great affliction. The illustration has the following significance. Suppose a pupil reading or saying in an incorrect way is admonished in sharp words by the teacher; he retorts in an accusing tone thus, "By *you* have I been thus taught, why do you now find fault with me?" and so forth; not only does he cause himself to fall in *samsara,* but the teacher also, by bandying harsh words and exciting ever more the fire of his anger, for bad pupils stimulate anger even in very mild teachers by harsh retorts. *Uktam cha Uttaradhyayanesu:—anasavathulabaya kusila miumpi chandam pakirim ti sisa ti.* The opposite illustration is—When

the ghee pot breaks, both the husband and wife collect with much haste the ghee with their palms, so only a little is lost. The male blames himself thus : " Certainly did I not hand over the pot to you rightly." She returns : " Nay, indeed, *you* did it rightly, but it is I who missed it." So they do not indulge in angry bickerings, there is no loss of ghee; as they return with their co-villagers early there is no attack by robbers, so they attain happiness. So if a teacher has somehow explained otherwise than he should have done, then remembering it, he should correct himself saying, " Well, boy, don't explain it thus, for in the past it had been incorrectly explained by me, now therefore explain it in such and such a way." The pupil who is noble, and well-disciplined says, " Why, Sir, why should you have explained otherwise? Owing to my weakness of intellect it is I who did not comprehend correctly." Such a pupil is entirely worthy.

A MOTHER'S DAY

By MANINDRALAL BOSE

In the melting darkness of the night when the morning star burns fitfully like the flame of a lamp in which the oil is low and the cool breeze of dawn springs up, the clattering wheels of the Municipal refuse-carts disturb the deserted streets of the sleeping city and Kamala awakes. Sleep leaves the eyes of the little baby girl cradled in her arms about the same time. The mother and daughter begin their day playing upon the rumpled bed as the birds start to sing from their leaf-covered nests. Chirping like a drowsy baby bird the little girl kicks her arms and legs delightedly and gazes up into her mother's face, large in the dwindling darkness. Kamala kisses her soft young mouth and, catching up her loosened sari, rises from the bed. She draws the bedclothes back over the children. It is a mystery to her how, during the ritual of their sleeping, the sheet she spreads over them at night becomes a twisted heap on the floor by morning. Kamala closes the window near the foot of her husband's bed so that the light and the breeze will not disturb him. Then she again lies down and draws little Chanpu to her breast. She fondles the small plump feet and plays with the toes, tiny and soft as buds of the 'champa' flower. The chores of the day leave her little leisure; dawn is the only time she has to indulge her motherly tenderness. The baby laughs up at her and chirps now and then as she suckles.

" Naughty Chanpu, hush! You'll awaken your father." Chanpu dances her flower-bud eyes.

Her husband sleeps upon the bedstead; another wide bed is spread upon the floor at its foot. On one side of it the baby sleeps with her mother, then Lakhi, Ranu, Mona, Sobha . . . their places according to increasing age. Between them are bolsters that mark the frontiers of each one's kingdom in the bed. Lakhi insists upon having two and a pillow at his feet as well. Being four years old he cannot sleep without four pillows, you see. But Ranu is an angel. " I don't want any at all," she declares, " I'm not little any more like Lakhi, so I don't roll off on to the floor, Mother, what would I do with a useless pillow." She is six and already a housewife. The naughtiest of all is Mona. He turns cartwheels in his sleep, kicking poor Sobha. Thrusting out a leg over her he slumbers profoundly. On her dignity as elder sister, Sobha does not complain. Her little brother kicks in his sleep, well, how can she help it? Occasionally she does say, " Mother, I'll not sleep beside that wheel any more!" but at night she refuses to let a separate bed be made up and lies down next to him.

Building a stout wall out of two big bolsters, she hopes to sleep in peace. But when the wheel begins to revolve during the night the pillows are sent flying, one of Mona's legs shoots over into Sobha's bed, the other is on the floor and the sheet curled into a ball. No one's sleep seems any the worse for it.

As the baby finishes her sucking, her eyes slowly droop shut and she drops asleep again. Further rest is out of the question for her mother. Kamala gets up reluctlantly, tucks the end of her sari in at her waist, twists her hair into a knot at the nape of her neck and gazes tenderly at the row of sleeping children. She would like

to clasp each of them to her and kiss them but there is no time for that. Straightening out Lakhi she rearranges his four pillows. Ranu sleeps so quietly that the doll in her arms has not moved. As she picks Mona up off the floor and puts him back on the bed he kicks and starts mumbling, "Goal, goal;" playing football all the afternoon is not enough for him.

The early light creeps over the wall of the east; all is still, everyone asleep. The mocking bird stirs in its cage. Kamala warns it against making noise. Then she goes downstairs to wake the servants. Madhu never gets up in time. The verandahs and steps must all be washed and dry before anyone comes down or their feet will muddy them. How her husband fusses about this washing! "If everybody in Calcutta used so much water for just verandahs and steps, how would the Municipality be able to keep up the supply?" he says. Kamala replies that she will not have heathen habits in a Hindu house.

She rattles the chain on Modhu's door, "Get up, lazy good-for-nothing, water has been in the pipes for ever so long!"

"Coming, mother. . ."

Kamala takes a bucket and broom and begins the washing herself. She knows that he will not get up until he hears the sound of the broom. Then he comes running, his fists still in his eyes, unable to lie in bed and let her do his work, "Give it to me, mother, give it to me."

Kamala opens the door to the kitchen and goes in. Everything is in the right place, the cat has not got in during the night. Taking some ashes from the earthen oven she comes outside and begins to clean her teeth. All these newfangled dental creams and powders are unendurable to her. She washes out her mouth and comes upstairs, pouring water over the lintels of all the doors. Pausing in the doorway of her mother-in-law's room she asks, "How did you sleep last night, mother?"

"Not very well, *bouma,*"[1] is the reply. Her mother-in-law's asthma has grown worse lately. Kamala stops at the bedroom door to look at the baby girl, smiling as she dreams. Then she calls Mona, "Khoka, Khoka!" Mona asks his mother every day to wake him so that he may do his memory work but he can never get up so early. Kamala calls him twice or thrice and shakes him. Mona sits up groggily and tumbles back again. Kamala dislikes rousing the boy. Let him sleep! How much will he study!

Kamala sets out the things her husband and the children will need for cleaning their teeth, dusts the room of worship upstairs, lights the fire, bathes, and re-enters the kitchen. The sun has risen; the tawny edge of its chariot is just visible through a crack in the eastern wall. Hastily putting on the kettle, Kamala measures out the milk from the milkman. Modhu has finished the verandah and steps, "Mother, tea, Babu is asking for it."

"I've set the water on. Let him wait. He is spoiling the children by demanding his tea in bed every morning. Have they washed yet?"

"Washed? They're fighting."

"What? Fighting?"

"Pillow-fight."

"Again! I'll show them." Kamala does not like it at all, the messing up of bed and throwing of pillows about. She hurries upstairs irritably. In the bedroom a war is in progress: Mona and Lakhi on one side, Sobha and Ranu on the other, their father also occasionally joining in. Poor Lakhi's little pillows are being thrown and pulled at by every body. Now and then he shouts, "My pillows, my pillows!" but he laughs for joy when he sees his side winning. On the field of battle lies Chanpu, sleeping happily.

At the sight of mother the fighting stops suddenly but Mona cannot forego letting the pillow in his hand fly at Sobha.

"What children! The first thing in the morning—look what you've done! I'll slap. ."

They all begin to shout at once, "Mother, Mona started it. . ."

"Me! Why, father was the first. . ."

"Mother, look at my pillow. The stuffing's all coming out."

"Mona, get up this minute, you rascal, and you, dear, have you broken off your horns to caper with the calves?"

Her husband has quietly lain down again and closed his eyes on seeing his wife. Mona gets up and goes out impudently. He knows his mother has just bathed and put on clean clothes, so he need not fear being touched.

Sending Modhu upstairs with her husband's tea and the children's bowls of oatmeal and milk, Kamala goes into the store-room to prepare the vegetables. It is time for the cook to arrive. Modhu comes and stands waiting, "What shall I bring from the bazar, mother?" The chore-woman is noisily cleaning an iron utensil with a piece of brick. Lakhi appears and with him Sobha.

"Mother, listen, Lakhi won't drink his milk."

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1. Literally, 'bride-mother'; an endearing term for 'daughter-in-law'.

"Why won't daddy give me any tea, mother?"

In front of Kamala is the *bonti*[2] and on all side little hills of vegetables. She is slicing potols and potatoes. At the same time she gives orders, settles the disputes of the children and attends to the demands of the Brahmin cook.

"Lakhi, be a good boy and drink your milk. You can have some tea with me. There now, Chanpu is awake. Ranu dear, bring her down here and give her her milk."

Sobha is a studious girl and dislikes housework. Ranu has finished the primer and does not care at all learning more. She is quite willing to bear the ignominy of being ignorant and does not want to be known as a bluestocking. She is always glad of any housework that enables her to escape from studying with the tutor. The moment Chanpu cries she comes dashing out of the study room, all anxiety to help her mother.

Giving the rice and dahl to the cook and advising him about the curries Kamala goes upstairs once again. The house has now become noisy. Ranu is shouting out her lessons in an effort to keep pace with Mona. At the water-tap, Khettor's mother, the chorewoman, is scrubbing pans and scolding, the sputter of frying oil comes from the kitchen, in the bedroom Keshto is taking up the beds. On the floor Lakhi and Chanpu are laughing and shouting with her husband. The mocking bird on the verandah has begun to talk. Kamala avoids the bedroom; Chanpu would cry to be taken up and it would be hard for both of them not to do so. The crying would win in the end. She enters the room of worship beside the steps; not yet this morning has she found time to pray. Changing her sari for one of tussar she is scarcely seated before the noise from below begins to distract her attention and unsettle her thoughts. Modhu's voice is audible. She wonders what fish he has bought and how much change he has brought back. Finishing the ritual quickly she goes down.

Giving instructions as to the number of pieces into which the fish is to be cut and casting an appraising glance over the kitchen, Kamala enters the store-room and finds her mother-in-law has come downstairs and seated herself in one corner. She has had her bath and done her daily *puja*. "Give the *pan*[3] to me *bouma*," her mother-in-law says, "I'll get it ready. No, my dear, I really can't put up with this daughter of yours any more." Chanpu has come down in her grandmother's arms and now refuses to leave them. She has to be bribed with potato peelings.

The hands of the morning's clock gyrate precipitately. The cook has scarcely put on his '*jhol*'[4] before the children begin to crowd around the tap. Lakhi runs up naked, "Mother, no one will bathe me."

"Where is my khaddar shirt, mother?" Mona demands.

"Which sari shall I wear?" asks Sobha.

Ranu blushes as she says, "Mother, a Memsahib is coming to see our school today; shall I wear my gold cloth frock?"

Sobha is talking to herself, "The headmistress doesn't like us to wear silk but the teachers themselves doll up and go out every afternoon."

"You are going to school, dear, who dolls up for school?"

Ranu is too shy to say that she really wants to wear a sari instead of a frock.

Lakhi gets his bath when his sisters at last take pity on him. But Lakhi is so naughty about it, he splashes so much water, wets himself again as soon as he is dry, is so dilatory, that nobody ever wants to bathe him. Kamala has to do it. But she has not time to enjoy rubbing his soft young body with oil, soaping it, washing it clean and wiping it dry; she has to call Modhu, "Come here, boy, and bathe Lakhi, please." She bathes Chanpu.

Then squares of carpet and low stools are flung noisily down on the verandah. "Bring the rice, *thakur*,[5] quick!" the children swallow cow-like mouthfuls.

"Mona, eat slowly. It's only half-past nine."

"I've got an exam. today, mother!" always an excuse. When it is an examination no one questions his going to school half-an-hour early. Mona is wondering how he can retrieve the two tops he lost yesterday.

The children eat but Kamala cannot watch them. On a small oven she is frying *luchis* and potols and putting them into tiffin-boxes like aluminium books. The cook has not yet finished his potato curry. Her mother-in-law does a bit of supervising from her seat in the doorway of the storeroom.

"The bus has come!" Sobha and Ranu dash about tempestuously, their braids swinging on their backs, the heels of their shoes clattering on the steps. Heeled shoes are so noisy. "Oh,

2. Peeling-knife.
3. Betel leaf.
4. Soup.
5. Cook.

dear! The tiffiin-boxes?" They have forgotten them and are dropping their notebooks and books. Modhu dashes after them with the tiffiin-boxes. Kamala gets up and goes to the barred window of the storeroom. From there she watches the two girls get into the bus and drive off.

"Mother, I'm off." dangling his leather bag full of books Mona comes up.

"Exam. today, I suppose?"

"Yes, mother," he says and hastily gives her a *pranam*.[6] He has an unshakable belief that it brings him good marks to *pranam* his mother on the day of an examination. Kamala straightens his shirt collar and wants to fasten the button at the neck.

"Don't bother, Mother, it's the fashion to leave the top button open and besides it's so hot. . ." he is gone in a flash. Her husband is sitting down to eat. Lakhi and Chanpu are beside him.

Giving the servants their food Kamala takes a large bell-metal bowl of tea in one hand and a fan in the other and goes to sit near him.

Lakhi is unable to decide whether he will drink tea with his mother or eat hot fried fish with his father. "Don't want tea," he says and starts on the fish; then he hangs around his mother's neck and gazes at the bowl with such longing that he has to be given a sip. Chanpu is a good girl and satisfied with a bite of potato.

By the time Kamala comes upstairs with the *pan* her husband is already half dressed for the office. Modhu is fanning him. He puts the fan down and makes off without any excuse when he sees her. Kamala fans and chats of household affairs. This is the only time the husband and wife have together during the morning. As he dresses they talk affectionately of their home and family. Kamala holds his coat; he slips his arms in and says, "Thank you, dear" in English. Taking his hat in one hand he caresses her soft cool cheek with the other. Kamala blushes and protests.

"You've attired me for the fight in the battle-field of the world," he says, "now put the red sandal mark of victory on my brow." Kamala tilts her head on one side and stands in the door as though blocking his path. It is a pose that becomes her well. Sometimes her husband catches her up and kisses her so passionately that Kamala's whole body is instantly aquiver.

"I must be off, dearest."

The sound of his shoes dies away; she hears the street door slam shut. As though dreaming Kamala remains standing listlessly in the centre of the room. She has forgotten all her work. The house is hushed and still; her spirits sag. Absent-mindedly she dusts the bedposts with the end of her sari, takes the oil and medicine bottles out of their niche and wipes them out. The morning's busy efficient Kamala has vanished for the moment.

From the corner of the verandah comes the call, "Mother, mother, listen. . ."

Kamala starts out of her reverie, the haze clears, and she answers, "I'm coming, boy, please ask the cook if his fish *jhol* is done."

"Its done, mother."

Forcing the clothes to be washed—handkerchiefs, banyans, socks, the baby's frocks—and the soap on Modhu, Kamala sits down to give Lakhi the 'jhol' with his rice. Lakhi is slightly dyspeptic because he is always eating—with his sisters, his brothers, his father and again with his mother. He is nibbling the whole day. Her husband scolds but does not neglect to feed him himself when the boy comes and squats down in front of him at mealtime.

She is just settled with Lakhi when Chanpu comes toddling in from somewhere and plops down beside the round metal plate. "Ma, Ma, ice, ice!" she prattles, irresistably invoking smiles.

The tempo of work in the morning is swift like that of a speeding mail train. Now it proceeds leisurely. Small tasks in the storeroom, the arranging of the table in the sitting-room, the dusting of the bedroom are accomplished without haste as though this dusting, arranging, cleaning were the greatest pleasure.

The church clock strikes twelve. The noon sun is blazing. The current of people and carriages in the lane lessens. The mocking bird in its cage has eaten its *chhatu*[7] and dhal and is dozing. Now and again her mother-in-law calls, "*Bouma*, how much longer will you be?"

"Only a minute, Mother, I must bring the clothes in from the roof."

She stops at the window halfway down the steps; a girl is ill next door, she must inquire how she is. The girl's mother calls out at the sight of her, "*Didi*,[8] haven't you eaten yet?"

"Is there ever any end of things to be done?"

"And yet you are so quick with work."

Standing at the window they talk of their

6. Obeisance, salutation.

7. Pea-flour.

8. Sister.

family cares and joys. The little sick girl's mother says that her fever shows no signs of abating. Must there always be illness in Bengali homes? Her troubles have made her irritable today. She at last asks Kamala for a loan of ten rupees. Kamala assures her that she will manage somehow to let her have five; she is to come for it in the evening. The woman's pale face brightens a little at the prospect of getting some money; for lack of it her daughter is without medicine. Then they talk about their neighbours, whose son has been sent to jail for picketting, whose daughter goes out every day to picket, girls are so daring nowadays! She has decided to buy nothing but khaddar this Puja . . . but khaddar is so expensive. She asks to see the pattern of Kamala's new bracelets. The sound of a child crying comes from within. The unpretentious noonday conversation is broken off.

It is half-past one before Kamala, after having served her moher-in-law, sits down to her own meal. On the outside verandah the servants eat at the same time.

Afterwards there is still no respite from chores. There is mending to do. The children are so expert at tearing their clothes and it is difficult to sew on the thick khaddar homespun. Mona refuses to wear anything else and he tears his clothes the most. Still it has lessened somewhat since he has been wearing shorts.

The quiet noon : Chanpu is sleeping on a quilt spread upon the floor with a little pillow beneath her head. Lakhi sits beside her asking the most impossible things. Mother, who is oldest, you or father ? Mother, you haven't got a beard like father......don't ladies have beards ? " Drawing him to her and kissing him Kamala says, " Hush, Lakhi, little boy, go to sleep for a while." Lakhi takes up his alphabet book with the coloured pictures and talks to himself as he turns over the pages....After a little he begins to nod and Kamala takes him into her lap and sings him softly to sleep. Pigeons are cooing on the roof.

Silence and quiet. In the deserted lane a vendor's cry, like a wailing melody, recurs again and again. A kite flies up from the roof. Downstairs the servants are sleeping and upstairs the children. The house is hushed : it is a sunny midnight. A fly buzzes about.

Laying Lakhi down Kamala loses interest in her sewing. The almirah draws her irresistably, as though by a spell. She opens it and begins to rearrange the neat piles of clothes. But this is not what she is really about; at the back of the top shelf tied up in a blue silk handkerchief are two tiny dresses which she takes down. She sits on the floor and looks at them......her thoughts go back to long ago ......this hour is outside her daily pleasures and troubles. The little dresses were her first daughter's. She had been hardly a year old when pneumonia took her. That was fifteen or sixteen years ago. Her sorrow for the loss of her first-born, slumbering in the bottom of her heart, awakens in this secluded hour. Now the grief is no longer agonizing, the pain not so deep. Into a mysterious world of dreams her thoughts wander. Kamala imagines that if her daughter were alive she would be as beautiful as Nilima, a girl of the neighborhood. Perhaps she would have been married by now, the mother of a lovely baby boy, perhaps she—but she cannot somehow picture her grown-up, the vision of her chubby one-year-old, golden and sweet as butter, floats before her eyes and makes them brim with tears.

Carefully refolding the little dresses she puts them away and closes the almirah. She spreads the loose end of her sari on the floor and sits down. In this lazy sweet interval of noon she dreams dreams, weaves tales and gives free play to her fancy. How many things she imagines! How many whims she has! Looking at the sleeping Lakhi and Chanpu she lies down. Undoing her black hair she tosses it free over the white marble of the floor, drapes the green border of her sari loosely about her and falls asleep.

The clock on the verandah ticks, time passes. the house is still. She is like a fairy-tale princess sleeping in a dream palace.

A loud rattle; the street door receives a jolt. Modhu runs to open it. Crossing the verandah at a swinging run, clattering up the stairs, Mona comes home from school and the whole house awakens. Kamala's rest is broken, Chanpu begins to cry. She usually does cry a little on waking. Throwing his bag of books on the floor Mona sits down to soothe her. When she is quiet he gives Lakhi's hair a tug. Kamala starts to scold and Mona takes two guavas out of his pocket and says, " I've brought these for you, Mother." Kamala forgets her annoyance. " Change your clothes and wash, Mona. You look like a ghost from somewhere," is all she can say.

" I'm terribly hungry, mother."

" Wash first. All the filth of the road is on you."

The girls return from school a little later. Without changing Ranu begins to play with

Chanpu. She has brought a flower from school and puts it in the baby's hand.

Kamala's chores begin again. She has to see that the children wash themselves properly and put on clean clothes. Then she gives them something to eat and sits down to make Lakhi and Chanpu drink their milk.

It grows late; the fire is lit in the kitchen and the house fills with smoke. Kamala scolds the chorewoman, "You build the fire so late! What if the master should come now?" She must bathe and do her hair before her husband comes. Her mother-in-law calls her, "Come here, *bouma,* and let me fix your hair." "I'll do it, mother," she replies and takes the mirror. Chanpu comes and peeks into it, smiles at herself, and begins to pull at the narrow black cord with which her mother secures her hair, delaying her.

"You are very naughty, Chanpi." Chanpu is absorbed in gazing at her own reflection, the eternal woman, and pays no heed.

Sometimes her mother-in-law insists and when her hair is dressed and the narrow line of vermilion in the part drawn she blesses her saying, "May you never be widowed in this life." Kamala flushes, touches dust from her mother-in-law's feet to the vermilion and with a palpitating heart goes to bathe. Kamala folds and puts away the freshly washed clothes, tidies the room, and arranges dishes of fruit and sweets before her husband arrives. She does everything neatly as though, instead of waiting, she were really working.

Her husband notices the food as he enters the room and is pleased. He caresses her clean fresh cheek. "The battle is done. Come, O! lovely woman, come, and bring the cooling golden bowls!"

"Hush! what's in the parcel, dear?"

"A new sari for you."

"Don't tease! Did you bring Mona's tin of biscuits?"

"There now, I forgot it."

"Can you let me have ten rupees today?"

"Going to give it to someone, I suppose?"

"No, my money has run out."

"Remember the times are hard, prices are high and try to make your money last a little longer."

This affectionate chatting about the household does not last long. After washing and changing his clothes her husband has his tea and goes off to the Union Club or to the Mitter's to play cards.

"Dearest, come home early today."

"All right, I'll not stay very late."

But it is half-past nine or ten before he returns.

There is no lack of work for Kamala in the storeroom and the kitchen. It takes until evening to give out the stores to the cook and settle the menu with him. Blowing the evening conch Kamala places the lamp beneath the sacred *tulshi* bush on the roof and touches her forehead to the ground before it. Afterwards the rush of things to be done scarcely leaves her time to breathe. . . .the milk to be boiled, the dough for the 'rutis' and 'luchis' to be kneaded and roled out into flat rounds. As she works she worries; Modhu has taken Ranu, Lakhi and Chanpu to the neighbourhood park, why has he not yet brought them home? Mona has not come back from his hockey, Sobha is at some neighbour's. Kamala rolls the small wads of dough quickly about in the palms of her hands, forming them into flattened balls ready for rolling.

Noisily the children come in, their faces flushed and perspiring. The verandah outside the kitchen becomes tumultuous with their demands, their shouts, their disputes. Kamala is too busy rolling out the 'ruti' to listen to it all. Her mother-in-law is sitting on the steps telling over her rosary. Occasionally she exclaims, "Oh, you children, don't make so much noise!" Modhu drags Lakhi into the kitchen, "Lakhi is sleepy, mother."

"Give him a couple of hot *luchis,* boy."

With his fists in his eyes, Lakhi says, "Where are my fried potols?" Sitting in front of the food he forgets his sleepiness and is reluctant to leave the kitchen at all. He is still eating when his brothers and sisters sit down to their meal on the verandah after having finished their studying with the tutor. He refuses to get up before they do. Then Sobha washes his hands and rinses out his mouth for him and says, "Come on, lets go to bed."

They dash upstairs in a shouting pack. Kamala comes up carrying a bowl of milk for Chanpu. She sees that they scramble into their proper places in the bed. Lakhi finds his four pillows are just right and lies down without any fuss. Mona talks about his school; Ranu protests, "Don't rant so much. Let somebody go to sleep." Suddenly Lakhi sits up; the bed feels cold. He refuses to sleep on thinly covered oil-cloth. Is he little like Chanpu?

Mona immediately begins, "But to wet the bed at night . . . . ."

Ranu interrupts, "Old boy, you too the other night . . ."

". . . Bah! I suppose I. . . . ." Mona

realizes he made a mistake in bringing up the subject and is quiet.

Chanpu drinks her milk lying in her mother's lap. The children grow drowsy, the light in the room goes out, the lantern on the verandah burns flickeringly, and the house is again plunged in silence and sleep.

Kamala takes a Bengali magazine or some sewing and sits down beside the steps in a corner of the verandah. She remembers that neither Ajit, nor Saroda, nor Nirmal have come this evening. They are boys of the neighbourhood who call her 'Didi,' elder sister. One is in his first year at college, another in his third. Young, with young minds, they bring all sorts of news to her from the outside world and get tea and refreshments in return, sometimes even fish *kachuri*. Their ambitions, their poses, their disputes, they bring to her. And how they love to argue!

Kamala starts a story in the magazine. A husband and his wife do not get along, the wife is about to leave the husband; this is the sort of plot. How a woman can desert her husband and family is inconceivable to Kamala. Her eyes fill with tears at the thought of the unhappy and unfortunate woman. She closes the magazine, disliking to read farther. Kamala starts at the sound of footsteps on the stairs. Lethargy leaves her, her husband is coming.

It is eleven before she sits down to eat herself after having served him. When the servants have had their meal the kitchen floor must be washed clean. Making sure that the street door is bolted Kamala locks the storeroom, takes a 'pan' and comes upstairs. Her husband is in bed, snoring.

She sits silently for a little while on the verandah. In the sky the stars sparkle; a gentle breeze stirs the leaves of the trees. Gazing tenderly at the quietly sleeping children she prays, "May Ishwar[9] keep them in happiness and peace."

"Darling, come to bed. It must be one o'clock." Her husband turns over on his side.

Slowly Kamala enters the room, lies down beside Chanpu and falls asleep at once.

So day succeeds night and night succeeds day in the life of the mother.

Kamala did not herself at first understand how such a thing could happen. The sweepers with the Municipal garbage carts had passed hours before. Modhu had got up of his own accord and washed the verandahs and steps. Outside it was bright and sunny, but Kamala was still sleeping. When at last she awoke she found to her shame her husband sitting up in bed, the children up also and talking in whispers lest they disturb her.

Her husband asked, "What's the matter, dear? So late today . . . are you feeling unwell?"

"Why? Must I never be late, nor even a day? Am I a machine that I must get up at the same time every morning or a coolie who must run to work at the hoot of a whistle?"

"No, I didn't say that."

Kamala, avoiding their eyes, hurried downstairs. The children understood that something was wrong and refrained from romping or pillow-fighting.

Throughout the morning Kamala was restless, feeling tired and depressed. She had not slept well.

Everything had been disorganised by her late rising. The cooking was not finished at ten o'clock and the children went off to school after having eaten only rice, dhal, and a few fried vegetables. Kamala protested to herself that she was not a paid servant and would henceforth work as she pleased. Her husband came from his bath, "Give me whatever is ready, cook" he said.

Kamala ate scarcely anything that day; she felt ill. Modhu and the cook begged her to eat and themselves ate little. Her mother-in-law said, "You are not feeling well today, *bouma,* you ought to go and lie down." Kamala fretted to herself. Who would do the housework if she stayed in bed?

During her interval of rest at noon she could not sew or read. Lakhi began to beg for something, got slapped, and cried himself to sleep.

Kamala felt much upset; the thought of her first-born recurred to her again and again. Taking down the little dresses she pressed them to her bosom and cried for a long time. She herself did not know why she was crying. But the tears seemed to ease the weight on her heart and suddenly, as though shown by a flash of lightening, she understood what was the matter with her. At first her face grew grave, then it became suffused with mysterious sweet beauty.

At night when Kamala had finished all the day's work and come upstairs, she did not go into the bedroom. Spreading out the loose end of her red-bordered sari she lay down on the front verandah and stared up into the star-filled sky; a star fell. She did not notice that her husband had come and was sitting beside her. But when he laid his hand upon her head she drew it down into her own and spoke softly,

9. God.

"Dearest . .

"Yes?"

Her husband's face bent close over hers and she, with an air of mystery, whispered something in his ear. The star-filled sky was sparkling.

"So that's it?" her husband laughed, "Another!" as if Kamala alone were responsible. "Very well, I'll write to Didi tomorrow." He caressed her.

"No, darling, no. There's no hurry. I'm not disabled yet."

Her husband kissed her trembling, *pan*-reddened lips.

Kamala could not sleep. She walked about the roof and stood in front of each of the photographs hung on the verandah wall, and gave each a *pranam*. Vidyasagar, Gandhi, Chittaranjan . . . she is not worthy to be the mother of a great man . . . . but who can tell the dreams of a pregnant woman?

At last, very late in the night she fell asleep amid her dreams.

(Translated by Lila Ray from *Kalpa-lata*)

TEACHING OF SCIENCE

Should it be made Compulsory?

BY S. N. SHIVAPURI, M.SC.

WHAT distinguishes us from our ancestors—what marks off our era from all the countless past—is expressed by one word: *Science.* Imagine a naked half-man half-ape, hairy and hard, clutching a chunk of stone, skulking through beast-infested forests, preying upon other denizens of the earth and being preyed upon in turn; and behold him now hurling himself through space faster than the fastest bird, digging and fathoming to bring the hidden treasures to surface, essaying even to control the natural phenomena. That which differentiates the two epochs—the dark world of day-before-yesterday and the illumined world of today—is the knowledge of science.

So far the picture is factually correct, but no microscope is needed to reveal large patches of black on the canvas. True that we are living in a Scientific Age; equally true that space and time are being annihilated—for sound is a matter of seconds, and place a matter of days,—also true that the human Jason has yoked the fiery bulls of Nature; yet the Golden Fleece lies beyond his reach. This paradox is best accounted for by the admission of a former President of the British Association:

> "The control of Nature has been given to man, before he knew how to control himself."

Today, science is estimated by the number of mechanical appliances deviced to reduce human labour to minimum. It means, or is meant to mean, the multiplication of implements and instruments to liberate man from drudgery of living. Science, in short, has become a commercial commodity. But however beneficial such inventions and artifices may prove to be, they are not *Science.* They are but windfalls, not the tree itself:

> "It is not the fruits of scientific research that elevate a man and enrich his nature, but the urge to understand the intellectual work, creative or receptive. It would surely be absurd to judge the value of the Talmud, for instance, by its intellectual fruits."[1]

Undeniably, the nature of science is revealed only to a few, and this ignorance of an average man is putting a spoke in the wheel of progress.

Maxim Gorky relates how after his address to a gathering of agriculturists on the progress of science today, he was taken to task by a simple-looking Russian peasant in the following manner:

> "Yes, yes, we are taught to fly in the air like birds, and to swim in the water like the fishes, but how to live on earth we don't know."

It is by teaching people how to use the methods of science in their daily habits, by educating the masses about the facts and the nature of science, that they can be made to know 'how to live on earth,' or to evaluate correctly the gifts of science.

Twentieth century is the real mother of the Spirit of Science. Its offspring is a method, an attitude of mind. It is the apotheosis of Reason; the embodiment of Rationality:

1. A. Einstein: *The World As I See It.*

"The spirit of science is a desire for truth so strong and so compelling that prejudices and preconcepts are burned away, leaving the wind crystal clear to perceive the significance of fresh knowledge. and adjust it harmoniously to knowledge already acquired."[2]

Let us consider the relation of science to the day-to-day life of a man-in-the-street—to religion, to society, and to politics. It is very often asserted that science is opposed to religion, that it makes society Godless. Nothing can be farther from truth. Let us read what the greatest living scientist has to say on this subject :

"You will hardly find one among the profounder sort of scientific minds without a peculiar religious feeling of his own. But it is different from the religion of the naive man. For the latter God is a being from whose care one hopes to benefit and whose punishments one fears . . . . But his (the scientist's) religious feeling takes the form of rapturous amazement at the harmony of natural law . . . . This feeling is the guiding principle of his life and work, in so far as he succeeds in keeping himself from the shackles of selfish desire. It is beyond question closely akin to that which has possessed the religious geniuses of all ages."[3]

Thus we see that science is not anti-religious, whereas it has injected a new realism in human faith. A scientist is sceptical of the dogmas preached by the clergy and the superstitions which form the basis of professional religious teachings. His passion for veracity and his insistence to judge everything in the balance of truth has made the priesthood actively hostile to him.

The irrationality of the anti-scientist, Thomas Arnold, Headmaster of Rugby, is famous :

"Rather than have physical science the principal thing in my son's mind, I would gladly have him think that the sun went round the earth and that the stars were so many spangles set in the bright blue firmament."

This attitude of irrationality is very much active today, and in face of great strides in the scientific researches, it is changing from sporadic passivity into a regular campaign of calumny and propaganda.

For instance, fundamentalism is the American anti-science creed. Major-domo, the late Mr. Bryan, declares :

"If it were possible to regard the evolutionary hypothesis as merely a comedy, intended to furnish light reading to relieve minds overtaxed by the demands of human age, I would not care to disturb the sapient scholars, who, seeking out the shady places and cushioned seats, spend their time endeavouring to clothe the bodies of their remote ancestors with hair. and trying to remove the hair from the heads of their remote descendents."[4]

Can science take such stuff lying, and still hope to exist ? No ! Modern sciences have reached a crisis; they must fight back or succumb, for, to quote Dr. Saha,

"these sciences deal with collected human life and invade the forbidden grounds of religion, social codes and politics, and some of their findings alarm the vested interests to the same extent as Copernicus' heliocentric theory of the solar system frightened the churchmen of the fifteenth century."[5]

Another great mission of science is to adjust the relation of man with his contemporaries which cannot be fulfilled without a thorough study of the environment, health and life of mankind. This science of sociology had been, till recently, untouched by the savants. For example, let me quote you a significant passage from a popular American monthly :

"The trouble with the country, according to Howard Brubaker, is that our judges are too old and our brides too young. The great hue and cry that arose as a result of publicity given to the marriage of a 22-year-old Tenessee man to a 9-year-old cherub began to decline when a bill was introduced in the Tenessee legislature to fix the marriageable age for girls at not less than sixteen years. It reached its low point on Washington's birthday when the following Associated Press dispatch from Birmingham, Alabama, was published :

Blonde, 13 year-old Mrs. Mary Keller smiled up from a bed in her two-room rural home today "happy as can be" over the fact that she was twice a mother, the first child came 21 months ago—when Mary was 11."[6]

The government concerned should take courage and force the priest, who presided over the marriage of Kellers, to attend classes on "Eugenics."

Turn aside and hear Mr. Mitchell, the only Negro Congressman of U. S. A., speak in the House of Representatives on June 13, 1937, on Gavagan Anti-Lynching Bill :

"I recall when the great Negro educator, Booker Washington, returned from Washington where President Theodore Roosevelt had had him to dinner, he was in fear of assault. This great man had committed no crime, but just because the President had entertained him in the White House it became my duty to stand all night long with a rifle in my hand to protect the life of that distinguished man.

And again I recall how a blood-thirsty mob formed and marched towards my school for the purpose of snuffing out my life. I was charged with no crime. All I had done was to stop payment on a 20-dollar cheque which a fellow had secured from me by false pretences. But because of this the mob marched on my school and I shall never forget how I stood with a rifle in my hand and my wife with a pistol in hers, waiting all night long for this mob to show up and snuff out our lives."

What do you call this if not pig-headed race-consciousness. Science of sociology must take up problems of genetics and heredity,

2. Lothrop Stoddard : *Scientific Humanism.*
3. A. Einstein : *The World As I See It.*
4. W. J. Bryan : *The Forum,* July 1925.
5. Prof. M. N. Saha : Presidential Address. Twenty-Fifth Indian Science Congress, 1934.
6. *Current Monthly,* April, 1937.

crime and racial animosity, lest the civilization of today would slip back to the Dark Ages, inasmuch as other civilizations passed into the limbos of the dead.

Lastly, how is science related to practical politics? Diplomats, who control the destinies, not of individuals, nor of groups, but of nations, ought to be, for the welfare of their charge, impeccable in their public morality and blameless in the public conduct. Curiously, they resent any demand for explanation of their conduct, or when called upon to defend their morals. Scientists, on the other hand, do not shun the light of the day. In fact, they invite criticism. Obviously the ways of science are opposed to the practice of politics.

Then came a moment, about a century ago, when it was given to science to control human relations, but the pioneers, from sheer modesty, kept within the four walls of their laboratories. Politics slipped from behind and boarded the bus. Now the scientists have come out but the bus is gone. Today science is enslaved to politics. Who has not beheld the tragedy of armament race with interludes of Grecian chorus refrains of Disarmament Conferences? Who has not felt humiliated by the failure of the World Economic Conference?

"It is perhaps a commonplace, but it is nevertheless true, that a generation which ridicules its predecessors for their scientific ignorance, has shown emotional irrationalism on a larger scale than the world has ever seen before . . . . Can science again do anything to rectify the psychology of fear which now seems to dominate the world—the fear of national ruin, and fear of material insecurity both to the individual and to the collections of people?"[7]

Science can certainly do that, but it must rationalize politics before. Let the scientist of the world meet in a League of Intellectuals and plan a world order. Until the scientist takes over the control of national destinies from the politician, the world will suffer the ignominy of another, and yet another, Versailles.

Thus we see that whether it be religious sentiment, or social relationship, or political exchange, science ought to govern human conduct. And how can it do so, unless it teaches man to know himself. Knowledge is Power. Until science places this power in the hands of man, he will remain a drudge to his emotions and irrationalities, and consequently remain unhappy.

There is a long stretch of time before science will fulfill all its pledges. But hope shines in the knowledge that science has, at least, diagnosed the disorder. It has revealed that beneath each personality there is a duality of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, that there is hidden a cave-dweller within everyone of us. Robinson puts a poser:

"Consider likewise ourselves, peering into the depths of cosmos, yet bearing within us the limitations, the passions, the irrationalities of savage and even of pre-human anscestors. Can such eminently 'unscientific' beings really adjust themselves to their new scientific world?"[8]

My answer is, yes, provided we start with the elementary brick. If we desire to raise humanity to an eminence worthy of our name, if we want our posterity to be indebted to us, then we must instruct the rising generation to keep a scientific openness of mind in their interpretation of Life. How can that be done unless we teach the children in the schools and colleges, how to think scientifically; unless in other words, we teach science. I hope and pray that our professional educators—those, whose business is to decide the courses of instruction of the children and boys—would soon make the teaching of science compulsory. Only scientific education can fulfil our dream of a *Brave New World*.

I should like to quote from the famous English physicist, J. G. Crowther:

"The public should be made to realize that their own existence is largely the result of the application of science to old domestic manufacturing arts, and that social organization is obviously in the long run very sensitive to the application of science. The public interest in science would beget a public scientific understanding and conscience."

And nowhere, if not in the wholesome atmosphere of our schools and in the receptive soil of childrens' brain can this 'understanding and conscience' germinate and grow.

7. Sir Malcolm Hailey: Inaugural Address to the U. P. Academy of Sciences, 1931.

8. J. H. Robinson: *The Mind in the Making.*



THEORY OF SOVEREIGNTY

A Critical Survey

By C. L. GHEEVALA, M.A.

I

The State is an almost universal phenomenon. Even in the most rudimentary stage of social development, we find men living under some kind of public authority. This regulating authority seeks to determine in some degree, however slight, the relations of the members of the group in several ways. With the growing complexity of civilization, the need for social adjustments becomes greater, and consequently the forms and functions of the state become more complex and varied in response to the same. Every student of political theory is familiar with Aristotle's saying that "man is a social animal" and that "without law and justice man would be the worst of animals". In short, the authority of the State manifests itself into two aspects: (1) it seeks to regulate, reconcile and synthesize the manifold relations and claims of the individuals, groups and associations within its territorial limits, and (2) at the same time, it seeks to order its relations with other states.

From very early times thinkers have attempted to offer some rational explanation of the phenomenon of Authority recurring under all conceivable forms of political organization. It was the same phenomenon with which the Greek thinkers, Plato, Aristotle and Isocrates were confronted. It has been the very same problem with its varying forms and conditions which Bodin, Grotius, Hobbes, Locke and Austin and the whole line of thinkers with Rousseau, Hegel, Green, and Bosanquet have sought to answer in the modern times. The problem has ever remained dynamic in interest and has assumed for us a fresh point of interest in view of the vehement attacks directed against it by a host of thinkers, *viz.*, Gierke, Maitland, Duguit, Krabbe, and last but not the least, Laski and G. D. H. Cole. In order therefore to estimate the value of the attack and its significance through a proper perspective, we first propose to undertake a brief critical survey of the theory of Sovereignty.

Political thought in the West, begins with the Greeks whose life within the common-walls of the City-State gave them an opportunity for the development of intense civic consciousness. From this arose the conception of the State, which is summed up in the famous expression of Aristotle, "Man is a creature formed from the life of the City-State." The State is an ethical association for the attainment of "good life." The constitution, according to Aristotle, is not only 'an arrangement of offices' but also a 'manner of life.'[1] The Greek conception of the State is more than that of legal structure; it is also a moral spirit. In view of the predominantly ethical character of the conception of the State, the problem of Sovereignty could not have shaped itself in modern terminology. However, it is true to observe that Aristotle recognised the existence of a supreme power in the State and held that it may vest in the hands of one, or a few, or many.[2]

It is to the Roman jurist, that we owe the doctrine, that the ultimate authority of the State rested in the body of citizens, who delegated the power to the Emperor whose will therefore had the force of law.[3] As Bryce points out, Justinian and his successors had in the fullest sense of the word, complete, unlimited and exclusive legal sovereignty. The Roman jurists dealt with legal sovereignty only and dealt with it not as political philosophers, but simply as lawyers. It is then, with the sharply outlined sovereignty of an autocratic Emperor, and the shadowy, suspended, yet in a sense concurrent or at least resumable 'sovereignty of the People' that the modern world may be said to have started.[4]

On the side of speculative thought, throughout the Middle Ages, philosophy for all deeper and wider issues was under a blight.[5] The political theory of the Middle Ages, many a time

1. Newman: *Politics of Aristotle*, Vol. I, p. 225.
2. Aristotle: *Politics*, Bk. III, Ch. VII.
3. R. G. Gettell: *History of Political Thought*, p. 178.
4. Bryce: *Studies in the History of Jurisprudence*. pp. 76-77, *also Cf*: K. Basu: *The Modern Theories of Jurisprudence*, Vol. I, p. 46. Ward: *Sovereignty*, p. 3.
5. Vaughan: *Studies in the History of Political Philosophy*, p. 7.

appears like a desert often disturbed by the sandstorms raised by the conflicting genies of Papacy and Empire, and rarely relieved by a green Oasis, such as Dante's treatise on 'Monarchy' or Marsilio's 'Defender of the Peace'.[6] It has been often observed that in the Middle Ages, there was no State; and we may add that there could not have been a State where there were only feudal communities dissipated in fiefs and communes with no regular officials or organized methods of action. From the fifth to the sixteenth century the idea that God had appointed certain powers to govern the world, and that it would be a sin to resist His ordinance, was the dominant note of their thought.[7] In the eleventh century, it was admitted that there were two legal sovereigns, each a 'de jure' absolute, the Pope in spiritual, the Emperor in temporal matters. Both the Pope and the Emperor were held as above the positive secular law but subject to the Law of Nature and the Law of God, these being virtually the same. The renewed interest in the Roman Law, and the rediscovery of Aristotle, in the thirteenth century furnished a basis for the theory which grew out of the controversy between the Church and the State. The empire claiming the inheritance of Rome was compelled to accept the Roman theory, that final authority had been delegated by the people to the civil ruler acting as their agent.[8] There was yet another theory, according to which, the Emperor derived his rights from the Pope, who crowned him and who as spiritual Sovereign exercised a higher jurisdiction, being responsible for the welfare of the Emperor's soul.[9] Controversy continued to rage over the limits to be drawn between the authority of the Pope, and that of the Emperor, till it produced in the fourteenth century an anti-ecclesiastical movement represented by Marsilius of Padua and William Occam. In these writers we find the germs of the later famous doctrine, which refers the origin of the State to the free consent of the individual.[10] The Middle Ages in this sense have been rightly described by Saint Simon, as the seed-plot of modern Europe.[11]

On the one hand, the theory that the civil ruler governed by divine right, advanced in opposition to the temporal claims of the Pope, was strengthened by the growing power of the monarchs, whereas on the other hand, there appeared the theory that the king derived his authority from the people in the form of a mutual contract, a potent instrument against the absolute claims of the monarch.[12] It may indeed sound paradoxical that a theory of Divine Right is thus reconciled with a theory of Social Contract, but such a reconciliation as Barker points out is an essential feature of medieval thought.[13] As against the champions of the Divine Right of kings, there stood the Calvinist anti-monarchist, the Jesuit opponents of secular power who argued for popular sovereignty and a limited royal power based on contract. In this manner, was prepared the way for the writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with the controversies between the doctrine of Divine Right and that of popular sovereignty and Social Contract.

The modern idea of sovereignty was certainly unknown in any single nation of the Middle Ages. The 'Plenitudo potestatis' was international or supernational. To achieve personal hegemony of Medieval Europe was one thing; to be sovereign of modern State was another.[14] Nor could it be made possible under Feudalism which was a social and a legal system, only indirectly and by consequence a political one. The whole system was based on a hierarchy, a connected series of lesser and greater landlords, with grades of dependence, and all nominally dependent upon the king who was at the apex, of the hierarchical system. It was a system of personal relationships founded on the ownership of land.[15] We thus see, that, the Conception of Sovereignty as a single supreme and ultimate source of authority was foreign to the Ancient and Medieval political thought. To the Greeks, the State was an ethical rather than a legal Conception. The Roman theory of Sovereignty was based on the existence of a universal law and a universal empire. During the Middle Ages, the identification of the Church and State, as a single society and the protracted conflicts for supremacy between the spiritual and temporal authorities, each with its own organization and

6. Hearnshaw: *The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Medieval Thinkers*, Introduction by Barker, p. 9.

7. *Cf*: Bryce: *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*, Vol. I, p. 80.

8. *Cf*: Ward: *Sovereignty*, p. 3. Gettell: *History of Political Thought*, p. 178.

9. Bryce, p. 81.

10. *Cf*: Gettell: *History of Political Thought*, p. 179.

11. *Cf*: Vaughan: *Studies in the History of Political Philosophy*, p. 7.

12. Dunning: *Political Theories—Ancient and Mediæval*, p. 177.

13. Hearnshaw: *The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Mediæval Thinkers*, p. 22.

14. Ward: *Sovereignty*, p. 8. *Also Cf*: Maitland: *Lectures on Constitutional History*, pp. 101-102; ". . . they have no Sovereign in Austin's sense. Before Reformation, Austin's doctrine was impossible".

15. Ward: *Sovereignty*, p. 4.

legal system; precluded the Conception of unity in the State. Finally, Feudalism with its hierarchy of institutions, with their local independence, and their complicated system of overlords, and their conception of limited authority and of contractual rights, also prevented the growth of political unity and centralized authority.[16]

The sixteenth century brought with it great changes which finally shook the fabric of existing thought and belief. With the Reformation, was ushered in a new and a momentous era which terminated with the great French Revolution, the legitimate sequel of the Reformation in the sphere of politics. It proclaimed the right of the individual to liberty of opinion. It released men's minds from the incubus of ecclesiastical authority. The decline of the authority of the Church was accompanied by an increase in the authority of the monarchs in Europe.[17] The Divine Right Theory was invoked to serve as a support to the authority of the monarch. At the same time, the decay of the feudal system and destruction of the various feudal privileges sounded the knell of all those centrifugal tendencies, which had made for disorder and chaos in the Middle Ages. Thus arose the centralized monarchies of modern times; people were brought under a system of common law, and foundations were laid of the modern sovereign State. Now gradually arise the various questions, out of which emerges the problem of Sovereignty. What is it that holds the State together? Should there not be some unifying force to overcome the various disruptive tendencies in Society? Where is the sanction behind this auothority to be found? Should there be any checks on this authority? In a word, we see here a whole array of questions that presented themselves to Bodin and other thinkers.

In Bodin, the French Jurist, we get for the first time a definite enunciation of the doctrine of Sovereignty. "Sovereignty is a power supreme over citizens and subjects itself not bounded by the laws."[18] Sovereign Authority is not only supreme but perpetual, and the essence of it is law-making according to Bodin. The sovereign is above the law he makes, bound only by "Divine Law," the "law of nature," and the "law of nations." The will of the sovereign is the ultimate source of every precept of the civil law, and that will is free.[19] To Bodin, this sovereign authority is the essential attribute of an independent State. Here we have in outline, the principle of Sovereignty, as stated by Bodin. The theory of Bodin, bears clearly the marks of the historical conditions of the times. Bodin like Machiavelli in Italy, prescribed the concentration of power in the hands of the Monarch at a time when France was about to be plunged in a Civil War. It was born out of the struggle which set the king free from other contending powers, and set him above the disruptive tendencies within the State. Nearly a century later, Hobbes expounded a theory much similar to, but more thoroughgoing than Bodin. Profoundly impressed by the conflict for sovereignty, between the king and the Parliament, obsessed by the religious factions, and Civil War, Hobbes seeing all around him disunion and confusion, and men divided by the pretensions of jarring authorities, found in the theory of social Contract a basis for his theory of sovereignty.[20]

He clearly recognised that unless there is one indispensable authority, a final court of appeal and ultimate source of law set high above all conflicting claims, there can be no State, and no security against the centrifugal and disruptive tendencies in Society. Anarchy must give way to order under the control of the Sovereign. He thus arrived at the doctrine of the Absolute Sovereignty of the Monarch. Such a sovereign can do no injury to the subject. His power is inalienable nor can he be punished. "These are the Rights," he observes, "which make the essence of sovereignty; and which are the marks, whereby a man may discern in what man or assembly of men, the Sovereign Power is placed and resideth. For these are incommunicable and inseparable."[21] To dispense with any of them is to negate the others and to destroy the ultimate power of the State. As inseparable and inalienable attributes of Sovereignty, deducible from the very nature of the Sovereign these powers must inhere in whatever entity exercises Sovereignty. In other words, Hobbes, laid the foundation of the classical doctrine of Sovereign Authority with its essential attributes as inalienable, and absolute.[22]

It was the supreme merit of Hobbes to have clearly grasped the conception of legal

16. Gettell : *History of Political Thought*, pp. 179-80.
17. *Cf* : McIver, *The Modern State*, p. 431; "Feudal prerogatives crumbled before the majesty of a State which no longer acknowledged any authority, but its own. As the State was one, so was its power, so also was its law. And that power and that law were in the hands of its sovereign head."
18. Def : quoted by Hsiao : *Political Pluralism*, p. 4; Pollock : *History of the Science of Politics*, p. 47.
19. Ward : *Sovereignty*, pp. 21-22.
20. McIver : *Modern State*, p. 439.
21. Hobbes : *Leviathan*, Ch. XVIII.
22. Ward : *Sovereignty*, p. 23. *Also Cf* : *Leviathan*, Ch. XVIII.

sovereignty, which was fully developed, later by Bentham and Austin. It was definitely asserted by him that, " law in general is not Counsel but Command."[23] The process, started since the days of Bodin, was completed by Austin. Law, it is maintained by these writers, is the Command of a Sovereign will, which the legal creator must itself be supreme and absolute in authority. Further, it is asserted that since sovereignty is assumed to be the ultimate source of legal authority, it cannot be legally limited, without involving a logical infinite regress.[24] In this manner, the theory of the State came to be dominated by the legalist Conception of Sovereignty. Legally the State is conceived as unlimited, and absolute because, it is itself the source of legal enactment.[25] The doctrine of State-sovereignty, which found its first definite expression in the writings of Bodin and Hobbes assumed the form of a Legal Sovereign State in the hands of the Jurists.

Austin was a legal jurist, and he was merely concerned with the analysis of the legal Conception of Sovereignty. He argued that in every State there must be a definite human superior, not in the habit of obedience to a like superior. The State thus becomes a legal order, the ultimate source of legal authority.[26] Much of the attack directed against the Austinian position, is based on the confusion created by the word " Command," and the ambiguous sense in which the phrase, " source of law " may be used. The idea of a command has frequently implied to the minds of many thinkers, the notion that a law must somehow be an arbitrary expression of the Sovereign's selfish will or caprice, that it is evolved in his inner consciousness out of nothing, and without any regard for the customary or ideal notions of right and wrong. If this is what is really implied by the " orthodox " Austinian expositions, as Dickinson suggests, the word may be certainly abandoned, and a less misleading one be substituted for it. " The function of the Sovereign is not to create laws arbitrarily, *ex nihilo*, but to be the source or mouthpiece of final and authoritative pronouncements of the rules of conduct, which are to be called laws."[27] There is no logical reason why, these authoritative pronouncements of the sovereign should not be based on the prevailing notions of right and wrong. It is true, that questions of right and wrong 'lie so frequently within the twilight zone of rational differences of opinion,' but it is for the very same reason, that the need is felt for some recognised organ to exercise what Justice Holmes has so aptly termed, 'the sovereign prerogative of choice.' This then is the characteristic act of Sovereignty.

We may be able to appreciate this better if we remember that in the early stages of social development the civilization is more simple and the common interests are few and less complex in character. In such a stage custom has been everywhere the means of social regulation. But with the growing complexity of life and the interactions of manifold activities that result from human relations, custom soon proves inadequate. With a more advanced stage of civilization, the State appears as an interpreter and enforcer of tradition and customary rules.[28] Changing conditions create new situations and new problems and the State is called upon to adjudicate and reconcile the conflicting claims that arise out of them. Under these circumstances, the State has a more creative function to perform. It cannot merely satisfy itself by responding to social facts, nor can it deem its function duly discharged by merely identifying itself with the *status quo*. The important point is to see that these interests do not merely become identical with those of the powerful class in the society at any given moment. In the words of Roscoe Pound, 'the problem of legal order is one of reconciling, harmonizing or compromising conflicting or overlapping human claims or desires or demands.' And the process of this reconciliation is not to be one of mere adjustment but of integration. " Law is to find way of uniting interests . . . It should be one of the great creative forces of our life."[29]

Here, then is the sound and valuable element underlying the juristic conception of Sovereignty. The modern pluralists, in their vehement attack rush to the other extreme of denying 'in toto' the very conception of Sovereignty as such. We must recognise the necessary distinction between 'law' and 'fact' between the *de jure* and *de facto* Sovereign. It must be understood that the only real sovereign power is that made so by law. The attempt to split up the 'legal' and 'political' sovereign leads to nothing else but confusion. The political sovereign has no lawful title; the only sovereign which law must recognise is that definite authoritative organ whose function is

23. F. Pollock : *History of the Science of Politics*, p. 60.
24. Hsiao : *Political Pluralism*, p. 12.
25. McIver : *The Modern State*, p. 431.
26. Willoughby : *The Nature of the State*, pp. 163*ff*.
27. John Dickinson : " A Working Theory of Sovereignty ", *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. XLII-XLIII.
28. Willoughby : *The Nature of the State*, p. 146.
29. M. P. Follett : *Creative Experience*, p. 271.

to draw the line between what is and what is not law.30

However, we do not mean to imply that law has always served the cause of justice. On the contrary it may be pointed out that law has invariably become a potent instrument in the hands of the powerful vested interests. In the past, its harshest provisions have been directed against those classes of society which stood most in need of its protection. It has been unmerciful to the poor and the weak and it has defined with exactness the rights of the strong. It may be that the legal sovereign may become oppressive in the exercise of power or may fail to fulfil its purpose. Such a social order ultimately fails to command the moral loyalty of its people, and forfeiting its claims to be sustained by their convictions renders itself inherently unstable and unreliable.31 Disobedience in such a case may become a moral duty and failing constitutional means, revolution may be the only course open to the oppressed. Such a course may result in the deposition of the one and institution of another sovereign; yet, it cannot be denied that the ultimate legal sovereignty belongs to the new sovereign. Legal sovereignty as such cannot be dispensed with. To quote Dickinson:

"The legal sovereign is the ultimate source of law not in the sense of being an uncaused cause or an unmotived author, but in the sense that only that which passes through it has the force of law and only after having passed through it and received its stamp of validity."32

Juristic sovereignty only when harmonised with the moral forces of the society, may succeed in claiming allegiance from the people. True legal sovereignty must be an expression of genuine general will which is not a fixed quantity. It is the result of a process which involves 'interweaving of many desires and attitudes, emotions and ideas,' an endless process of trial and error. It is a process of creative experience which is the *sine qua non* of social progress.

30. McIlwain, "Sovereignty Again", *Economica*, No. 18, p. 256.

31. Walter Lippmann: *The Method of Freedom*, p. 15.

32. *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. XLII, p. 534.

SALARIES OF PUBLIC SERVANTS

By MANINDRA NARAYON RAY

THE implementing of the Karachi Congress resolutions on salaries of public servants in India by Congress Ministers in the seven provinces in which the Congress party has accepted ministerial offices, has given rise to criticisms in various quarters. Approval has neither been meagre nor half-hearted; but denunciations, too, have poured in in abundance and dire consequences have been threatened by critics who have quoted chapter and verse from orthodox economics in substantiation of their prophecy regarding the inevitable deterioration of the standard of efficiency and demoralisation of public servants as a sequel to lowering of their salaries. It is impossible to ignore that this type of criticism represents to a great extent the revolt of vested interests against an encroachment by justice on their long-standing privileges. These criticisms, to the extent they are outward expression of greed and selfishness, may be dismissed with the contempt they deserve. The hackneyed arguments which rely for support on catchy words and phrases like 'efficiency,' 'public morality' and the like may also be similarly left out. But an answer needs be given to the suggestions and even assertions that have been made to the effect that the Congress is going to do something which has never before been attempted by any State in the world.

It is a platitude that the salaries of public servants should bear some relation to the paying capacity of the mass of the people whose contributions constitute the bulk of the revenues of a State. It is also a salient principle of public finance that the revenues of a state should be so expended as to ensure the maximum of return to the tax-payers and prevent the frittering away of it over the mere work of administration which, after all, is mere means to an end and not the end in itself. This canon is observed all over the world and great care taken so that a disproportionate amount of the revenue is not spent away over salaries of

public servants. It is also desirable that the gap between the earnings of public servants and those of workers in private employ and members of the profession should not be so wide as to make public servants a class apart by themselves. The creation of an aristocracy in this respect inevitably acts as a drag on political progress as much as it diverts the ambition and energy of youth from productive but risky private enterprise to directly unproductive but secure public services. Even a cursory study of the salaries of public officials in various countries reveals that these have been the guiding principles underlying the respective scales of salaries of their public servants while these have hitherto been given a complete go-by by the authorities in India. The following paragraphs will show that, taking into consideration the *per capita* income of the Indian people the average earnings of Indian workers in organized industries, and the revenue receipts of the Government, the Congress maximum of Rs. 500 a month for a public servant not only represents a just allocation but also stands on a par with the scales of salaries of public servants in other States.

India and Japan
(1 Yen=Rs. $\frac{311}{400}$)

It is interesting to contrast the salaries of public servants in India with those of the public servants in Japan. Even a superficial observer can see for himself that in points of prosperity, industrial efficiency and political status, Japan stands head and shoulders above India. As a formidable challenge to the oldest and the most powerful States of the world, Japan presents a striking contrast to the politically down-trodden and economically pauperised India of today. A close study of certain basic features of the economic life of Japan in contrast with the corresponding features of the Indian life only confirms the impression of the superficial observer that as a more prosperous nation Japan is in a better position to pay high salaries to her public servants.

The latest Japan Year Book does not give any figure regarding the *per capita* income of a Japanese. But it puts down the total value of the agricultural and industrial productions in Japan proper in 1933 at 12,331,591,000 yens. As this figure has been arrived at by adding the values of productions in most agricultural and industrial pursuits including the working of the mines, forests and rivers and seas, we may safely take it to represent the total national dividend of Japan for the year 1933. Divided among a total population of 6,72,38,600, the *per capita* income in Japan works out at 184 yens. Expressed in rupees, the amount comes to just a little over Rs. 143.

Compare this with the *per capita* income in India which, at the highest computation, has been found to hover round Rs. 80. The figure was worked out before the disastrous fall in prices. The present-day *per capita* income in India must, therefore, be very much lower than that figure. But even assuming that the figure, Rs. 80, represents the *per capita* income in India, we find that the *per capita* income in Japan is higher than the *per capita* income in India by as much as 80 per cent.

Almost equally glaring contrasts are noticeable in the average earnings of wage-earners in the two countries. The low scale of wages of industrial workers in India is a notorious fact which is known to whoever has cared to visit an Indian factory and enquire from the workers about their earnings. Unfortunately, however, no scientific and systematic enquiry has been made into the subject and we have not got adequate data regarding the general rate of wages in India. The only standard works we can refer to for this purpose are the few reports published from the Labour Office at Bombay. According to the latest of these reports on the Engineering industries, ordinary carpenters, ordinary black-smiths, ordinary electrical fitters, engine and boiler cleaners and oil engine drivers receive Rs. 31-5-6, Rs. 29-6-8, Rs. 38-5-7, Rs. 25-2-10 and Rs. 52-8-11 respectively. Compared with these scales of wages we have it in the latest Japan Year Book that the monthly average wage in the Engineering and Construction industries in Japan is as much as Rs. 54-1-3. It will be seen that the average wage in Japan in these particular industries is higher than the wages of the Indian engine and boiler cleaners and oil engine drivers by 11.6 and 3.8 respectively. The contrast will appear more striking if we remember that the Indian figures are based mostly on the returns received from the Railway workshops which are parts of the State Railways and in which, therefore, a higher rate of wages prevails than are paid in small and poor private concerns which constitute quite a substantial fraction of the total engineering industry in India.

The condition is more or less the same in the printing industry also. A rotary machine attendant in Bombay no doubt receives Rs. 53-10-2 as against the average wage in the printing industry in Japan of Rs. 50-6-1. But in the same industry a compositor in Bombay receives Rs. 36-11-6 and a treadle machine man only Rs. 33-9-7 which are lower than the

average wage in Japan by 38.8 p.c. and 39.3 p.c. respectively.

The constrast is equally prominent in the cotton textile industry. The average monthly wage in Japan is given in the latest Year Book as Rs. 36-6-3. As against this we find in the Bombay Labour Office Report that in Bombay while a Mule Spinner gets Rs. 36-4-2 and a six-loom weaver, as much as Rs. 45-10-5, a one-loom weaver, a warper, and a carding machine attendant get Rs. 25-15-9, Rs. 22-15-3, and Rs. 17-15-9 respectively.

We have more figure regarding the average wages in other industries in Japan but as corresponding Indian figures are not available for comparison, it is useless to cite them here. Our main contention, namely, that the people of Japan are more prosperous than the people of India and, therefore, are in a better position to pay higher wages to their public servants, stands amply substantiated by the comparisons that we have been able to make in the foregoing paragraphs.

The question may be viewed from another angle also. We have already stated as a general principle that the salary bill of a Government should bear some reasonable proportion to the total revenues of the State. It follows, therefore, that the higher the revenues, the higher may be the salaries of public officials. From this stand-point it is interesting to compare the revenue figures of Japan with those of India. We have it in the latest issue of the Japan Year Book that the total receipts for the year 1935-36 were estimated in the budget at Rs. 1,72,24,84,236. Compare this figure with the budget estimate of the Government of India for the same year, namely Rs. 1,22,76,41,000 and it will be seen that the revenues of Japan are higher than the revenues of India by as much as 40.3 per cent.

The foregoing paragraphs make it quite clear that the individual as well as national finances of Japan do justify the payment to public officials of higher salary than should be paid to the public servants in India. But the following table of salaries of public servants in Japan shows that the truth lies just the other way.

	Per year (Yen)	Per month (Rs.)
Prime Minister	9,600	622 0 0
Other Ministers	6,800	440 9 4
Secretaries	5,800	375 12 8
Governor-General of Korea	6,800	440 9 4
Chancellor of Privy Council	6,600	427 10 0

It is interesting to compare these figures with the figures of the salaries of high State officials in India. Lest the unquestionable smaller area and population of Japan be cited as an argument in justification, of the higher rate in India we take into consideration, not the salaries of the approximately corresponding officers of the Government of India, but of the Government of those provinces which bear comparison with Japan in points of area and population. The Punjab has a population of 2,35,80,852 as compared with 2,10,58,305 of Korea; and yet the Governor of the Punjab receives a salary of Rs. 8333-5-4 per month. It will be seen that while the population of the Punjab is higher than the population of Korea by only 11.8 p.c., the Governor of the Punjab receives a salary which is higher than the salary of the Governor-General of Korea by as much as 1793.8 per cent. There is no province in India whose population is approximately equal to the population of the Japanese Empire as a whole. We cannot, therefore directly compare the salary of the Prime Minister of Japan with the salary that used to be paid to the old Executive Councillor in an Indian province or the salary which is at present paid to non-Congress Premiers. But we may bring out the contrast in another way. Bengal has a population of 50,114,002 which is less than half the population of the Japanese Empire. If, therefore, the number of people that a Prime Minister governs be taken as denoting his responsibility and if, again, it be conceded that the salary of an official should be proportionate to his responsibility then the salary of the Prime Minister of Japan should be a little less than double the salary of the Prime Minister of Bengal. Yet we find that the non-Congress Premier of Bengal receives a salary of Rs. 3,000 per month which is more than four times the salary of the Prime Minister of Japan. To take up, again, the case of Secretaries, we know that the I.C.S. Chief Secretaries of the Provincial Governments receive salaries which vary between Rs. 1,900 in N.-W. F. P. and Rs. 5,333 in Bengal. It will be seen that even the lowest paid Chief Secretary in an Indian province receives a salary which is more than five times the salary of the Secretaries in Japan.

Coming down to Civil Services proper, we find the same glaring contrast between the salaries of the civil servants in Japan and those of the civil servants in India. In Japan civil officials are divided into four ranks according to their grade of merit, education and ability, namely, (1) Shinnin rank appointed by His Majesty directly, (2) Chokunin rank, appointed by His Majesty's order indirectly, (3) Sonin

rank, appointed by His Majesty's approval, and (4) Hanin rank of minor officials appointed by the heads of different offices. At the end of 1934 officials of Shinnin and Chokunin rank numbered 1609 with an aggregate salary of yens 8,296,314 a year, officials of Sonin rank, 13,985 with yens 37,073,394 and officials of Hanin rank 120,098 with yens 117,963,318. Thus, the average salary of officials of Chokunin rank was yens 5,166 a year or Rs. 334-1-0 per month, that of officials of Sonin rank yens 2,651 or Rs. 171-12-3 per month and that of officials of Hanin rank, yens 982 a year or Rs. 63-10-0 per month.

There is no need of emphasising here the glaring difference between the above scales of salaries of civil servants in Japan and the scales that prevail in India. Suffice it to point out that, while the average salary of an official of the Imperial cadre in Japan is only a little over Rs. 334 a month, the lowest salary drawn by a District Magistrate in Bombay amounts to as much as Rs. 1,150 a month which is higher than the salary of a Japanese officer of the same rank by 244.3 per cent.

It would be interesting and revealing indeed if we could bring out the contrast between the civil services in Japan and the civil services in India in points of numerical strength and total salary paid. But unfortunately we have not been able to ascertain the exact number of civil servants employed in any province in India. We have, however, ascertained approximately from the combined All-India Civil List, the number of officers of the Imperial and other higher services who are employed in the provinces. We have also added together the scheduled salaries due to be paid to them from the provincial revenues. The number thus ascertained obviously falls far short of the actual number of officers employed in the provinces most of whom receive much higher salaries than what is paid to the highest-paid official in Japan. The figure of salaries paid is also far from accurate, inasmuch as the Civil List, does not mention the salaries of quite a large number of officers whose names occur with conspicuous prominence. In spite, however, of these limitations the figures that we have been able to ascertain for the present, are likely to prove helpful for the purpose of comparison. Thus, to take the province of Bengal again, the population of which, as we have already pointed out, is less than half the population of the Empire of Japan,—we find that the total number of officers of the I.C.S., I.P.S., I.M.S., Industries Department, Co-operative Department, Agricultural Department, Forest Department, Excise, Opium, Salt and Customs Departments, Prisons Department, Education Department, and Public Works and Irrigation Departments, who are employed in Bengal, comes to 399 who in the aggregate receive approximately Rs. 5,19,406 per month and none of whom receives a salary lower than Rs. 500 per month. The average salary thus works out at a little over Rs. 1,301 per month which is higher than the highest average salary in Japan by 289.5 per cent. With the data just now in our possession we cannot prove conclusively that proportionately speaking, Bengal or any other Indian province will be found to employ a much higher number of officers drawing a much higher total amount than the corresponding figures for Japan. But we have no doubt that any painstaking student who cares to analyse a provincial Civil List will be able to prove the point for himself.

We have said enough in the foregoing paragraphs to prove, on the one hand, that Japan pays to her public servants salaries on a much lower scale than the scale prevalent in India and, on the other hand, that the Congress has not fixed a utopian maximum of salary for the public servants in India. We may conclude with a reminder to our critics that nothing has so far been heard as regards the deterioration of the efficiency of the public servants in Japan or prevalence of curruption and bribery in the public services in that country on account of the low scale of salaries.

India and Poland
(1 Zloty=£0.039)

If we compare the salaries of public servants in India with those of public servants in Poland we notice almost similar discrepancies in the scales and find that, Indian scale is much higher than the scale prevalent in Poland. Poland, according to the latest Census Report, has a population of 32,133,500 which is less than the population of the former province of Behar and Orissa by 55,44,076. Should it be a fact that the salaries of public servants in India have everything to commend themselves, we may reasonably expect that the two sets of salaries will bear comparison with each other. We would, rather, expect that a much higher scale of salaries will prevail in Poland inasmuch as Poland is economically much better off than Behar and Orissa which, by the way, is poorer than many other Indian provinces like Bombay and Bengal. We have not been able to ascertain the *per capita* income in Poland, even the latest Year Book of Poland being silent on this point. We have, however,

other data to compare the economic condition of the two countries and to establish the relative prosperity of Poland. According to the reports issued by the Bombay Labour Office, a steam engine driver in Bombay receives a little over Rs. 83 per month while a Mule Spinner and a six-loom weaver in the textile industry receive a little over Rs. 36, and Rs. 45 respectively. In glaring contrast with this we find in the latest Year Book of Poland that the average hourly earnings in the Engineering and Textile industries in Poland amounted to 1-17 Zlotys and 0-77 Zlotys respectively according to the latest calculations. Expressed in rupees on the basis of an eight-hour day the figures come to Rs. 146 and Rs. 96 respectively which are higher than the corresponding Indian figures by 75.9 per cent and 113.3 per cent respectively or which are approximately one-half times more than and twice as much as the respective figures for Bombay. The budget receipts of Poland also tell the same tale of relative prosperity. The revenue receipts in Poland for 1935-36 were estimated at 2,120,400,000 Zlotys or Rs. 110,26, 08,000 as against the estimated revenue receipts for B. & O. for the same year of Rs. 5,53,96,000. It is obvious that the revenues of Poland were higher than the revenues of B. & O. by as much as 1883.1 per cent or, in other words, Poland has a revenue which is over 19 times the revenues of B. & O.

It will be clear from what has been stated above that Poland is in a much better position to pay high salaries to her officials than our poor province of Behar. Yet the fact is that the scale of salary in Poland is much lower than the scale allowed in B. & O. The highest executive official in Poland, for example, receives a salary of only 3,000 Zlotys or Rs. 1,560 per month as against the Behar Governor's salary of Rs. 8,333-5-4 which, obviously, is more than five times the salary of the corresponding official in Poland. To put it in another way, the Governor of Behar receives a salary which is higher than the salary of the highest official in Poland by 434.1 per cent. Nay, even a District Magistrate whose salary may rise up to 2,500 receives a much higher salary, even absolutely, than the highest official in Poland.

We may look at the astounding discrepancies between the positions of the two countries and the glaring inequity of the Indian system from another angle also. While in Poland there are only 767 officers including the President who draw a salary above Rs. 500 per month, there are in Behar and Orissa as many as 253 officers of the Imperial Services (enumerated in an earlier section) whose salary ranges between 501 and over 4,000. The contrast is more marked in the upper grades. While in Poland there are no more than 13 officers (including the President) who receive a salary above Rs. 1,000 per month, there are in Behar and Orissa as many as 156 officers of Imperial Services alone whose salary is higher than Rs. 1,000 per month.

Such contrasts may be multiplied indefinitely. But enough has been said above to show that an Indian province stands as a symbol of extravagance in comparison with Poland. Relatively as well as absolutely, Poland pays a much lower salary to her public servants than India.

INDIA AND UNITED STATES
(1 Dollar=Rs. 2.73)

The scale of salaries in India is extravagant not only in comparison with Japan and Poland but also in comparison with America. Superficial observers has often been misled by the high figures of salaries of the high functionaries in America. Indeed, the general impression prevails in India that the salaries of Indian officials, high though they be, cannot bear comparison with the salaries of public officials in U. S. A. This impression, as we shall presently show, is not correct.

In examining the figures of salaries of public officials in U. S. A. it should constantly be borne in mind that America is almost incomparably richer than India. "The land of Dollars" is reputed all over the world for its fabulous wealth. The *per capita* national income in U. S. A. amounts to as much as 676 dollars or Rs. 1,845 which is more than 23 times the *per capita* national income in India or, to put it in another way, higher by 2206.2 per cent. If the salary of the public official is at all to bear any proportion to the income of the people,—which we hold it should,—then on this ground alone the salary of an officer in U. S. A. ought to be 23 times higher than the salary of the corresponding official in India, or, conversely, the salary of an Indian official ought to be about 1/23 of the salary of the corresponding official in U. S. A. We shall see presently that the actual condition is far different.

Then again, the average earning of a worker in U. S. A. is considerably higher than the average earning in India. According to the Year Book of Labour Statistics for 1935-36 issued from the International Labour Office, the average hourly earnings of skilled workers in the Iron and Steel industry and Cotton Textile

industry in U. S. A. amounted in March 1936 to 0.687 dollars and 0.500 dollars respectively. Expressed in rupees on the basis of an eight hour day, the figures come to Rs. 450 and Rs. 327.6 respectively. It will at once be seen that in comparison with the earnings of the workers in the Engineering and Textile industries in Bombay the U. S. A. figures are higher by more than five times and seven times respectively. Therefore, from this standpoint also the case for Indian salaries being lower than the salaries in U. S. A. is quite strong.

Finally, a comparative analysis of the budgets of the two countries also leads us to the same conclusion. In population U. S. A. is smaller than India. Nevertheless, we find that while in India the revenue receipts for 1936-37 were estimated at Rs. 1,22,76,41,000, the actual receipts in U. S. A. in 1935-36 amounted to 4,115,956,615 dollars or Rs. 1,123,15,61,559. It will be seen that the revenues of U. S. A. are higher than the revenues of India by 814 per cent or nine times. One would expect that the salaries of public officials in the two countries would reflect their respective budgetary positions.

But coming to the actual facts we find that the position is quite different. The President of the United States, for example,—who in status, power and international prestige stands far higher than the Governor-General of India and whose salary, therefore, we may well compare with the salary of the Governor-General of India in spite of the difference between the two countries in points of area and population,—draws a monthly salary of Rs. 17,062 as against Rs. 21,333 drawn by the Governor-General of India. The contrast is staggering. The Governor-General of a Dependency, the revenues of which amount to less than one-ninth of the revenues of U. S. A. and who rules over a people whose average income per head is about one-twenty-third of the average income of an American, draws a salary which is 1.2 times higher than the salary of the President of the U. S. A. It should be remembered that the salary of the Governor-General of India is only a part of his emoluments. His various allowances exceed his salary in the aggregate.

Still more staggering contrasts are traceable in the comparatively lower ranks of officials in the two countries. Thus, we find that, while a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council draws a salary of Rs. 6,667 per month, a member of the Cabinet of American President draws only Rs. 3,412. The Governor of New York State receives a salary of Rs. 5,687 per month while the Governor of C. P., the population of which is nearly equal to the population of New York, draws as much as Rs. 6,000 per month. The contrast is more pronounced in the case of South Dakota. The population of this State is just a little higher than the population of Delhi province. Yet, while the Chief Commissioner of Delhi draws a salary of Rs. 3,000 per month, the Governor of South Dakota does not get more than Rs. 682 per month. Again, while the Chief Justice of Bengal gets a salary of Rs. 6,000 per month the Chief Justice of the United States draws only Rs. 4,550. Unfortunately, we have not been able to ascertain the salaries of the officers of the Civil Services proper for the purpose of comparison with the officers of the corresponding ranks in India. But we may draw inferences from the above figures. America is not a Socialist State believing in equality nor has any one in America yet accepted a cabinet post on a salary lower than the lowest paid Sub-Divisional Officer as the Congressmen have done in India. We may legitimately infer, therefore, that the salaries of Civil Servants in U. S. A. must be proportionately lower than the salaries of Cabinet Ministers and Governors. In that case, those salaries are bound to be lower than the salaries of Indian officers, not relatively but absolutely as has been demonstrated above in the cases of some of the highest officials of the State.

So, then, even the "Land of Dollars" does not squander away public money over salaries in the same way as is done in India. There the salary of the officials bears a reasonable proportion to the revenues of the State and the average income of the people. The Congress in India wants to introduce the principle which is already at work in U. S. A.

India and Other Empire Countries
(£1=Rs. 13⅓)

No study of the question of the salaries of public servants in India can be deemed complete if the salaries prevailing in other Empire countries, especially Great Britain, are not included in the scope. This has become all the more imperative because recently the British Parliament has, after due consideration and prolonged deliberations, voted for substantial increase in the salaries of the members of the Cabinet. We propose, therefore, to examine briefly in this section these salaries and the salaries prevailing in other Dominions, Colonies and Dependencies.

To view the salaries prevalent in the Empire countries in the proper perspective it

should be carefully borne in mind that the scales of salaries in Britain as well as in other Empire countries have been determined by British Imperialism whose quest for colonies was inspired as much by a desire for commercial expansion as by the desire for finding lucrative jobs for the capable youths of Great Britain. Therefore, consciously or sub-consciously the desire to fix the scale of salaries at the highest attainable level was throughout present in the minds of those who had anything to do with the determination of these salaries. Secondly, it should also be borne in mind that in all these cases, as in the case of India, the bulk of the revenues was to be derived from the natives of the colonies who had no voice in the matter of the disposal of the revenues and who could, therefore, be bled white with impunity. This is why the salaries in certain Empire countries are on a par with the salaries prevalent in India.

These observations, however, do not hold good in the case of the United Kingdom. Great Britain as the heart of the British Empire, is prosperous almost to a fabulous extent. With a population which is just a little over 12 per cent of the population of India, Great Britain enjoys prosperity which cannot bear any comparison with the negative prosperity of India. According to the modest calculations of the British Board of Trade, Great Britain draws an annual income of £185 million or Rs. 246,66,66,666 from her overseas investments and £75 million or Rs. 100,00,00,000 from her shipping. According to a moderate estimate, Britain's national income *per capita* amounts to £93 or Rs. 1,240 which is more than fifteen times or 1450 per cent higher than the *per capita* income in India. The monthly earning of a skilled labourer in the Engineering industry in Britain amounts to Rs. 185 which is more than double the monthly earning of a steam engine driver in Bombay. Lastly, the actual revenue receipts of Great Britain for 1935-36 were higher than the budget estimate of the Government of India for 1936-37 by Rs. 10,036,027,587 or more than 817 per cent. It is unnecessary to say anything more to establish the relative prosperity of Britain.

Yet, in spite of such prosperity the salaries in Great Britain are not even absolutely higher than the salaries of public officials in India. Even after the recent increase, the salary of the Prime Minister of Great Britain stands at only Rs. 11,111 which is higher than the salary of the Governor of Bengal by only a little over 11 per cent but lower than the salary of the Governor-General of India by Rs. 10,222 or a little over 91 per cent. To put it in another way, the Prime Minister of Great Britain takes only ·00009 per cent of the revenues of England while the Governor-General of India draws as much as .001 per cent of the revenue of India.

We are led to more interesting conclusions when we examine the salaries of the other Ministers in Britain in relation to the salaries of the occupiers of ministerial posts in India. Under the new Baldwin dispensation in England each Minister in the Cabinet receives an annual salary of £5,000 or Rs. 5,555 per month. Obviously this salary is lower than the salary of a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council which is 6,667 by a little over 20 per cent. It is, of course, higher than the salary of a provincial minister in India. One can, of course, cite the instance of, say, the Prime Minister of Bengal and say with a flourish that here at least India has shown economy. But this is largely an appearance. To understand the reality we must examine the figures a little more closely. We then find that the salary of a Cabinet Minister in Britain represents only ·00004 per cent of the revenues of England while, the salary of the Premier of Bengal represents as much as .002 per cent of the revenues of Bengal. To bring out the truth more clearly, let us point out that ·00004 per cent. of the revenues of Bengal amounts to only Rs. 45·8 which, proportionately with a Minister of England, a Minister of Bengal ought to receive. Now, let the reader judge for himself whether the Congress is aiming at a Utopia in fixing the maximum salary at Rs. 500 per month.

We need not discuss in details the glaring discrepancies between the salaries of the members of the respective civil services proper of England and India. Mr. D. R. Gadgil of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics has done so with remarkable lucidity in his admirable tract entitled *The Salaries of Public Officials in India*, and the inquisitive reader should well spend a few profitable hours with that work. It is sufficient if we simply point out here that the highest salary which a British civil servant can look to is only £3,000 per annum or Rs. 3,333 per month and that when he rises to the post of the Permanent Secretary of a department the total number of which one can count on one's finger. The total strength of the British administrative class is 1,140 of whom the majority have to be satisfied with salaries ranging between Rs. 777 and Rs. 1,000 per month. Yet it is never said in England, as it is repeated with vehemence in India, that the best type of young men cannot be attracted

to State services if a high salary is not offered to lure them away from lucrative business and professions.

India and Canada
(1 Canadian Dollar=Rs. 2.7)

Let us take the case of Canada next. The *per capita* national income in Canada amounts to Rs. 1,398 which is more than 17 times the *per capita* income in India. Though having a population which is lower than the population of C. P. by over 16 lakhs, Canada has a revenue of Rs. 533,118,493 which is higher than the revenues of C. P. by about 48 crores. In other words, the finances of Canada are more than 11 times better than the finances of C. P. Yet the Prime Minister of Canada receives only Rs. 3,375 per month which is lower than what used to be paid to a member of the Executive Council before the 1st April last. Other Ministers in Canada receive only Rs. 2,250 each, which is lower than the salary of any Divisional Commissioner.

India and South Africa

To take the instance of the Union of South Africa next, we find that in point of population it stands just a little higher than Assam which, by the way, is the poorest province in India. We have no figures of *per capita* income in South Africa, but the prosperity of the Union may well be guessed from the fact that the revenues of South Africa in 1934-35 amounted to more than 21 times the revenues of Assam. Yet we find that the Prime Minister of South Africa receives a salary of Rs. 3,888 which is higher than what used to be paid to a former executive councillor by only about Rs. 300. The rest of the Minister in South Africa receive only Rs. 2,777 each.

The salaries of officers in the administrative ranks are much lower, the highest admissible being only Rs. 1,777. In self-explanatory contrast with this, we may point out that there are in poor Assam more than 20 officers of the Imperial Services who receive salaries higher than Rs. 2,000 per month.

India and Turkey
(1 Turkish Pound=Rs. 2-2 as.)

Let us refer in passing to Turkey which is a rising power in the East. There are in Turkey 18 groups of Government officials who draw salaries on different scales. The highest salary in Turkey is only Rs. 318 per month. Therefore, the question of comparison with India does not arise at all, for in India even a Deputy Collector does not start his career on less than Rs. 300 per month.*

It is just possible that the economists of Turkey will charge the Congress with extravagance for having fixed the maximum salary at Rs. 500 a month.

Conclusion

The question of salaries of public servants is an all-important one for any State. It is more so for India because here Imperialism has introduced a system which is unique in its inequity. It has impoverished an already poor exchequer, diverted a substantial portion of national finances to unproductive channels leading to the retardation of national development, created a new aristocracy of position and wealth, divided artificially the population of India, lured away the promising youths from industrial pursuits and, last but not the least, created a formidable group who are impelled by sheer instinct of self-preservation to side with British Imperialism as against all movements for the radical reconstruction of society. The system deserves to be studied from all points of view and thoroughly overhauled. The scope of our study in this article, however, has been a limited one. We have tried, and we believe successfully, to establish, on the one hand, that the existing scales of salaries in India are disproportionately high and, on the other, that the Congress has not its gaze fixed at the sky. We have shown, even excluding rigorously all allowances attached to particular posts which, every one knows, constitute a substantial addition to the salary, that, not to speak of relatively, Indian salaries are even absolutely higher than the salaries of officials in other countries. We have even shown with unimpeachable statistical evidence that on the basis of the principle at work in Britain, the highest salary in India ought to be much less than Rs. 500 per month.

[The materials for this article have been obtained from the office of the All-India Congress Committee at Allahabad.]

* Yet the revenues of Turkey were budgeted in 1936-37 at 212.764,000 Turkish pounds or Rs. 45,21,23,500 as against Rs. 11,22,67,000 of Bombay which is comparable with Turkey in point of population.

MAKING INDIA SELF-SUPPLYING IN COTTON GOODS

By NARAYANDAS BAJORIA, B.A.

It is only five years after the passing of the Sugar Protection Act (by which a duty of about 200% was imposed on foreign sugar) that India has become independent in its total requirement of sugar and there is even talk of exporting surplus production of sugar in the near future.

At present India imports cotton goods including yarn etc. to the value of Rs. 21 crores 14 lakhs (1935-36) and exports raw cotton to the extent of Rs. 33 crores 70 lakhs (1935-36). There are negotiations going on with Japan and Britain as to the quantity of cotton goods to be imported in India and the raw cotton to be exported to them. I do not understand how India can gain from such negotiations with regard to cotton goods. Out of the sum of Rs. 21 crores 14 lakhs, a sum of about Rs. 7 crores represent the value of cotton and the amount of Rs. 14 crores or thereabout is the value of manufacturing charges. The latter amount can easily be saved by the Government for the Indian Public, by taking similar measures as it did take in regard to sugar.

If a duty of say 150% be put on all foreign goods and say 100% on British manufactures (giving Britain a preference of 50% as against foreign manufactures) India is sure to become independent of all cotton manufactures in the course of a few years and a sum of Rs. 14 to 15 crores, which goes out of the country at present, can be saved for the Nation. The amount can be taken back from the Cotton Mills by imposing a duty of say 25% to 50% on all cotton goods manufactured in the mills just as an Excise duty of Rs. 1-8 per maund is levied on the mill made sugar. The value on cotton goods manufactured in the mills amount to about Rs. 70 to 80 crores including the foreign cloth, which will be replaced by the Indian mills. The Excise duty will afford a revenue of at least Rs. 25 crores. Deducting some five crores at present realised by the import duty on foreign cotton goods, a balance of about say Rs. 20 crores additional revenue will be available which sum should be utilized for providing *compulsory and primary education* for the Indian masses. If a crore and a half rupees per month be spent on compulsory primary education, some three lakhs Primary Schools can be opened giving employment to at least three lakhs educated persons. Thus all our Graduates, Under-graduates, even Matriculates may be employed to act as teachers, inspectors and other officers for the Primary Schools, which may be opened at least one for every two or three villages. Thus the *unemployment question of our educated young men* will be solved to a very large extent.

The Excise duty on mill cloth will be the much needed protection to the Khaddar movement affording additional employment to the millions of widows and starving peasantry of the country to whom even an additional income of one pice per day is so very necessary to keep body and soul together.

Now let us find out on whom the additional taxation of the Excise duty will fall. As a result of the Excise duty, mill cloth will become 25% to 50% dearer. To the very rich, the extra price of cloth will be like a fly's bite. Of course, the middle classes will feel the rise in price, but on the other hand they will be benefited by the income that will be earned by them as teachers in the Primary Schools. For the very poorer classes, the rise in price of mill cloth will stimulate them into activity from their present lethargy and make them manufacture their own cloth at home, and thus giving them some additional employment and income in their present forced leisure. To the widows and old women, it will be a relief of which they have been deprived since the advent of the cotton mills.

The stumbling block to the above scheme is the quantity of cotton goods imported from Great Britain. If the public opinion is very strong on this point, the Government will impose a duty on Japanese goods just as they have done in the case of sugar from Java. But the case of British goods is different. But in the interest of India's millions, in the cause of removing illiteracy from the masses, in the cause of giving employment to the unemployed educated youths of the country, it is absolutely necessary that a prohibitive duty be put on all foreign cotton goods including British and thus save Rs. 14 to 15 crores which goes out of the land every year. I will be glad to hear criticism of the above scheme.

THE ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF WAR

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

This is the season for the meetings of the great political parties in England. The Conservative Party Conference begins in about ten days time. The Labour Party meets at Bournemouth next week and the chief matter to be considered will be their statement on International Policy and Defence. Undoubtedly this is the most important matter for the consideration of any political party and indeed of any nation. An undeclared war is being waged in all its barbarity in China. Civil war, with one side aided by the two totalitarian Powers, has been going on for more than a year in Spain. And indeed Europe itself has been hovering on the brink of war for the last couple of years.

Never before have we had nations in time of peace so heavily armed and so feverishly making preparations to increase their armaments. As history shows there can only be one end to such preparations—War.

One is constantly hearing about the "next war." But with a sound foreign policy the arms race might be stopped and the next war would never happen. The League of Nations can be made strong if given a sufficient lead by Great Britain. National armies would then become part of the international police force and the rule of law would take the place of brute force, the law of the jungle.

To anyone who looks at it calmly the arms race is madness. What, after all, is the object that each country has in view ? To make itself so strong in arms and armaments that no other nation can equal it. But what are the other nations doing meanwhile ? They are meeting this by trying to outrun the first nation in the arms race and themselves become stronger than any other nation. The security of one country is the insecurity of others. Then follows the alliance of one nation with another leading to the old bad "balance of power" theory. The only safe method is that of collective security and the joint action of all nations—joined in a League for the maintenance of peace—to take joint action against *any* aggressor who would break that peace. That means a giving up of some of our insular prejudice about national sovereignty but that is worth it for the greater peace.

The brotherhood of man is a fact that is only beginning to be realized. No man liveth unto himself and no nation can live unto itself. National, racial and class barriers must go. The barbarity of war is a crime against humanity. The Great War benefited no one and left everyone worse off than before. There were no fewer than 33,000,000 casualties, 10,000,000 dead, and a direct financial expenditure of no less than £37,000,000,000. In this country alone—and we were successful in the War—our War Debts amounted to £10,000,000,000. Taxation was increased four-fold and unemployment increased twenty-fold.

If this is to be avoided in the future everyone must work for a world where co-operation instead of competition is the keynote, in a word, for a world co-operative commonwealth.

In the past one could generally depend on treaty obligations being observed by the Great Powers. But even that has gone by the board. There seems to be no such thing as a general observance of international law. As the *Daily Herald* recently observed :

> "International organisation for the peaceful settlement of disputes and the defence of law is in ruins. There is nothing really which stands between the aggressor and his victim."

We were nearer peace, and the foundations of an international peace, during the time the Labour Party was in office in this country than at any other time since the end of the World War. In 1924, the Labour Government brought forward the Geneva Protocol which was designed to give the whole world an international system with a basis of arbitration and disarmament and collective security for every member of the League. For purely party purposes the Conservatives launched a fraudulent "red letter" at the General Election in that year with which they deluded the electors and won the Election. One of the first things they did was to scrap the Protocol and delay calling any Disarmament Conference.

When the second Labour Government took office five years later the conditions were very much worse. But even then the amount of pacific work that stands to the credit of the late Arthur Henderson as Foreign Secretary is tremendous. He secured the evacuation of the Rhineland. He arranged diplomatic and commercial relations with Russia. He negotiated the London Treaty of Naval Limitation with America and Japan and was instrumental in getting the Dominions and many foreign nations to accept the principle of compulsory

arbitration in international disputes. The authority of the League then stood high. A European Commission of Economic Co-operation was formed which was intended to remove the economic causes of war. Mr. Henderson had also intended to have a Disarmament Conference and prospects for such a Conference looked good.

In 1931, came the slump for which at the time the Labour Government was blamed—although, after attaining power, the National Government and its members were quite willing to admit, and did admit, that the causes of the slump had nothing whatever to do with the actions of the Labour Government or of its members.

The so-called "National" Government however took office and since then things in the foreign field have gone from bad to worse. The British Government, instead of continuing this country's leadership in the League of Nations, was very luke-warm in its support of the League and ran away from almost every one of its international responsibilities and opportunities. It allowed and almost encouraged Japan to over-run and occupy a considerable part of China. Mr. Stimson, the U. S. A. Secretary of State, has pointed out in so many words that Japan was directly encouraged in her action against China in 1931, by the attitude of some English leading newspapers particularly the *Times*. But it was not only the newspapers supporting the Government that were to blame. The Japanese delegate at Geneva pointed out that our Foreign Secretary, Sir John Simon, had said in half an hour what he, Mr. Matsuoka, had been trying to say in his bad English for the past ten days! The National Government practically wrecked the Disarmament Conference and so encouraged Germany to abandon the last symbols of democracy and to begin rearming on an unprecedented scale.

This rearmament by Germany was known to Mr. Baldwin's Government but at the last General Election he deliberately misled the electors and after the Election calmly explained in the House of Commons that he did so because otherwise his Party would have lost the Election. Surely a more callous statement was never made by any statesman!

Events quickly followed that showed how little influence Great Britain had in the foreign field. In 1934, democracy was crushed in Austria. In 1935, Mussolini was allowed to over-run Abyssinia, in spite of Sir Samuel Hoare's speech just before the General Election that the Government were pledged to steady and collective resistance to aggression in any part of the world. That speech also did much to return the present Government to office. Soon after the General Election however Sir Samuel Hoare produced a plan for the partition of Abyssinia for which the British Government was responsible along with M .Laval of France. So great was the public indignation that Sir Samuel Hoare had to resign his office as Foreign Secretary. It was not long however before Mr. Baldwin found for him another office in the Government—to prove that he and the Government really did not blame Sir Samuel Hoare as the public certainly did.

In the Spanish Civil War we have done little or nothing to prevent Germany and Italy arming General Franco in his rebellion against the Government established by law in Spain. Indeed we have rather helped them than otherwise because we have prevented arms going to the Government in Spain—while the rebels can get as much as they require from Germany and Italy.

Labour's programme is intended to strengthen and reinvigorate the League. It proposes to organize as far as possible a scheme of collective security and econmic co-operation—and form a strong group of nations pledged to mutual aid against aggression and to effective co-operation amongst themselves. This group would be open to any nation that cared to join and share its benefits on condition that it undertook the obligations consequent upon its joining in.

Raw materials would be available on equal terms to all nations. Tariffs would be reduced to enable freer trading. It is hoped that in this way many of the difficulties of Germany, Italy and Japan would be met by international agreement and that an end might be put to the appalling arms race that is at present going on.

A General Disarmament Treaty might then be negotiated with provisions for international supervision. A breach of this Treaty would be met by an immediate imposition of sanctions. Arbitration not only in international disputes but in connection with questions about Treaty Revision would be the rule. Truly a consummation devoutly to be desired!

It is very significant that war in the Far East is being waged by the Japanese and in Spain by the Germans and Italians chiefly for economic reasons to enable them to have access to raw materials.

Nearly 54% of China's coal is in North China which Japan is now endeavouring to make a province of Japan. Japan is short of coal and Manchuria can neither give her the

quantity nor the quality which she requires. (Japan also desires to get control of the South Manchurian Railway which links up several of the most important cities in China and Manchuria.)

In Spain the German position was put quite brutally by Herr Hitler on 27th June last in his speech at Wuerzburg in these words: "Germany needs to import ore. That is why we want a Nationalist Government in Spain so that we may be able to buy Spanish ore." It is interesting to note that this statement was suppressed in the German Press.

Some of the large German Banks and industrial organizations have large financial interests in Spain. The great armament firm, Krupps, has money in the Asturian coal mines as well as in the Basque iron mines. The I. G. Farben Company (the German chemical and dye trust) controls acids, fertilisers, and dyes in Spain. The great German electrical concerns like the A. E. G. and Siemens have both got their own factories in Spain. The Metallgesellschaft, the main source of Germany's raw materials for armaments, has business agreements with Italian metal concerns in the joint organization and expansion of the Spanish mines to enable both of them to be independent of Great Britain, France and Sweden.

German and British mining interests in Spain are also linked up in European Pyrites Ltd. This is the largest organization in the world for the sale of pyrites and pyrites residues. It is interesting to note that this firm is jointly owned by the German Metallgesellschaft and by the British Rio Tinto Company Limited, the largest copper producers in Europe.

The attack on the Basque territory by General Franco and his German and Italian freebooters can be understood when one realizes that the Basque territory produces at least 70 per cent of Spain's iron ore exports. Soon after the fall of Bilbao, General Franco, on July 19th, 1937, concluded a commercial treaty with Germany. On that day the *Boersen Zeitung* of Germany stated that,

"It can be regarded only as a matter of course that after the conquest of Bilbao by the National Government, the German iron industry should once again enjoy its contractual rights to a supply of iron ore. In addition it was to be expected that the Spanish National Government would see to it that the German iron industry is compensated for the loss that it has suffered from the illegal intervention of the Red Government in Bilbao in favour of the iron industries of other countries, which will be unable to dispute the justice of such a proceeding by the Spanish National Government. These events and the attitude of the other iron industries may conveniently be mentioned, as it has become known that in the same countries, and not only by private interests, complaints have been made against the German industry, because in recent months it accepted Franco's offer of additional supplies of pyrites and copper ore."

Germany and Italy however are not the only two countries who may be concerned in the economic future of Spain. Great Britain's large interests in Spain, especially in the mining areas of the Basque country, will be used to try to bring pressure on the British Government to grant belligerent rights to General Franco. The *Daily Mail* Spanish Correspondent tells us that General Franco has decided to carry out a drastic retaliation if the British Government refuse to grant him belligerent rights. We are further told that he will order the expulsion of every British subject from rebel Spain. As the *Daily Mail* adds (July 12th, 1937):

"British mining interests in that territory held by the insurgents are very considerable and the threat is viewed as a serious one."

General De Llano, who is well-known as Franco's chief broadcasting spokesman, stated by radio from Seville as quoted in the *Daily Telegraph* of 12th July, 1937:

"The Nationalists could not guarantee the mining property of nations which are not willing to recognise General Franco."

He added that the Nationalists had power to stop work in the mines.

The great mining concern in this country are quite alive to the position and in their official magazine, the *Metal Bulletin*, of 27th July, 1937, they say:

". . . Renewed anxieties have developed regarding the maintenance of ore supplies, in view of the reported terms of the German Government's agreement with General Franco. There are now strict limits to the tonnage of ironstone that can be drawn from the Cleveland mines and the district is largely dependent upon imported ores. Increased tonnage have latterly been arriving in the Tees from Scandinavia and Northern Africa, but local consumers have large interests in the Biscaya mines and had been hoping that a resumption of imports from Bilbao would soon be possible. It is reported however that under the new agreement the bulk of the Bilbao ores will be directed to Germany and if this be confirmed serious representations are likely to be made to the British Board of Trade."

One can only hope that the British ideas of freedom and justice will prevail against pressure that will undoubtedly come from the great capitalist interests in this country many of whom, however, there seems reason to believe, would be prepared to sacrifice any such ideas of freedom and justice if by so doing they could increase their already very large profits.

Westminster,
27th September, 1937.

SOME ASPECTS OF CHILD EDUCATION IN RUSSIA

By Srimati SUCHETA DEVI

"From each according to his capacity to each according to his need"—may be said to be the guiding principle of the Soviet State. U. S. S. R. hopes to reach the goal by the application of the Marxian philosophy of dialectic materialism. It believes that through social struggle and conflict the next sociological stage will be reached. In this struggle man will not be a mere spectator, but will mould his environment and be moulded by it as well. Hence, it becomes the paramount duty of the Socialist State to alter the environment in such a manner as to evolve a new type of man, not individualistic and predatory but social and co-operative. By planned economy the State proposes to give the necessary material environment, and by correct education it proposes to provide adequate psychological equipment for the new man.

Economics, politics and education are co-ordinated and correlated in Russia. The State is one-pointed, and has an aim, namely, the growth and happiness of its citizen. All its varying activities are but different facets of one single movement directed to one single purpose. The State therefore must guide and control all activities including the education of the young. Naturally its most important concern is to see that the correct ideology is placed before the growing citizen. As a first step towards this, individual acquisitive instinct is sought to be replaced by social and co-operative outlook. Not wealth and ostentation, but co-operation in the building up of a new and equitable social order, are the essentials of good citizenship. The storm worker, rather than the famous cricketer or the cinema star, enjoys prestige, and is held up as an example to the young. The financial security of the individual, and the absence of economic competition have destroyed the instinct to amass wealth. The acquisitive instinct has been replaced by community service. The only competition that remains is of service and of efficiency.

The education for this novel conception in human history begins from the cradle. Even the nursing rhymes emphasise it. The growing child prattles:

"Will you be of the 'Lenin tsi', (Lenin boy)
Hear the rules then every one.
Try to serve the whole community,
Show the other how it is done.
Will you be of the Lenin tsi?
Work well while you are at school,
You've a job? then put your heart in it,
Not slack obedience to a rule—"
etc.

Not Kings and processions, gay dresses and 'sugar candy' fill the imagination of the little child, but something useful and active, not on that account dreary. To the Russian child the State is as gay and colourful as the 'Old King Cole' with all his 'fiddles' and 'bowls.'

As I said, the Soviet idea of culture takes life as a whole. The development of the individual in his entirety with the social background is the aim of the new education. The State guides the policy of the school and the school identifies itself with the aim of the State. The success and failure of the Government plans concern the school as much as they concern any other department. The political anniversaries, economic and social plans play their part in the school life. For instance, school authorities concern themselves with the Five-Year Plan. The sowing and harvesting campaigns are the themes of class lessons. The growing and developing Russian is fully alive to all the State activities. Perhaps the little one in Russia, has more information of the State plans and projects than many a grown-up elsewhere. What is imparted to the pupil is not bits of isolated knowledge of facts and figures but a conscious effort is made to correlate theory with practice. The pupils get information on "politics, economics, social science, morals, manners, customs, work and play" in addition to the ordinary curriculum. The aim is to produce a cultivated and cultured adult who would easily take his place in society.

In earlier years politics dominated the educational field greatly, dwarfing the growing national capacities. Facts were coloured, even distorted, to square with the Bolshevik ideology. Even the teaching of history was considered unnecessary. This made education propagandist and one-sided. But the educational system acquired greater equilibrum as conditions became more stable. There has been a distinct change since 1932. No more do the walls of the infant and nursery schools bear ugly political posters and pictures of machines and tractors, the more natural pictures of birds

and animals and things of the child's interest have taken their place. The songs they sing are not all political. There is some attempt to teach unbiased history of facts and not to fill the mind of the pupil with political catch words and denunciations of the capitalist order. Though even now education is under the complete control of politics, some of the grave defects natural to a revolutionary period are being progressively eliminated.

The apprehension, so current, that the individual is getting crushed and neglected in the communist state is not true, so far as education is concerned. The individual's right to selfish and erratic action is surely not finding much scope, but ample opportunity is provided for the development of the initiative and individuality of the citizen. A highly developed state must have highly developed individuals who, after all, are the units making up the whole. The possibilities of development are within the reach of the many, instead of the privileged few, as in capitalist society. Not merely elementary education, the utmost ambition of a capitalist society, but all facilities for self-expression in arts, crafts, music, drama, cinema and higher education are provided for the average citizen in the more advanced Republics of U. S. S. R. In the backward areas development is slow, not through state neglect but because of inadequate means.

Education is completely free in Russia. It is free in the creche, the school, the university, workers' evening institutes, research, dramatic, music and art academies and all other possible types of institutions. The only people that once were deprived of the facilities of higher education were the children of certain classes of bourgeois parents and of the disenfranchised. But the Communist Youth League raised a cry against the injustice of punishing the children for the sin of the parents and as more and more facilities were made available this ban was removed by a decree of the Central Executive Committee in December, 1935. Education therefore, in Soviet Russia, is completely free for all and all can equally avail of it.

Not only is education free but it is subsidised to a great extent. To facilitate higher education among the workers 80% of such students are given grants sufficient to maintain themselves. Many of them are married and have children for whom they receive extra allowance during the study period. The scholarship system in Russia works differently from capitalist states. In the latter the State gives opportunity through scholarship, to a few of the proletariat who, when educated get de-classed and cease to benefit their class. They join the ranks of the exploiters. On the other hand the Russian worker after receiving education, still remains a worker and helps to raise his class.

Another aspect of Soviet education is that it is perfectly classless in character. The schools are more or less of the same type following the same plan and curriculum. There are no private, public and free school distinctions as elsewhere. Till the age of 16 all children receive the same education. After that, specialisation begins. Sex equality, one of the key-notes of Russian society, is also manifest here. The system of co-education has not, it would appear, produced any serious social problem; rather some experts are of opinion that it has resulted in making the Russian youth less sex-conscious and is helping to establish a healthier sex-relation. In this connection Beatrice King remarks that,

"The youth with which I came in contact appeared to be singularly free from sex pre-occupation and genuinely so."

Of course co-education alone is not responsible for this. Complete absence from the press, from the theatre and cinema that children attend, of sex exhibitionism stimulative of sex curiosity, are some of the other causes. The courses of study and examinations are the same for boys and girls, even in the case of manual training. Girls are learning to handle lathes and tools, while little boys are not above taking up the needle and thread. In the factory apprentice schools and workshops girls learn all the processes except those too strenuous for them. Sex distinction comes only in matters of health. Marriage and motherhood are no handicap for women students. They are given monetary assistance, and suitable quarters in the hostels. The creches and kindergarten look after the babies.

This equality in educational facilities applies not only to sex but also to races and nationalities. The U. S. S. R. has to provide for the education of the 100 nationalities that inhabit Russia. No race is relegated to the position of subject race. The backward races, if anything, are the greater concern of the State. The central authority often allots larger sums for education in the backward areas. Some of the backward communities had no alphabet of their own. After considerable efforts new alphabets are created, text books written and schools opened in these areas. The magnitude of the task is evident from the fact that 75 new alphabets have been created to suit the

different native tongues. Even the nomadic tribes are roped in and attempts are made to provide travelling schools for them.

An interesting problem is the place of religion in Soviet education. Its education is essentially atheistic and material and as such religion has no part in it. But anti-religion is no more propagated through the educational institutions as it was in the beginning. If some children choose to have faith in religion they are no more persecuted. It is a fact however that the whole atmosphere and environment tends to undermine religious faith. Much of course depends on the individual teachers, some may have a more, others a less, aggressive attitude, and their views naturally influence the pupils under them. The fact however remains that the students do imbibe atheistic ideas.

The place of religion is taken by the ethics of communism. It consists of practical rules of conduct that form the foundation of the daily life of every communist. The Soviet citizen is taught to be moral because the communist state can only be benefited, by a moral people. For the Russian only such acts are wrong that are likely to injure the community. No action is weighed down by the consciousness of sin against God, and there is no fear of God. Their only criterion here, as in other spheres of Soviet life, is the well-being of the State. Social opinion of course plays an important part. A tradition of communist behaviour is growing up and this has as much tendency to rigidity as any previous morality.

The actual working and organization of the educational system in Russia is, however, too elaborate to be even briefly dealt with here. Apart therefore from the organization which is general, I propose to confine myself to school education only.

Each Republic has its own Commissariat of Education. Its head is the commissar appointed by the Central Executive Committee. He is assisted by two Vice-commissars. There is also an Education Commission consisting of experts in different subjects, which helps the Commissariat. The third body, the central planning commission, which plans the economy of the whole union, has a cultural sector. It plans the education of the whole U.S.S.R. *i. e.*, it allots money to the different Republics from the central treasury and decides on such matters as the number of schools to be opened, the number of teachers to be appointed, libraries to be opened etc.

The Commissariat of Education deals with those problems of the Republic, as the issue of text books curricula, holidays, school-days. The Moscow Commissariat is the most powerful, influential and progressive body and serves as the model. It is divided into departments dealing with various educational grades, *viz.*, pre-school (infant) primary, incomplete secondary, higher education and teachers' training. It has other departments dealing with different branches of education as Research, Experiment, Art, Science, Music. Also there are departments for organization and planning, finance outdoor activities, theatres, cinema, text book, publication, adult education etc.

Below the commissariat of the different Republics are the regional, district and local educational authorities who deal with inspection and other educational affair, as school building, staff, equipment etc. The head or the director of secondary school is appointed by the local authority. He in his turn, appoints the staff in consultation with the local authority. The commissariat bears the financial responsibility of the school, but there is no hard and fast rule about it, it can be shared by the trade unions, co-operative societies and parents associations. The other bodies concerned with the school life in Russia are the school council and the parents council.

Planning which is characteristic of all Soviet activities is also present in education. The department of culture attached to the State planning commission, besides dealing with percentage of budgets to be allocated to education, number of schools to be opened in the union and such other matters, drafts the educational planning, *viz.*, curricula, syllabuses and time-tables. These are sent to the regional pedagogical institutes to be discussed. Then they are discussed and analysed at the teachers' conferences and finally returned to the centre with amendments and criticisms. The Centre after analysing it again, issues a report. These are for the guidance of the teachers and are binding upon them. Thus the Centre strictly guides and controls all teaching, though some local variations in the syllabuses are allowed. One good result of this system is the security that the educational authorities feel in going ahead with their policies and schemes of reform without any fear. Also all that is good in the work of teaching and organization is collected and preserved and made available to the educational worker. This to a certain extent curtails the initiative of the teacher.

Children's education begins early in Russia. Pre-school education includes the care of infants from birth to 7 years. From birth to the age of four, the child is under the care of the commissariat of Health. In this stage emphasis

is laid mainly on the physical well-being of the child, but education too has some place. The best of the creches are fitted with apparatus similar to that of Froebel and Montessori. It helps in the development of the child's senses and other faculties. The three characteristics of infant education are, its poly-technization, cultivation of collective outlook and teaching of self-discipline and self-government. In each little school there is a corner with carpenter's benches fit for six year olds and a cup-board of tools. Children also work with clay plasticine paper and are taught even to make pastry and soup! To cultivate the collective outlook, children are engaged in such work and play that require collective activity. For self-government, they are helped in no activity which they can themselves manage. They have to keep their rooms in order, to see to the care of toys, apparatus, cleanliness, laying of tables etc. As for discipline, it is taught to them through public opinion, through group criticism and wall newspaper. Corporal punishment is a legal offence. Creche is the place where emotional, mental, sense training, and habit formation begins.

From the creches the children are sent to the nursery and infant schools. These are similar to nursery schools found in other countries. Here besides the Director, the staff consists of the teachers, an artist and a psychologist. The teacher has to keep a daily record of the child in all its activities, its habits, table manners, cleanliness etc. She has also to submit three reports annually on each child. Some of these schools carry on research in child education on behalf of the commissariat of education, for which they receive special grants.

There is considerable co-operation between the school and the parents councils. Monthly meetings are held when the parents come and discuss general questions with the staff, specially the school psychologist. The latter has to visit the homes of the children, discuss problems with the parents and to see that the education of the child at home and at school are correlated. This happy co-operation is a big factor in making education useful and effective. Of course the standard of efficiency and organisation here described is reached only by a few schools. But this is the ideal after which every school strives.

Leaving the infant school the child enters the primary and secondary schools. These schools are at present divided into three grades, corresponding to the age groups—primary (eight to twelve years), incomplete secondary (eight to fifteen years) and secondary (eight to eighteen years). The attempt is to abolish the first two and have only the last, the ten years school. The schools generally work in two shifts, the primary schools in the mornings, while the incomplete secondary and secondary in the evenings. The same Director is often the head of the both and receives double salary.

In a well-equipped school besides the class rooms there are workshops for manual training and a work room for the youngest class, Physics, Chemistry and Biological Laboratories, Nature room, an Art room, an Assembly hall fitted for cinema with a stage, Gymnasium, a dining room, medical inspection room, a pedagogics room for discussion and research work in method, a staff room and a room for the director. In the School staff also we find features entirely new —for, in addition to the head and the teaching staff, there is a mistress for methods, a psychologist, a cultural superviser, a doctor, a nurse and a manual instructor. One or two 'Pioneer leaders,' *i.e.*, the leaders of the Young Communist League, are usually attached to the school. The pioneer leaders are workers in the factory, to which the school is attached and are delegated by the factory to attend to the school in non-academical matters.

The other bodies concerned with the school administration are the parents' council, school council and assistance committee. The last body, elected by the parents' council, helps the school by obtaining financial help, arranging meals, securing clothes for the needy pupils and by arranging and escorting the children to excursions and summer camps etc. The parents' council meets once a month to receive the report of the Director and discuss general affairs. It is a friendly and co-operative body helping the school and supplementing the work of the teacher in training the children. The third body, the general school conference or the meeting is the organ of children's self-government. To this the delegates are elected by the classes—one delegate for every 5 to 10 pupils. It meets thrice a year. Its functions are, to elect from among the students a "Pupils' committee" of 15 representatives and choose the various sub-committees, discuss plans of work and examine the work done, devise measures for improvement of the standard of work, look to discipline, organise and supervise 'Circle' and 'Brigades' work and discuss the report of the Director. Much intelligent and responsible work is required of the students, the improvement of the school being as much the students' concern as the teachers'.

The Pupils' Committee organizes the play time in school. It is also in charge of the

cleanliness and order, chooses monitors and arranges social evenings and sees that the pupils are not over-burdened with social duties. Social work forms a heavy item in the daily routine of the school children. This was especially so in the earlier days, because through them their village home and neighbourhoods had to be improved. The children were a great force in bringing literacy to the adults at home and making their surroundings clean and healthy. The Pupils' Committee appoints representatives to the Methods Bureau. It directs the School Wall newspaper. It settles problems arising out of bad behaviour and indiscipline, and along with the School Council it helps in uniting and harmonizing the work of the school and the Pioneer organization.

It might appear that too wide and responsible powers are allowed to the children—but we should bear in mind that they exercise these under the vigilance of the Director. The Director is responsible to the educational authorities for the efficient working of the school. He has to see that the children participate in the school work which developes their efficiency and initiative. Teachers also must co-operate in the self-governing activities of the children—without, however, destroying their initiative.

The school year is from September to June. Besides the summer vacation there are spring and winter vacations of two weeks each. It is the business of the educational authorities to guide the activities of the children during these holidays. About 75% of the town children spend 6 weeks of their vacation in summer camps organized by the teachers or other bodies. For the rest of the time they engage themselves in hobbies of all sorts, as open air libraries, dramas etc., organized by the cultural workers.

The teachers too, are not free for the whole of the vacation. They have to spend sometime in attending conferences, discussing problems and preparing syllabuses and time-tables. This results in a constant and lively effort on the part of the educational worker to improve the system. Much of the success is due to the co-operation of the workers and the help and inspiration of the central authority.

The period of work in school varies with different age groups from 4 to 6 hours a day. The subjects taught in the primary schools are mathematics, the Russian language, literature, nature study, geography, social science, polytechnized labour, art, music and physical culture. One foreign language is taught from class V. In the secondary school there are 18 subjects, besides those taught in the primary schools. The other subjects are: history, trigonometry, physics, chemistry, biology, industrial drawing, technology of materials used in manual work, and military studies. Not all these subjects are taught in all the classes.

The class lesson is the basis of teaching but it is supplemented by excursions to museums, factories, parks and public places and by practical work. As the school is generally attached to a factory or farm, children are much in contact with actual work. An interesting feature just now coming into vogue in the Soviet schools is the cine-lesson. When the teacher plans the term work he has to include two or three cine-lessons and prepare for them. A cine-lesson usually takes two days—one for the theoretical preparation, and the other for the actual illustration of it by the film. The cinema is not to replace the class teaching but to supplement, amplify and clarify knowledge. At present only a few schools make use of this method but it is becoming popular. Free courses are started to train teachers for cine-teaching.

The Soviet education system fully recognizes the place of Art in the training of the young. Their educationists believe that,

> "Arts work in the school must play a great educational and cultural role. The arts subjects properly taken, increase the general development of children, facilitate their studies in many directions and help to improve their general progress. Thus the graphic arts afford the children the means of thinking concretely."

Music and drawing are subjects regularly taught in schools, while drama, though not included in the curriculum, is an important feature of school activity.

Dramatic performances are organized on special occasions. They are not however isolated performances unconnected with their study or life around. Dramatic work is closely correlated to such subjects as history, social science and literature. Students take an intelligent interest in the art of drama itself. At the end of the primary school period the children are expected to know the theme of the drama, the material out of which the theme develops and the relation between words and actions of the play. They are expected to think out a play, draw sets for it and act a story or a poem or some incident of school or home life. They must also learn the technique of speech and action. In the secondary schools higher knowledge and understanding of dramatic art is required. Students are to know the construction of the play and the dramatic development. They should be able to dissect the play into its elements and also write plays.

The production of a play or a dramatized story requires drawings, models, costumes, posters, etc., which have all to be made by the students themselves. Outside school the dramatic talents of the children find ample scope in the children's theatres. The first of these was started by Natalie Satz the young dramatic genius and others have now followed.

Polytechnical training is another important branch of Soviet education. It is not possible to describe this branch of study here in detail. However it must not be confused with the manual training classes that are found attached to schools elsewhere. It is not merely technical training, but a system of correlation between education and life. It prepares the children to be skilful and understanding workers of the community. The aim is not only to produce skilled workers but to make them understand the material they use and the significance of the production in the economic scheme of the country. In the 1930 conference for 'The Reconstruction of National Economy and Polytechnized Education,' Krupskaya explained the system :

"The aim of polytechnized education was the all round education of a highly developed worker who could at the same time be worker and the master of industry....What was wanted was to equip the great masses with elementary industrial culture, and to arm them with a wide polytechnized outlook and the ability to apply their knowledge and skill to the most varied conditions."

The rapidity with which education has advanced in Russia can be measured by the few figures given here :

	1913	1934-35
Illiteracy—percentage of population	78%	8%
Pupils in primary and secondary schools	7,800,600	26 million.

All this illustrates the great progress made by Russia in the field of culture and knowledge. Latent intellectual and artistic talents have been released to an extent unprecedented in human history. Apart from its practical value, the Soviet system of education has opened to masses of humanity opportunities of intellectual and artistic appreciation and delight denied to them in all former ages.

INDIANS AND YOKE OF INFERIORITY

By Dr. B. C. ROY

Indian students have a great deal to learn from every walk of life in Britain. The students who come out here have, no doubt, come to better their individual prospects but those who have been favoured with an opportunity to study in Britain should not only think in terms of rupees, annas and pies and personal comforts but should consider what contribution they are going to make towards the future of India. It is not only in the sphere of specialized and technical knowledge that India need them but also as humble servants of the dumb millions that the country need the service of the privileged few who are receiving education in British Universities. India is passing through a transition period, and in this period it is the duty of every young Indian to be determined to give a helping hand in the glorious construction of future India.

Freedom, cannot be given but it must grow from within. Freedom has with it many restrictions. It should be tempered with self-discipline and that could be learned from the numerous examples in every street in this country. Here, you see every individual has his freedom but he willingly subordinates himself to the restrictions which are essential for the social goodwill and respect of every other individual. This lesson we should learn from this country, because in the awakening of the new idea of freedom in India self-discipline should be coupled with it, otherwise a great danger may result with a new political responsibility. There is a great need of unfaltering self-confidence and freedom from the 'Inferiority Complex.' We should grow self-confidence, and throw away the yoke of inferiority. We should be able to achieve and do what other nations have done for themselves. The Indian students suffer from this complex even in the classrooms. Their intellectual activities are enormously hampered by this complex. As far as academic brilliance goes, man to man Indian students would by far out-distance their fellow Britishers, if they could only get rid of this mentality. This inferiority complex is the direct outcome of the present disheartening political situation at home.

[The above is the gist of an address delivered by Dr. B. C. Roy, ex-Mayor of Calcutta, at a reception given to him in the hall of the Indian Association at 11, George Square, Edinburgh, in the afternoon of 30th July, 1937 when he paid a flying visit there.]

THE RASHTRAPATI

By "CHANAKYA"

"Rashtrapati Jawaharlal ki Jai!" The Rashtrapati looked up as he passed swiftly through the waiting crowds, his hands went up and were joined together in salute and his pale hard face was lit up by a smile. It was a warm personal smile and the people who saw it responded to it immediately and smiled and cheered in return.

The smile passed away and again the face became stern and sad, impassive in the midst of the emotion that it had roused in the multitude. Almost it seemed that the smile and the gesture accompanying it had little reality behind them; they were just tricks of the trade to gain the goodwill of the crowds whose darling he had become. Was it so?

Watch him again. There is a great procession and tens of thousands of persons surround his car and cheer him in an ecstacy of abandonment. He stands on the seat of the car balancing himself rather well, straight and seemingly tall, like a god, serene and unmoved by the seething multitude. Suddenly there is that smile again, or even a merry laugh, and the tension seems to break and the crowd laughs with him not knowing what it is laughing at. He is godlike no longer but a human being claiming kinship and comradeship with the thousands who surround him, and the crowd feels happy and friendly and takes him to its heart. But the smile is gone and the pale stern face is there again.

Is all this natural or the carefully thought out trickery of the public man? Perhaps it is both and long habit has become second nature now. The most effective pose is one in which there seems to be least of posing, and Jawaharlal has learnt well to act without the paint and powder of the actor. With his seeming carelessness and insouciance, he performs on the public stage with consummate artistry. Whither is this going to lead him and the country? What is he aiming at with all his apparent want of aim? What lies behind that mask of his, what desires, what will to power. what insatiate longings?

These questions would be interesting in any event; for Jawaharlal is a personality which compels interest and attention. But they have a vital significance for us, for he is bound up with the present in India, and probably the future, and he has the power in him to do great good to India or great injury. We must therefore seek answers to these questions.

For nearly two years now he has been President of the Congress and some people imagine that he is just a camp-follower in the Working Committee of the Congress, suppressed or kept in check by others. And yet steadily and persistently he goes on increasing his personal prestige and influence both with the masses and with all manner of groups and people. He goes to the peasant and the worker, to the zamindar and the capitalist, to the merchant and the peddler, to the Brahmin and the untouchable, to the Muslim, the Sikh, the Parsi, the Christian and the Jew—to all those who make up the great variety of Indian life. To all these he speaks in a slightly different language, ever seeking to win them over to his side. With an energy that is astonishing at his age, he has rushed about across this vast land of India, and everywhere he has received the most extraordinary of popular welcomes. From the far North to Cape Comorin he has gone like some triumphant Caesar passing by, leaving a trail of glory and a legend behind him. Is all this for him just a passing fancy which amuses him, or some deep design or the play of some force which he himself does not know? Is it his will to power of which he speaks in his autobiography that is driving him from crowd to crowd and making him whisper to himself:

> *I drew these tides of men into my hands and wrote my will across the sky in stars.*

What if the fancy turn? Men like Jawaharlal with all their capacity for great and good work are unsafe in democracy. He calls himself a democrat and a socialist, and no doubt he does so in all earnestness, but every psychologist knows that the mind is ultimately a slave to the heart and that logic can always be made to fit in with the desires and irrepressible urges of man. A little twist and Jawaharlal might turn a dictator sweeping aside the paraphernalia of a slow-moving democracy. He might still use the language and slogans of democracy and socialism, but we all know how fascism has fattened on this language and then cast it away as useless lumber.

Jawaharlal is certainly not a fascist either by conviction or by temperament. He is far too much of an aristocrat for the crudity and vulgarity of fascism. His very face and voice tell us that:

> "*Private faces in public places*
> *are better and nicer than*
> *Public faces in private places.*"

The fascist face is a public face and it is not a pleasant face in public or private. Jawaharlal's face as well as his voice are definitely private. There is no mistaking that even in a crowd, and his voice at public meetings is an intimate voice which seems to speak to individuals separately in a matter-of-fact homely way. One wonders as one hears it or sees that sensitive face what lies behind them, what thoughts and desires, what strange complexes and repressions, what passions suppressed and turned to energy, what longings which he dare not acknowledge even to himself. The train of thought holds him in public speech, but at other times his looks betray him, for his mind wanders away to strange fields and fancies and he forgets for a moment his companion and holds inaudible converse with the creatures of his brain. Does he think of the human contacts he has missed on his life's journey, hard and tempestuous as it has been; does he long for them? Or does he dream of the future of his fashioning and of the conflicts and triumphs that he would fain have? He must know well that there is no resting by the wayside on the path he has chosen, and that even triumph itself means greater burdens. As Lawrence said to the Arabs:

> "*There can be no rest houses for revolt, no dividend of joy paid out.*"

Joy may not be for him, but something greater than joy may be his if fate and fortune are kind—the fulfilment of a life purpose.

Jawaharlal cannot become a fascist. And yet he has all the makings of a dictator in him—vast popularity, a strong will directed to a well-defined purpose, energy, pride, organizational capacity, ability, hardness, and, with all his love of the crowd, an intolerance of others and a certain contempt for the weak and inefficient. His flashes of temper are well-known and even when they are controlled, the curling of the lips betrays him. His overmastering desire to get things done, to sweep away what he dislikes and build anew, will hardly brook for long the slow processes of democracy. He may keep the husk but he will see to it that it bends to his will. In normal times he would just be an efficient and successful executive, but in this revolutionary epoch Caesarism is always at the door, and is it not possible that Jawaharlal might fancy himself as a Caesar?

Therein lies danger for Jawaharlal and for India. For it is not through Caesarism that India will attain freedom, and though she may prosper a little under a benevolent and efficient despotism she will remain stunted and the day of the emancipation of her people will be delayed.

For two consecutive years Jawaharlal has been President of the Congress and in some ways he has made himself so indispensable that there are many who suggest that he should be elected for a third term. But a greater disservice to India and to Jawaharlal himself can hardly be done. By electing him a third time we shall exalt one man at the cost of the Congress and make the people think in terms of Caesarism. We shall encourage in Jawaharlal the wrong tendencies and increase his conceit and pride. He will become convinced that he alone can bear this burden or tackle India's problems. Let us remember that in spite of his apparent indifference to office he has managed to hold important offices in the Congress for the last seventeen years. He must imagine that he is indispensable, and no man must be allowed to think so. India cannot afford to have him as President of the Congress for a third year in succession.

There is a personal reason also for this. In spite of his brave talk Jawaharlal is obviously tired and stale and he will progressively deteriorate if he continues as President. He cannot rest, for he who rides a tiger cannot dismount. But we can at least prevent him from going astray and from mental deterioration under too heavy burdens and responsibilities. We have a right to expect good work from him in the future. Let us not spoil that and spoil him by too much adulation and praise. His conceit, if any, is already formidable. It must be checked. We want no Caesars.

"The Royal Veto in the New Constitution"

Reply to Prof. Bimalendu Dhar

I have read Prof. Dhar's comment on my article. He has been pleased to point out three "fundamental" mistakes which, according to him, vitiate my article. The first mistake is said to be my alleged statement that the Crown's power of veto is an innovation. May I tell Prof. Dhar that he forgot to read the sentence in question carefully? I said clearly that the *right of the Crown to veto even after a year* is an innovation. Prof. Dhar suppressed the phrase "even after a year" after the word "veto," and drew a ridiculous conclusion. He need not have taken the pains to explain that the Crown's right of veto existed previously too. My point was that *the veto after the lapse of the specific period of about a year* is an innovation—a fact which is indisputable.

While pointing out my second mistake in regard to my statement that Dominion laws cannot be vetoed, Prof. Dhar has betrayed utter ignorance of the latest constitutional developments with regard to the Dominions. His citation from Prof. Keith's book published in 1929 is an illustration of his ignorance. Prof. Dhar is blissfully ignorant of the fact that much water has passed down the Thames since the publication of that book! Let me present very briefly the essential facts for his satisfaction :—1. The Statute of Westminster, of which he appears to be unaware, revolutionised the position of the Dominions. Under the Statute the latter have *full power* to make their own laws, and the Colonial Laws Validity Act of 1865 is no longer applicable to Dominion laws after December 11, 1931.

2. Prof. Dhar will be shocked to hear that by the Status of the Union Act of 1934, the Legislature of the Union of South Africa now possesses *absolute freedom in legislation*, and **the Royal right to disallow Acts has been formally abolished!**

3. A Dominion Legislature *can now even repeal or amend Imperial Acts and orders* etc.

4. After the Statute of Westminster the Irish Free State too has of late been trying *practically to abrogate the Treaty of 1921.*

5. *The Dominions can now deal directly with the Crown without the mediation of the British Cabinet.*

6. The Imperial Conference of 1930 **formally approved of the abolition of the disallowance, or even reservation of Acts.** The power of reservation was formally repealed for Ireland in 1933, and for South Africa in 1934. The other Dominions are free to claim it in the near future, and are expected to do so.

My third mistake is alleged to be the reference to the fact that the King has to act on the advice of his Dominion Ministers even against the advice of the British Cabinet. Again, Prof. Dhar is ignorant of the fact that the Imperial Conference explicitly recognised the principle that the Governor-General's position on behalf of the Crown towards the Dominion Ministers is absolutely analogous to that of the King towards the British Cabinet. Lord Byng's unconstitutional conduct in this respect in Canada was formally condemned! Thus after the developments following the Statute of Westminster, the King, or his Governor-General (*who is appointed strictly on the advice of the Dominion Cabinet itself*), has to abide by the decision of the Dominion Parliament. Although so far a case wherein the King had to act upon the advice of his Dominion Ministers against the advice of his own Cabinet *has not arisen, and will not normally arise*, but I stressed only the theoretical possibility by using the word "even" that if any extreme and abnormal case of conflict between the Dominion Ministry and the British Cabinet arises in future the King will have to choose constitutionally the advice of his Dominion Ministers in all matters of Dominion legislation!

NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph.D.

"Indian Students and Foreign Scholarships"

I have read with great interest the article "Indian Students and Foreign Scholarships" by Scientificus, published in the September issue of the *Modern Review.* In connection with this article I wish to make the following observations :

1. I am inclined to think that the writer is not well informed regarding the foundation of Die Deutsche Akademie Scholarships for Indian students. From the perusal of the report of India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie 1928-1937, it will be clear to all that India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie and Scholarships awarded to Indian students was not initiated by Prof. Sommerfeld, after his return to Germany from his lecture-trip to India. The truth is that Dr. Taraknath Das took the initiative as early as 1925 for Indo-German cultural co-operation and travelled at his own expense all over Germany to promote his idea. But not until 1927 did he succeed in interesting Die Deutsche Akademie to take steps for furthering this work. Among the German scholars and friends of India four persons—1. Late Director Fritz Beck of Die Deutsche Akademische Auslandstelle, Munich, 2. Major-General, Prof. Dr. Karl Haushofer, Senator and former President of Die Deutsche Akademie, 3. Regierungsprasident i, R, Dr. Theodor von Winterstein of Munich and 4. Dr. Franz Thierfelder, the General Secretary of Die Deutsche Akademie—extended whole-hearted support to Dr. Das and they are really the co-founders of India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie, while Dr. Das was the originator of the whole programme of Indo-German cultural co-operation championed by Die Deutsche Akademie.

Regarding the nature of the scholarships awarded by Die Deutsche Akademie the fact is as follows :—"India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie annually offers several scholarships which comprise free tuition and some pocket money or a free room for deserving Indian scholars wishing to carry on higher studies. Only graduates of the best type as First Class or Second Class M.A. or M.Sc. of Indian Universities with research experience, graduate medical men and women with M. B. degree of Indian Universities and research experience, graduate engineers with B. E. or B. Sc. in engineering-degree, graduates of Agricultural colleges are eligible for these scholarships. Occasionally exceptions are made for those students who may not have the highest degree, but have done considerable original work of value which establishes their merit as First Class scholars."

German industrialists are not supplying money for the scholarships awarded to Indian students, but Die Deutsche Akademie is directly responsible for these scholarships, except in the case of Allianz and Stuttgarter-Lebensversicherungsbank, A. G., Berlin, which has established a scholarship for the study of Indology.

2. It is true that neither the Carnegie Foundation nor the Rockefeller Foundation has extended much aid to Indian scholars to carry on studies in foreign lands, yet America's contribution towards increasing Indian national efficiency is not inconsiderable. It is not generally known that the foundation of Pusa Agricultural College in India was initiated by an American philanthropist who contributed about fifty thousand dollars. American educational enterprises in India are well-known to all Indians. However, since the days of Swami Ram who started the movement for securing scholarships for Indian students

in American Universities about 1904, several hundred Indian students have been helped by the American people in many ways; and many American Universities—Harvard, Yale, Cornell, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, Chicago, Michigan, Clark, Wisconsin, University of Illinois, University of Iowa, University of California, University of Washington and others have awarded scholarships and fellowships to many worthy Indian scholars. Sir J. C. Bose, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Prof. Kalidas Nag, Prof. Radhakrishnan, Prof. Raman, Prof. Saha and many other Indian scholars who have enjoyed hospitality from American Universities will be able to confirm my belief that American cultural leaders are always willing to co-operate with Indian scholars and Universities for aiding worthy Indian scholars.

3. **The main thesis of the writer is commendable and should receive careful consideration from all patriotic Indians. In fact steps should be taken that Indian industries should supply adequate funds for scientific research in India. For instance, textile industry is one of the most important industries of India, yet there is not one institution in India which affords adequate facilities for teaching every phase of "Textile Engineering." Indian industrial leaders wish to make substantial profit, but they do not wish to spend a share of it to raise Indian national efficiency. If India is to progress at all, this attitude must be changed and at the same time there should be systematic agitation for securing adequate Government support for spreading scientific education and for providing facilities for research in Indian Universities.** The late Sir Ashutosh Mookherjee and others have left an example and Indian patriots should follow their foot-steps. Indian scientists and rich professors may follow the foot-steps of Acharya P. C. Ray and Dr. H. C. Mookherjee.

TARAKNATH DAS

New York,
October 1, 1937.

"Parsi Charities"

(A rejoinder to Mr. M. F. Soonawalla, The Modern Review, October, 1937, p. 441.)

I regret that my remarks on the administration of the Parsi Charities have offended Mr. Soonawalla. I had no mind to wound Parsi sentiments; my only object was to remind our Parsi countrymen that *charities must begin at home.* I only wanted to point out that when our own country (I believe Mr. Soonawalla admits that India is his motherland) is suffering from unspeakable poverty and degeneration, when the growth of Indian science is being hampered on account of lack of financial support on the part of the Indian Government, the Parsi millionaires are not justified to spend their charities on institutions and scholars abroad, particularly when the countries to which these institutions and scholars belong are a hundred times richer than India, when their Governments and the public are themselves wide-awake regarding the needs of science and scientists; and particularly when these Governments have sufficient surplus to spend on armaments and poison-gases. Such actions become almost a crime when the millions of surplus accumulated were obtained by an appeal to the Indian sentiment of patriotism. As Mr. Soonawalla is imperfectly acquainted with the history of the growth of the great Tata enterprises, may I take a little more of the space in your journal for his edification?

First, Mr. Soonawalla says that, though the Parsis have been in India for 1300 years, their lot was that of hewers of wood and drawers of water under Hindu and Moslem supremacy. It is only under British Raj that Parsis have flourished, due to their grit, honesty and enterprise.

I am not sufficiently acquainted with the history of Parsis in India before the British period, but if during medieval times, they did not flourish as they do now, it was nothing unusual. During those times, everywhere in the World (Europe not excepted) only ruling classes and their immediate clientele flourished. The Parsis were not worse treated than any other Indian community. In fact, the treatment of Parsis in India was more humane and liberal than that of another community in a similar plight, *viz.*, the Jews in medieval Europe, who were confined to ghettoes, and were subjected to religious, economic and social persecution of a horrible kind. The Parsis in India were guaranteed full religious liberty, allowed to carry on their occupations unmolested, and we have never heard of their ever being persecuted on the ground of their faith by any Indian ruler. Can Mr. Soonawalla produce any evidence to the contrary? If they did not rise higher than the ordinary level, it is due to the fact that the ruling minority, in India as well as in Europe in those times, was very jealous about commoners rising to positions of wealth and privilege. I think that the Parsis would agree that if after their expulsion from Persia, they had taken refuge in Italy, Greece, or Western Europe instead of in India, no trace would have been left of them by now. They would have been forcibly converted to Christianity. They could not have kept themselves distinct by oscillating between Christians and Mahomedans, as the Jews did, as neither of these two big religious communities would have them. It is only the liberal-minded Hindu rulers who could adopt a humane policy shown towards the Parsi refugees. The complaint of the nature made by Mr. Soonawalla that the Parsis could not rise beyond the ordinary level can be made by innumerable Hindu and Moslem communities.

I am afraid that Mr. Soonawalla is very imperfectly acquainted with the story of the growth of the Tata enterprises. I would advise him to read the *Life of Mr. J. N. Tata* by F. R. Harris published in 1925 by the Oxford University Press. He should particularly read Chapter VII and then he will realize how much the Tatas owe to "*Indian sentiments of Patriotism.*" In fact, but for the existence of this sentiment and for its clever exploitation by the Tatas, the iron and steel enterprise would have been a failure. I may quote these passages (see pp. 201 to 202):

"At this stage, which was reached in the spring and summer of 1906, the project flagged again. A preliminary prospectus was prepared and submitted to various financial interests in London, but unforeseen difficulties were encountered. *There were differences about the degree of control which was to be entrusted to the representatives of English investors. A disposition seemed to be manifested to sweep the Tata firm aside.* Far more disconcerting was the lack of interest shown by the London Money Market, which is always ready to pour capital into China, or Patagonia, or Timbuctoo, but shows a traditional unwillingness to invest in new enterprises in India. Mr. Dorabji and Mr. Padshah, acting for the Tatas, had, moreover, come into touch with London during one of its periodical phases of depression. Money was very "tight," and all fresh projects were looked at askance. The sum asked for was very large. It would have met with a doubtful reception at that moment had the works been projected for England; being for India, people buttoned up their pockets. Eventually there was one exciting period when about four-fifths of the required capital was actually promised; but the Syndicate fell through, and the enterprise again seemed doomed, and Mr. Dorabji returned to India.

"For more than a year the negotiations were continued in England, but never with more than partial success. *By the summer of 1907, however, a new situation had been created in India.* The Swadeshi movement which on its more praiseworthy side meant the cultivation of the doctrine that the resources and the industries of India ought to be developed by the Indians themselves, had reached its height. All India was talking "Swadeshi," and was eager to invest in "Swadeshi" enterprises. Mr. Dorabji and Mr. Padshah, who had spent weary months in the City of London without avail, after their return conceived, in conjunction with Mr. Bilimoria, *the bold idea of appealing to the people of India for the capital needed.* The decision was a risky one, and many predicted failure, but it was amply justified by the result. *They issued a circular, which was practically an appeal to Indians.* It was followed by the publication of a prospectus, which bears the date August 27, 1907. Mr. Axel Sahlin, in a lecture delivered to the Staffordshire Iron and Steel Institute in 1912, has described the instant response. He says:

'From early morning till late at night the Tata Offices in Bombay were besieged by an eager crowd of native investors. Old and young, rich and poor, men and women, they came, offering their mites; and, at the end of three weeks, the entire capital required for the construction requirements, £1,630,000, was secured, *every penny contributed by some 8,000 native Indians.* And when, later, an issue of Debentures was decided upon to provide working capital, the entire issue, £400,000, was subscribed for by one Indian magnate, the Maharajah Scindia of Gwalior.'"

I hope this passage will convince Mr. Soonawalla that in spite of the undoubted great business ability and initiative shown by the Tatas, their enterprise would not have proved successful but for the Indian sentiment of patriotism. The British were for swallowing the Tatas, marrow, bone and all.

Not only the general public, but individual Indians, like the late Maharajah of Mourbhanj, and the late Mr. P. N. Bose, Geologist, rendered great and ungrudging help to the enterprise. On the other hand, the British officials in India did nothing except looking askance at the venture.

It is probably well-known to Mr. Soonawalla that during recent years, the Tatas have again and again appealed to the Indian sentiment of patriotism, and persuaded the Central Assembly to give them protection whenever needed—otherwise they would have been swept off their feet by European underselling. I am, therefore, correct in saying that the accumulated surplus of the Tatas, which is now collected in the various charities, owe their existence to a large extent to the Indian sentiment of patriotism.

Mr. Soonawalla says:

"It is simply preposterous to dictate to donors how to make charities."

The reply is that when charities are made to overfed institutions or countries, (*e.g.*, English Institutions, or the Cambridge University), while your own land stands at the bottom as the most poverty-stricken country in the world, the charities so administered are not charities at all, but merely commercial propositions. Nobody under the present system can dictate to the Tatas, but under Hitler's or Mussollini's Government or under any national Government, the administrators of charities on such anti-national lines would have been lodged in concentration camps, and even in England, if the Rothschilds or any other Jewish firm, gave away their surplus in charities to other less fortunate countries, I think, they would have been compelled to wind up their business. The Indian people, being in the position they are now, cannot compel the administrators of these charities, but they can certainly express their sense of resentment at their actions.

I do not support Rao B. Luxminarayan's action in confining his charities to Hindus of C. P. and Berar alone; I personally think that this restriction has very much taken away the full value of the charities. This was due partly to the reaction on the mind of Rao B. Luxminarayan produced by a bad communal riot at Nagpur shortly before he made his Will. But why does Mr. Soonawalla single out this action? There are hundreds of charities given by Indians (*e.g.*, the endowments of Premchand Raychand, Ghosh and Palit to the Calcutta University, of the various Indian Princes and rich men to other universities,) which stand above caste or creed, or even province. As a matter of fact, though occasionally the Parsi charities are given to non-Parsi causes, the administrators of these charities are all Parsi to my knowledge; they had not the liberality to admit Indians of other communities to a share of the administration; contrast with this the action of Mr. Carnegie, who formed a Trust for the administration of his charities, consisting of members from all parts of the U. S. A., irrespective of their religion creed. The Parsi charities never publish an account of their action as is done by the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations.

Mr. Soonawalla evidently has not studied the terms of administration of the great American charities of Carnegie and Rockefeller. A very small fraction of these charities is spent outside the U. S. A. In fact though Carnegie was a native of Scotland, and his wife and daughter, after his death retired to Scotland, where they are still living, he gave only five per cent of his charities to Scotland. When pressed to give the major part of his charities to his native country of Scotland he said that as he had made all his millions in the States, it was his duty to spend them in the States. I wish the Parsi millionaires had profited by Carnegie's example.

The Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, owes its origin to the far-sighted vision of the late Mr. J. N. Tata, whose life I would recommend to Mr. Soonawalla for a close study; for then he would be cured of many of his illusions. Mr. J. N. Tata was a great genius, and an industrial pioneer of whom the whole of India is proud. It was a pity he was snatched away at the age of 63. Had he been spared another twenty years, and were he to administer the Tata charities as Carnegie did his own for the last 20 years of his life, I am quite sure that the major part of Tata charities would have been confined to India, and there would have sprung up many other Institutes of Science in India.

Only the other day, the Hon'ble Mr. Biswanath Das, Premier of Orissa, referred in his speech to the fact that, though the great Tata Iron & Steel Works are situated in Orissa, and though the Tatas have earned crores of rupees from Orissa, not a single cowrie has yet been sanctioned by the Tata charities for the amelioration of the educational institutions of Orissa. Yet the Tatas can afford to grant millions for the London School of Economics, for the foundation of the Physical Chemistry Laboratory in Cambridge, and for advancing the research work of German and American scientists! Who denies that Zoroastrianism is a great discipline and religion? But I am sorry for those votaries of Zoroastrianism who can quote scripture against my view that charities should begin at home, and that charities to over-rich countries and institutions are not charities at all, but commercial propositions in disguise.

SCIENTIFICUS

Editor's Note.—It appears that Mr. Soonawala contributed a criticism of the article of Scientificus in *The Modern Review* to *The Independent* of Nagpur. Our contemporary published that criticism and commented upon it editorially as follows :—

"TATA CHARITIES"

"On another page of this issue we are publishing a letter from a "Nationalist Parsi" who has vigorously defended the Tatas. We quite sympathise with him, but we must tell him that his observations cannot stand the test of reason. There can be nothing but praise for the Tatas for their munificent charities, but the criticism of how they are administered should not be barred merely because they are charities and the donor is the sole dictator in that respect.

"Tatas being Indians, India has first claim to their charities. Internationalism is an excellent ideal provided it is universally adhered to. But no foreign charities favour Indian students on ground of internationalism, even though they have unexceptionable claim to the scholarships. Why should Tatas alone gush over with internationalism ? It is like giving protection to wolves against lambs on the ground of equity. Moreover there is enough talent in India to deserve Tata scholarships and they need not go begging to foreign countries.

"Since our correspondent has admitted that odius comparisons are sometimes necessary, we might ask him what claim Tatas have to Indian Legislature's protection against foreign competition. By our correspondent's own arguments, could not the Assembly refuse such protection in the interests of that 'noble' ideal of internationalism ? Why should they care whether the Tatas thrive or suffer ?

"Lastly, Tatas have amassed their huge wealth almost entirely from their custom in India and they have a duty to Indians, which can be discharged to some extent by properly administering their scholarships."

IS KARNATAK UNIFICATION FEASIBLE ?

By V. B. KULKARNI

It is a well-known constitutional principle that the determination of provincial boundaries should be influenced by considerations of the linguistic, cultural, racial and geographical unity of a people. This principle was recognized by no less a person than the late Mr. Montagu. Before he drew up his famous Report in collaboration with Lord Chelmsford, Mr. Montagu made an extensive tour in the country, and was struck by the chaotic exuberance into which provincial demarcation had grown. He saw for himself how the arrangement operated harshly upon a certain section of the people, and lost no time in enunciating the principle that the right of a people to self-determination should not be resisted if they satisfied certain fundamental criteria.

Early in 1918, efforts were made in the Central Legislature to have these recommendations implemented, but matters were allowed to rest when the Government announced its acceptance of the principle of redistribution set out in the Montford Report. From then till the framing of the present Act, no active steps were taken by the Government to fulfil their promise, the solitary exception being the creation of N.-W. F. into a separate Governor's province. In the meantime, Sind and Orissa took up the cry for separation with a great deal of earnestness, and their agitation was rewarded by the new Act recognizing them as separate provinces, although this recognition was the outcome partly of political expediency and partly of equity. But this gesture lacked in grace and righteousness, for it took no notice of even stronger and irresistible claims of Andhra and Karnatak.*

Karnatak has made out a strong case for separation and has always been willing to meet and satisfy all legitimate objections. In it there are all the elements necessary for a separate province. Geographically it forms an important and integral part of the Deccan; historically its foundations are deep; culturally, linguistically and racially it has a homogeneous population; the religion practised is predominantly Hindu; and financially it is sound. In it, too, are manifest all the forces of decay and disruption, consequent upon the dismemberment of its territories and the distribution of its people among a multiplicity of administrative units. It does not require any elaborate or learned disputation to prove this. A mere recital of facts will show the strength of Karnatak's claim for unification.

The history of the people of Karnatak, whose origin ethnologists trace to the fusion of the Aryan and Dravidian races, dates back to the 2nd century B.C. Under the aegis of a succession of able rulers like Pulakesi I and II, Nripatunga, Someswara and Vikramaditya, to mention a few, Karnatak evolved a superior

*** Andhra and Karnatak may console themselves with the thought that, far from unifying Bengal, the British Government have dismembered it by severing from it some fringe areas which are Bengali-speaking and which formed part of Bengal up till recent times.—Ed., *M. R.***

type of art and literature which has made an abiding contribution to the enrichment of Indian civilization. Like all kingdoms of old, Karnatak gradually suffered a series of political reverses, from which it scarcely recovered until the founding of the mighty Vijayanagar Empire. Karnatak reached the acme of her glory during the reign of the Kings of Vijayanagar, and her decline might be said to have set in with the dissolution of that Empire after the Battle of Talikot. The advent of the East India Company on the scene and the establishment of its hegemony in the Deccan, through superior diplomacy, completed the fall of Karnatak. The Company Sarkar and its vassal principalities, who had by now crystallized themselves into the present Deccan States, cut up Karnatak into numerous pieces and annexed them to various administrative units, as the spoils of war.

Thus, the present Mysore State became politically independent of Karnatak after the fall of Tippu and began to have a separate existence, although its linguistic, cultural, racial and historical affinities have remained unchanged. Coorg, with a population of 163,327, was disjoined from the parent body. North Karnatak was similarly split up and the four districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and North Kanara were tacked on to the Bombay Presidency. Madras Presidency obtained the districts of Bellary, South Kanara and Nilgiri. Hyderabad mulcted Gulburga, Bedar and Raichur. The Southern Mahratta States of Kolhapur, Sangli, Miraj, Jath, Kundgol, Jamkhandi, Mudhol and Akkalkot, and the small principality of Sandur in the Bellary District, completed the ruin of the once compact territory.

The sponsors of the unification move do not contemplate any revolutionary changes for the creation of a separate Karnatak province. They have no intention to disturb the *status quo* by demanding the States to disgorge their acquisitions. Their move is confined to the British Karnatak, which despite its great mutilations, is comprehensive enough to be constituted into a separate province. The four Bombay Districts, the three Madras Districts, Coorg, and the six Talukas in Sholapur, Anantapur, Coimbatore and Salem Districts comprise a territory with an area of 35,408 square miles and a population of 63,57,762. It has been computed that a province thus constituted will derive an annual income of Rs. 257,99,383. The cost of administering a separate province is estimated at Rs. 221,50,000, leaving a surplus of nearly Rs. 36½ lakhs. These figures compare favourably with those of the three newly created provinces.

It will thus be seen that the demand for separation is not based merely upon sentimental grounds, nor even on the solitary plea of linguistic solidarity. The evils of the present arrangement are self-evident. A divided and vivisected Karnatak is condemned to a perpetual minority under every administrative unit to which it has been annexed. Its people have become strangers in their own homes. Having been thrown into the midst of a highly linguistically and culturally conscious people like the Andhras, the Tamils, the Malayalees and the Maharastrians, the Karnatakis find themselves engulfed on all sides. It has been estimated that in one census alone they lost nearly 2 lakhs of people. The overt and covert linguistic and cultural conquest that is being carried on on an organized scale has been a great menace to the distinctive existence of Karnatak. The Governments of Bombay and Madras, while deriving substantial revenues from Karnatak, have done little to ameliorate the condition of its people. Their education has been woefully neglected, and even in predominantly Kannada districts, the local vernacular is not the medium of instruction. Till this year there was not a single Kanarese member in the Bombay Senate. The Andhra University, with an utter disregard of the feelings of the local people, included Bellary, a purely Kannada District, in its jurisdiction. In economic matters, too, the situation is equally disquieting. As can be expected, the affairs in the States are still worse. Indeed, the menace to the independent and distinctive growth of Karnatak is so real and so great that unless she soon comes into her own, her total disruption is inevitable.

The Nehru Committee, before whom Karnatak pleaded her case, recognized her right to self-determination. It observed thus :

"... a *prima facie* case for unification and the formation of Karnatak as a separate province was made ... . . . Financially the position of Karnatak was very strong and even at present there was a considerable surplus in the British part of Karnatak."

To reinforce their claims further, the sponsors of the unification move are ascertaining the views of representative leaders from all over India and already Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Dr. Khare, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Dr. Kurtkoti, Mr. M. S. Aney, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, Dr. U. Ramarao, Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Mr. S. Satyamurti, Acharya P. C. Ray, Mr. K. M. Munshi, Mr. A. B. Lathe, Mr. B. G. Kher, Mr. D. V. Gundappa, Mr. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande and

Mr. Syed Abdulla Brelvi have expressed themselves in favour of the move. The opinions of other leaders are awaited. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya suggests close collaboration between Andhra and Karnatak in their common endeavour for securing separation.

A resolution demanding the separation of Karnatak has been tabled in the Bombay Legislative Assembly and Madras, under the able guidance of the Hon'ble Dr. U. Ramarao, who is making every endeavour in this direction. It is earnestly to be hoped that the labours of Karnatak leaders will soon be rewarded now that Mahatma Gandhi has blessed their movement.

THE WAR IN SPAIN

SPEECH OF HIS EXCELLENCY M. NEGRIN, FIRST DELEGATE OF SPAIN, AT THE ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS ON THE 18TH SEPTEMBER, 1937 :

Translation : The report by the Secretary-General which we are discussing devotes well-deserved attention to th international repercussions of the struggle in Spain. Allow me today, frankly and sincerely, to lay before the Assembly the opinions of the Spanish Government on this matter.

A military rebellion broke out in Spain exactly fourteen months ago today. It was a purely internal problem. It did not concern, nor does it now concern, the League of Nations.

It was known to us, indeed, that the rebel leaders were in contact with official circles in Germany and Italy; later, we had overwhelming proof of this, when documents belonging to the political parties involved in the rebellion fell into our hands and gave us the key to the whole conspiracy. But as long as the internal military rebellion was not openly assisted by foreign intervention, the Spanish Government had no reason to attempt to interest the world in a problem for which it alone had to find a solution. For the purpose of arriving rapidly at that solution, it relied upon the backing of the whole Spanish people, which had just voiced its feelings at a general election held with the object of strangling democratic opinion. In spite of the conditions—so unfavourable to ourselves—in which that election was held (it was controlled by a Government openly hostile to the political development that resulted from it), and indeed on that very account, the new parliamentary majority emerged with an authority far greater than that conferred by a mere superiority of numbers. That fact should be borne in mind. But for foreign intervention, the rebellion would have been crushed in a few weeks. Everyone knows that so well that it has been generally overlooked.

Intervention began as soon as surprise tactics had failed. In view of the inability of the rebels to triumph at a single blow over the unexpected resistance of the Republic, Germany and Italy passed from political support of the rebels to armed assistance. No doubt, those countries wished to prove that, for once at least, they knew how to fulfil their international undertakings. Shipments of German and Italian war material were made with ever-increasing frequency. Portugal, having no other assistance to offer, from the outset generously gave the unlimited co-operation of her ports and frontiers, in order, as far as possible, to reduce transport difficulties.

When Spain came to the Assembly last September, the military rebellion was already no longer an exclusively Spanish problem. The Non-Intervention Agreement, which had just been signed, proved that the conflict was of an international nature. Spain came to this platform, not to discuss her internal struggle, but to carry out her duty loyally to the League by frankly proclaiming the existence of a state of war in Europe. "The blood-stained soil of Spain is already, in fact, the battlefield of a world war,"[1] were the words used by the representative of my country on that occasion. Everything that has happened since then has proved only too tragically the truth of those words.

In itself, the Non-Intervention Agreement not only constitutes a flagrant infringement of the rights of a sovereign nation but is in flat contradiction to the most elementary rules of international law.

Moreover, it represents the first concession made, in the case of Spain, to the policy of the *fait accompli*, which has been practised so successfully by the so-called totalitarian States, thanks to the tolerance of the others.

I am far from denying the exalted motive which led the Governments of the Western democracies to take a decision intended to spare Europe the disaster of a general war. On this aspect of the question, as it has repeatedly acknowledged, the Spanish Government fully understands their action.

The Non-Intervention Agreement, however, concluded as it was when the designs of those Powers which instigated and associated themselves with the rebellion were already clear—those same Powers which withheld their signature until they were certain that the last consignment of their aeroplanes had reached its destination —merely legalized the *fait accompli* of German and Italian intervention in Spanish affairs. At that time, this intervention had assumed only such proportions as the rebel command then considered sufficient.

From its inception, non-intervention was marred by that slur. Its defectiveness during the painful existence of the Non-Intervention Committee was responsible for numberless other defects. Unintentionally, its high-minded promoters enhanced the effect of Italian and German intervention by another form of intervention, which consisted in tying the Spanish Government's hands and preventing it from obtaining freely the war materials necessary to put down and crush the rebellion.

For fourteen months, Europe has been watching the progress of a new form of war which, without even

[1] See *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 155, page 48.

being declared, spreads its horrors over the coveted territory, and this experience has profoundly stirred the masses in every land where temporising with the aggressor has not destroyed their capacity to react against violations of justice and right. The experience of Spain has sufficed to show every peace-loving country that it is not enough to live without hostile intentions towards any other people, without territorial ambitions or a policy of adventure likely to provoke widespread complications. Such a country knows, too, that to live as a nation desiring liberty and freedom for itself and for others is not enough to shelter it from brutal attacks from those which have raised the cult of violence into a philosophy of government.

In his memorable speech on July 18th last, President Azana asked in what way Spain had injured the Powers which are invading her. Those Powers have had no grounds for complaint in the past. Germany cannot reproach us with being signatory of the Treaties of Peace. As for Italy, although Spain was one of the fifty nations which supported the Geneva resolutions during the Italo-Ethiopian conflict, the composition and obvious pro-Italian sympathies of the Government in power at that time did not inspire it with any very keen desire to see the Covenant very rigorously applied. In support of her belief that she had nothing to fear from foreign invasion, Spain could point to her traditional policy of maintaining the best possible relations with all countries. When the new regime was established, this attitude found expression in an active and constructive foreign policy based on collective security and peace, as was exemplified by the incorporation of the fundamental charter of the League in the Constitution of the Spanish Republic.

Spain's chances of escaping aggression were lessened through her possession of the Balearic Islands, so much coveted during the great war as an ideal base for submarine activity; of Ceuta, where well-placed artillery of large calibre, though sufficiently well camouflaged to escape the notice of visitors, can cover Gibraltar; of the Pyrenean frontier, along which the crushing of the heroic and hard-working Basque people can be combined with the adoption of certain measures in respect of France, which will prove useful for the future; of naval and air bases of the greatest strategic value, together with immense mineral wealth and unsuspected industrial potentialities, adequate to feed the furnaces of war.

Europe has been a witness of this terrible outrage on her civilization and her honour which Spain has suffered on her own hearth. The blood of those who have fallen in defence of a cause common to all free people cries out at this late hour that the nations should repair the errors of a policy which, born of the best intentions in some cases and of the most contemptible in others, has itself been responsible for the present situation. We have reached a point where to persist in maintaining the fiction of non-intervention means to work, consciously or unconsciously, for the prolongation of the war.

No one can say that the Republican Government, in its endeavour to localize the conflict, has not made wholly unsurpassed sacrifices in the international sphere. Every effort to prevent an extension of the war has met with our most sincere collaboration.

Spain has consistently adhered to the attitude she adopted from the first: she sees in the League the sole system of rights and obligations upon which peace can be founded. She has frequently come before you in the Council and the Assembly, and has invariably made only one request: that the League, when confronted with facts which, if once they were allowed to pass unchallenged, would threaten the very life of this great association, should be saved from the overwhelming moral discredit and collapse that may engulf it at any moment. With this in view, we must all try to find a remedy for that situation and to prevent the League from following the evil counsellors who believe that the best way of serving it is to close our eyes to the difficulties of the situation.

At its session in May last,[*] the Council adopted a resolution which, if carried out, might have constituted a great advance towards making non-intervention effective. I refer to the withdrawal of the non-Spanish combatants. Some months before the Republican Government had declared itself in favour of that measure, which was merely a logical consequence of non-intervention. Moreover, the withdrawal of the non-Spanish combatants would have brought the war to a speedy end.

For more than six months, the original rebel army has ceased to be of any concern to the Spanish Republic. Talk is heard of telegrams received from abroad announcing, for example, the departure from Italian ports of fresh military contingents, but nothing is heard of the rebel command or the new recruits obtained by the insurgents. A simple Spanish peasant in loyal territory is more likely to be heard making a more or less successful attempt to pronounce the names of the Italian generals commanding the army in the north than mentioning those of the former Spanish generals who take orders from them.

The war of invasion has overshadowed the civil war. It is a truly moving sight to witness the feelings of joy, so typical of the sensitive Spanish nature, shown by the deserters from rebel territory, who are reaching our trenches in ever increasing numbers. It is as if they were returning to their native country from a foreign land. Their hatred of the invader is generally the motive which prompts them to risk all rather than remain slaves to those who have seized their country on the pretext of freeing them from evils they themselves had never known.

In that, the deserters are not alone. Hundreds of prisoners frequently ask to fight under the Republican flag. While some of them may at first be ignorant of the facts, a few weeks spent amongst us are enough to convince them that the so-called "Red Spain" does not bear the slightest resemblance to the hell which had been described to them. Their impressions are exactly the same as those received by the Duchess of Atholl and the Dean of Canterbury during their visit. In these circumstances, and in view of the Spanish Government's policy, which always aims, not at destroying the Spaniards on the other side even if they are in the firing-line, but at bringing them over into our midst and winning them to the cause of Spain, the withdrawal of non-Spanish combatants would unquestionably have brought the war to an end within a couple of months.

The resolution passed by the Council in May aroused a feeling of satisfaction and optimism but, within forty-eight hours, the interventionist States had found a means of torpedoing it. The *Deutschland* incident and the subsequent bombardment of Almeria absorbed the attention of those who, in the face of each new act of aggression, thought of nothing but how they could best calm the fury of its perpetrators. The unspeakable infamy of the destruction of Almeria produced the desired effect. In its impatience to secure the consent of the aggressor States to take part in a new system of control, the London Committee allowed the question of the withdrawal of volunteers to slip through its fingers. These volunteers are such only in name, being, in point of fact, non-Spanish combatants, though attempts have often been

[*] See *Official Journal*, May-June, 1937, 334.

made to include them erroneously with the genuine volunteers under a common term. The only volunteers are those fighting in our ranks. Driven from home, as most of them have been, by the Fascist terror, and convinced that the cause of Spain is that of world freedom, their true worth was apparent from the day when they found that they needed all their enthusiasm and determination to overcome the innumerable obstacles which were placed in the way of their departure and of their arrival in our midst.

Facing them are the Italian divisions, the German artillerymen, aviators and tank-drivers, and the Moorish contingents, all of whom have been ordered to Spain or recruited through hunger or compulsion from the Protectorate zone.

There you have the distinction between the two types of assistance. Simple-minded persons, who, when the support given to the rebels by Germany and Italy was denounced, remarked that the Republican Government also had its friends, forgot only one thing—namely, the different character of the two kinds of friendship.

The friendship of Germany and Italy for the rebels is simply the outcome of a pact of occupation. In exchange for German and Italian assistance, the rebels have surrendered their country. Germany and Italy came to Spain not to help the rebels but to stay there. Only the incorrigible credulity of those who refuse to understand what Spain means to Germany and Italy in their plan of aggression in Europe can maintain the illusion that, even if the rebels were victorious, it would be possible, by solving their financial difficulties, to snatch them from the clutches of their masters or to seduce the latter by the promise of some other compensation.

By way of contrast with its complaints of the international treatment it has received, the Government of the Republic wishes to take this opportunity of expressing its profound and sincere gratitude to all the Governments and private persons who have helped in one form or another to lessen the sufferings which foreign aggression has imposed upon the Spanish people. In its anxiety to make its own contribution to humanise the war, the Government of the Republic, although not bound by any international undertaking to observe the right of asylum, has respected it in practice. Particularly appreciative as it is of the ties uniting it with the American Republics, the Spanish Government now reiterates its intention, in addition to the facilities already granted, of finding a speedy solution, such as will satisfy all, for the problem of the refugees in embassies and legations.

Our faith in the League is as evident and as unshakable as the resistance of our people. Every manifestation of the will to peace finds in us a sure and enthusiastic ally. With the pride of an elder sister, Spain greeted the declaration made by the South-American Republics on August 3rd, 1932, in connection with the Chaco dispute. This declaration ratified the decision taken by the Assembly in March of that year,[1] and lent new power to Article 10 of the Covenant. Both it and the Saavedra Lamas Pact, the second article of which repudiates "the validity of the occupation or acquisition of territory obtained by force of arms," are evidence of the complete and happy agreement existing between us and the sister Republics of America as regards our attitude to international relations.

It was my especial intention once again to review the situation as a whole, and to explain the attitude taken by Spain as a Member of the League from the time when the Spanish conflict became an international problem owing to foreign intervention. This I wished to do before pointing out to the Assembly where its true responsibility lies.

It would be difficult for the Assembly not to admit one fact which overshadows the present situation as a whole and which the Assembly itself can hardly ignore—the complete failure of non-intervention.

That policy arose out of the false hypothesis that, if the Spanish Government were allowed to exercise its unquestionable right to buy arms, this would lead to war. All the mistakes of non-intervention are to be traced to that perverted conception out of which it arose. The Spanish Government has never believed that a policy based upon respect for treaties and international obligations could lead to war. We have always considered that the greatest risk of the Spanish Civil War becoming a European conflagration lay, and still lies, in the fact that international law, instead of being applied, has been sacrificed to the demands of those who have made blackmail by war an instrument of their foreign policy.

The fact that the Spanish Government was deprived of its elementary right to buy arms and ammunition in order to defend itself against rebels did not prevent non-intervention from being an ironical fiction, nor did it diminish the risk of an extension of the war. On the contrary, that risk has been greatly increased. A civil war which could have been rapidly brought to an end has become a defensive war to protect the territorial integrity and the political independence of Spain.

This is no time to ask us for "irrefutable" proofs, apart from those we have mentioned and those we intend to mention. The fact of invasion is admitted and proclaimed with the utmost cynicism by those who have themselves violated international order.

If anyone is still so naive as to be misled, let him recall Herr Hitler's speech at Nuremberg, in which he said: "Great Britain may or may not care whether Spain becomes a desert, but for us Germans who have no over-seas possessions, Spain is one of the principal conditions of our existence. . . . France and Great Britain are alarmed lest Spain be conquered by Italy or Germany. We, on the other hand, are concerned lest she may be conquered by Bolshevism."

These words are sufficiently enlightening, as also is the fact that, when the Italian divisions entered Santander, the rebel leader sent a message to the Duce, expressing "the sincerest admiration for their courage and ability in the battle, in which they made a rapid advance," and that the Duce replied: "I am particularly happy that the Legionary troops, during ten days' hard fighting, have had their part in the splendid victory of Santander, and that the help they rendered has received the desired recognition in your telegram of today. This close brotherhood in arms is the guarantee of final victory, when Spain and the Mediterranean will be freed from every menace to our common civilization." If still more direct, though less weighty, proofs are called for, one need only glance at the articles published in the Italian Press, openly exulting in the participation of Italian troops in the military operations in the north of Spain.

For example, in the *Popolo d'Italia*, Signor Mussolini's organ, we read of "the Italian generals who led the legionary troops to victory in Spain, north of Santander." In another newspaper, we may read of those on the Aragon front. Similar cases occur every day.

Every cinema in Geneva gives Italian news reels showing those same troops singing "Giovinezza" as they enter the towns of Northern Spain.

[1] See *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 101, page 87.

No one can seriously believe that the victory or defeat of Bolshevism is at stake in Spain. True to her character, the essence of her constitution and the unshakable determination of her people and Government, Spain, once victory is achieved, will march along the path marked out by her independent and sovereign will.

I do not wish on this occasion to criticise the London Committee. We foresaw that it was doomed to failure through the activities of those States that had joined it merely to wreck its decisions and reduce it to impotence. That it has now, for all practical purposes, ceased to exist is proved by the fact that, throughout the month of August, when Italian aggression in the Mediterranean became most barefaced, the Committee did not consider it necessary to hold a single meeting. Non-intervention is dead indeed, but its unburied corpse is responsible for an artificial atmosphere in international circles. It may be that yesterday's announcement of the withdrawal of the Anglo-French naval patrol from the Spanish coasts will constitute the last step but one in its official burial.

The forces of aggression, protected as they have been by this fiction, are preparing to strike at Spain what they consider must be the final blow. On many occasions in the past, we have prophesied the departure of fresh Italian contingents before this actually took place. Today, speaking with a full sense of responsibility, we say that Italy is at this moment transporting to Spanish territory an army twice as large as that which she at present maintains there. Let none plead ignorance on this point in future! Due warning has now been given.

Our position in regard to the London Committee and the Nyon Conference is clear. We are not opposed to regional pacts, provided they embrace all the countries interested. The first place, however, we give to the Covenant. Our repeated requests to the League have been based upon our belief that it is the League's duty to ensure that every country should fulfil its international obligations arising out of the Covenant.

Now that the Assembly knows the facts of the present situation, it cannot this time fail to consider the problem fully and to take up a definite attitude.

The Government of the Republic considers that it has the right to make the following requests:

(1) That the aggression of Germany and Italy in Spain be recognized as such.

(2) That, in consequence of this recognition, the League examine as rapidly as possible the means by which that aggression may be brought to an end.

(3) That full rights once more be given to the Spanish Government freely to acquire all the war material it may consider necessary.

(4) That the non-Spanish combatants be withdrawn from Spanish territory.

(5) That the measures to be adopted for security in the Mediterranean be extended to Spain, and that Spain be granted her legitimate share in them.

For this reason, and in view of the fact that the Sixth Committee will be called upon to examine this question, we request the Assembly to adopt the following resolution:

"The Assembly,

"Decides to refer to the Sixth Committee the chapter of the report on the work of the League of Nations relating to the situation in Spain and cognate questions."

The Spanish people are closely watching today to see what decision the Assembly will take; and the whole world is watching too.



Friends: By Prabhat Niyogi



Toilet: By Prabhat Niyogi



Book Reviews



ENGLISH

LIFE AND WORKS OF BRAHMANANDA KESHAV. Part I . . . 1838-1866 : *Edited by Dr. Prem Sundar Basu, Adampur, Bhagalpur, and to be had of him. Price As. 12. Crown 8vo., pp. 217.*

A second part is to complete this publication. In this first part the editor presents the life and works of Keshav Chandra Sen from 1838 to 1866 in a handy form. In the "works" section have been given whole pieces of importance abridged by the omission of amplifications, explications and illustrations and of historical details. The passages retained give a continued reading.

In view of the coming centenary next year of the great religious teacher's birth, this is a very timely publication.

HANDBOOK OF ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION : *By K. K. Mookerjee and U. P. Trivedy. Rs. 1-8. Kamala Book Depot Ltd., 15, College Square, Calcutta.*

Whatever is worth doing is worth doing well. Those who learn to read and speak English should be able to do so with correct pronunciation. This handbook has been very carefully prepared and will be helpful and instructive both for teachers and students.

RELIGION AND CULTURE. Swarthmore Lecture, 1937 : *By Caroline C. Graveson, B.A. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. 1s. 6d. net.*

The central theme of this important lecture is that Beauty and Truth may and should lead to God-realization as well as Goodness. "If anyone should say, 'knowledge, beauty and goodness, these three, but the greatest of these is goodness,' I should agree." For, however, much we may differ in the amount of knowledge we may possess and in our intellectual powers, and in our power to perceive and appreciate beauty of all kinds, we must all act to live—"*action* is our chief medium for serving God."

The theme has been carefully and thoughtfully developed and elaborated.

THE CHALLENGE OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER—*A Contribution to World Peace : By C. F. Andrews. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. 3s. 6d. net.*

In this book Mr. C. F. Andrews urges a far greater expenditure on the constructive methods of peace in place of the purely military methods of very wasteful Frontier expeditions, including bombing villages from the air. He is for entrusting "Foreign Affairs" and "Defence"—especially with regard to the Frontier—in Indian hands. He pleads for full liberty for India and for ending repression once for all. He writes with sobriety, but with cogency and convincingly nonetheless.

GANDHI the SAINT as STATESMAN : *By Syud Hossain. Luzac & Co., London. With a portrait of Mahatma Gandhi. Price not mentioned.*

This nicely got-up and eloquently written booklet consists of—Part I, Mahatma Gandhi as I Know Him; Part II, Apostles of World Reconstruction, *viz.*, Woodrow Wilson, Lenin, and Gandhi; and three appendices containing three lectures by the Author.

C.

PSYCHO-ANALYSIS EXPLAINED : *By Dorothy R. Blitzsten, with an introduction by A. A. Brill, M.D. Pp. 78, George Allen and Unwin, London.*

In this little book the author endeavours to remove the confusions and misunderstandings that have accumulated around Psycho-analysis today. In five chapters the discussions taken up are, Why people are analysed, What kind of people are analysed, What type of a person an analyst should be, Why the technique has therapeutic value, and How the Science has evolved like all other Sciences from vague gropings of the human mind.

Psycho-analysis is not a cult; it is merely one method by which the psychiatrist aids those who come to him for assistance. The analyst, the author holds, should combine in him the qualities of a good parent and a wise teacher. He must have wide contact with people and with ways of living. His task is to help people to adjust themselves to the world of reality, to release the thwarted and repressed energies of mind, to bring about a real harmony and to point out the resources one has at hand for a fuller and richer life.

The author is to be congratulated on the clarity of exposition of a problem which hitherto has caused so much confusion, and her admirable little book will be a reliable guide for those who espouse Psychoanalysis as a discipline in life.

D. M. S.

RUPAKARI—*Designs for Leathercraft : By Srimati Protima Tagore. Visvabharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 1-8.*

Artistic leathercraft on modern lines, as recently introduced here, has been taken up with enthusiasm by many and it appears that a market has also been created for decorative work on leather. It is not possible, however, for everyone who takes up this craft to create designs for himself, and this album of sixteen designs prepared by one of those who were responsible for introducing this craft in this part of the country, will be found extremely useful.

In his introduction, Sj. Rathindranath Tagore has a note on the method of transferring designs on leather, which will be useful to the beginners.

Pulinbihari Sen

EVOLUTION OF HINDU MORAL IDEALS: *By Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., .LL.D. Published by the University of Calcutta. Pp. XX+242. Price Rs. 2-8 only.*

This is a scholarly account of the gradual development of the moral ideals of the Hindus, as evidenced mainly by the progress of corresponding legal concepts and also customs and usages. The author controverts the position that Hinduism is an example of the unchanging East and that the laws, customs and rules of conduct of the Hindus have undergone little change or development during the ages that have gone by. He also controverts the *Sanatanist* theory that Hinduism stands for eternal and infallible and, therefore, never-to-be-changed rules of life. On the contrary, he proves that "the Hindu ethical ideals have undergone change from time to time in accordance with the exigencies of the times" (p. xii).

The author traverses such subjects as the position of woman in society and her rights, the institution of caste and slavery, etc. He meets the charge often made by western critics that Hinduism is pessimistic and proves that it is not more pessimistic than Christianity (p. 169). Towards the conclusion of his discourse, he modestly pleads that "the claim may with justice be made on behalf of Hinduism that it has made a valuable contribution to the ethical culture of the world in several important directions" (p. 183).

The book is a vigorous and well-documented defence of Hinduism; but, perhaps, it is, to a large extent, more a defensive advocacy than an historical appraisement. No society can reform itself unless it is alive to its real defects. In spite of progress that has undoubtedly been there, Hindu society has remained more stagnant than many other societies. The *Sanatanist* claim about the immutability of Hinduism is founded on this fact. All thorough-going reform-movements in Hinduism have resulted in permanent schisms, such as Buddhism; and the old stock of society has successfully resisted improvement and has refused to be changed. This is why even now it is so difficult to remove existing evils, *e.g.*, untouchability. It is time that this inherent immobility of the Hindu mind received its due shaking from eminent thinkers like the author of the treatise under review.

Sir Sivaswamy, however, is not blind to this defect of Hindu society. He certainly wishes untouchability away and is definitely of opinion that the institution of caste "is bound to disappear" (p. 207).

A student of Hinduism will find in this book an able, well-balanced and impartial account of Hindu ethical thought. The frequent references to original sources will be of great help to those who propose to make more than a casual survey of the subject. The University of Calcutta may well be congratulated on this publication.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL AMELIORATION OF WOMEN IN PRE-MUTINY INDIA: *By Mr. Kalikinkar Dutta, M.A., P.R.S. Patna Law Press. Pp. 126. Price Rs. 1-8.*

Mr. Kalikinkar Dutta has already earned the reputation as an able scholar in the field of Indian historical research. We congratulate him on the publication of this book of his, consisting of three essays on Education of women, Beginnings of the Widow Re-marriage Movement and Sati and its Abolition. It contains a good bibliography but no index.

Mr. Dutta has placed before us in a readable fashion much useful and authentic information mostly buried in the Imperial Records and contemporary works not easily accessible to the general reader. His last two essays call vividly to our mind the gloomy picture of the Hindu society in the first half of the nineteenth century, and also the noble efforts of a generation of English officials in combating superstitions deeply rooted in Hindu society. This book will be found useful by teachers as well as by students of social history of India during this period. We hope it will, by its intrinsic merits, meet with general acceptance and gain wide popularity.

We shall, however, offer a few remarks on the contents of this book. Such historical persons as Ahalya Bai of Indore and Anandamoyee of Vikrampur ought not to have been preceded by Bharatchandra's heroine Vidya in his list of educated ladies (p. 2). As regards the title of the book, the first essay does not confine itself to a study of education of women in pre-Mutiny period, but comes down to our own times.

K. R. QUANUNGO

A SHORT INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF HUMAN STUPIDITY: *By Walter P. Pitkin. Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Pp. 574. Price 12s. 6d net. Size 8¾ by 6 inches.*

The volume under review has been designed by the author as a prelude to other volumes that he hopes to bring out on the subject of human stupidity. Only a fraction of the vast amount of data amassed by him has been made use of in this volume in support of his theory. Though convincing proofs seem to be lacking the author's forceful and graphic presentation of his point of view produces the impression that a fairly plausible case has been made out.

The author's central idea is that the 'Original Sin' of human beings is their *original stupidity* which is an inherited disposition produced by the rigours of climatic conditions in prehistoric days. The toughest variety of mankind, those least sensitive to external stimuli, survived the ordeal and continued propagation. The lack of sensitivity which pulled our ancestors through those difficult times contributed to their dull mental outlook and slow wit. That accounts for the presence of a great number of stupid people amongst all the races of the world through different ages. One other factor which has helped to perpetuate stupidity is that since intelligence in the true sense implies possession of a vast integrative capacity, it is much easier for any one to act stupidly than to act intelligently.

For its scientific and cultural progress the world owes not so much to the creative imagination of the genius as to the accidental or chance performances of ordinary persons who have undeservedly received the stamp of superiority. Progressing blunderingly the world has now reached a state of impasse.

The author's trenchant criticism of noted politicians, soldiers and businessmen is hard to refute. The American president's declaration of financial boom on the very eve of the worst Wall Street collapse or the British general's insistence on the use of sharpnel instead of high explosives in the early part of the war, can hardly be said to have enhanced their reputation. The book is interesting to read inasmuch as it shows numerous well-known historical facts in a new light.

In suggesting remedies for the defects and imperfection the author is rather indefinite and vague.

The printing and binding of the book fully maintains the reputation of the publishers. G. BOSE

HERBERT SPENCER'S THEORY OF SOCIAL JUSTICE: *By E. Asirvathan, B.A., B.D., Ph.D. U. I. P. House, Lucknow. Rs. 5 or 7s. 6d.*

This doctorate thesis of the Edinburgh University is a carefully executed piece of academic workmanship based upon Herbert Spencer's Social Statics and Principles of Ethics. Its merit consists in the honest exposition of Herbert Spencer's views and in what amounts to a candid

exposure of his inconsistencies. The author's standpoint is obviously idealistic.

Herbert Spencer's contradictions were very many indeed. On the one hand, the ideal State and the ideal justice, a morality based upon intuition, a static view of society, a faith in the individual and in *laissez faire;* and on the other, the prevailing temper of English empiricism, organicism and utilitarianism. Such were the conflicting modes of thought which Herbert Spencer was neither of a sufficiently high order of philosopher nor of a sociologist to be able to resolve. There they remain to prove the nobility of an earnest attempt. Dr. Asirvathan has done well to point them out. The previous generation of Indian intellectuals was bred upon Herbert Spencer and his contemporaries. The result has been none too happy.

My personal opinion is that Herbert Spencer succumbed to the Cultural Compulsive of his age in his ideas of Social Justice. He ended by defending the status quo. At the same time I do not consider that Spencer's views can be substituted by any other set of values drawn from the Idealistic Social Philosophy. The best cure of Herbert Spencer is not Green, but Karl Marx, made up-to-date.

DHURJATI MUKERJI

SUVARNADVIPA: *By Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dacca. 1937.*

Dr. Majumdar has rendered great service to students of Indian history by directing attention to the much neglected study of colonial history of the ancient Hindus. His ambitious project of writing a comprehensive survey of "Indian Colonies in the Far East," of which the book under review forms the second volume, has already gained respectful attention of scholars by its first volume, on "Champa." In his present book on "Suvarnadvipa" he deals with the history of the Hindu Colonies in the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java, Bali and Borneo. His study is based on exhaustive reference to original sources, and the scattered evidences have been admirably pieced together in a narrative that maintains its unity and interest to the end. In forming his opinions, the increasing mass of secondary authorities in French and Dutch, for whose works no English translations exist, have been carefully consulted. Where he has reasons to differ, as on the origin of the Sailendra Dynasty, his views have been advanced with scientific caution, and in a way that is suggestive of further fruitful research. A highly informative and up-to-date account of an eventful period, the book is expected to remain long, a standard book of reference even though it may justly claim to be the pioneer work on the subject in English. Another refreshing feature of the book is the care taken to identify ancient place names, the political narrative is enriched by an attempt to reconstruct the administrative system of this period. It is not too much to expect from the author, on the completion of his series, a popular handbook on the subject, on the model of his similar well-known work on "Ancient Indian History and Culture."

RAMESH CHANDRA MITRA

MOHENJO-DARO AND THE CIVILIZATION OF ANCIENT INDIA WITH REFERENCES TO AGRICULTURE: *By N. C. Chaudhury M.R.A.S., Dip. Agri., Sibpur. Calcutta. W. Newman & Co., Ltd. Pp. 30.*

In this brochure, the author deals with the agricultural life of ancient India from the Mohenjo-daro to the Vedic period. Sir John Marshall thought that the Mohenjo-daro people wore woven cotton cloth; but Mr. Chaudhury differs from him and thinks that the small piece of cotton fabric discovered in Mohenjo-daro may have been introduced there from top layers by the action of percolating water (p. 26). This argument can hardly be described as convincing. On the whole, the essay is of a rather indifferent quality.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

A HINDU REFORMATION: *By Nilkan Perumal. Published by R. J. Ram and Company. 768-70, Triplicane High Road, Madras. Price Rs. 2.*

The book under review attempts to explain the significance of the momentous Temple Entry Proclamation of His Highness the Maharaja Shri Chitra Thirumal of Travancore in November, 1936. This gave the so-called untouchables freedom of worship in all the temples of Travancore side by side with the high caste Hindus and is, therefore. acclaimed as the greatest reform in the Hindu society of the present day. The author has, naturally, described the events leading to this sensational event, throwing into relief the chief human actors in the reform movement, *viz.*, the Maharaja and his mother the Maharani, the Dewan, Mahatma Gandhi and the local leaders. He has also described the condition in Travancore accounting for the tragic lot of the untouchables and has compared with it the blessings of the new era. The author has given a chronological narrative of the announcement and the jubilations that followed along with the authoritative opinions on the importance of the event. The book is nicely got up, but the printing is not satisfactory, and there are many printing mistakes to mar the charm of the book.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

INSPIRING LETTERS, VOL. I: *By Swami Sivananda Saraswati, "Ananda Kutir," Rikhikesh. Published by P. K. Vinayagam, editor, My Magazine of India. Madras. Pp. 437. Price Rs. 2.*

The book consists of letters that passed between the author and some ardent spiritual enquirers, an index and a glossory. These are classified and arranged into different chapters according to the subjects dealt with. The subjects treated in these pages are (1) Guru and Disciples, (2) Nrivitti Marga, (3) Brahmacharya, (4) Hatha Yoga, (5) Raja Yoga, (6) Jnana Yoga, (7) Remedy for Diseases, (8) General, and (9) Questions and Answers.

The instructions and injunctions given in these letters are not original in themselves, as they are to be found laid down in different religious books of the Hindus. The only credit that is due to the author is the proper selection of these instructions and their application to individual cases. In these selections the author's strong common sense, as well as his deep insight into human character which plays an important part in imparting instructions to enquirers, are greatly in evidence.

In letter no. 25 (p. 55) "Jignasurapi yogasya shabda-Brahmativartate" has been mistranslated as "Only wishing to know Yoga, even the seeker after Yoga goeth beyond the *word Brahman*". The correct rendering of the passage would be "Even the enquirer after yoga goeth beyond the *Word-Brahman* (Vedas) *i.e.* rises superior to the performer of Vedic rites."

The statement—"awakening of Kundalini Shakti concerns a Hatha Yogi"—is only partially correct, as it concerns a Raja-Yogi as well. Sri Ramkrishna, the Master-Yogin, had his Kundalini Shakti awakened through processes other than those of Hatha Yoga.

The correct reading of the Sruti quoted in letter no. 214 (p. 376) is "Matri-devo Bhava, Pitri-devo Bhava" instead of "Mathur Devo Bhava. Pithru Devo Bhava." (*Vide* Shiksa-Valli, Taittiriya Upanishad).

ANANGAMOHAN SAHA

GROWTH OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY IN MODERN INDIA: *By C. N. Vakil, S. C. Bose and P. V. Deolalkar. Published by Longmans, Green & Co., Limited, 1931.*

This volume attempts to make a survey of the trade and industry in certain selected commodities in India with a view to provide a background for an industrial policy for the country. The authors conclude that the absence of a diversity of industries has forced the population to rely more and more on agriculture and this is largely responsible for the extreme poverty of the people. In following the so-called free trade policy for more than a century and a half the true interests of the country were sacrificed. A right policy would be a system of protection which will gaurantee growth of various industries in the country while ensuring proper participation in the International Exchange of goods. The authors have analysed industries in India under the following five heads and have suggested different kinds of treatment for each group with a view to maximise their economic benefits:

(1) Industries for the home market or for export.
(2) Industries financed by the Indian capital or by foreign capital.
(3) Industries managed by Indian or foreigners.
(4) Industries owned by the State or by private people.
(5) Industries receiving protection or other form of State assistance or unprotected industries.

The book contains useful historical study of various commodities and may be found useful to students and statesmen alike.

N. SANYAL

DACCA UNIVERSITY STUDIES: *Vol. I, No. II. Messrs. Brindaban Dhar & Sons, Ltd. 5, College Square, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

The volume purports to come out of the works and investigations carried on in the different departments, but one must not take it as any way representative of the scholarship and earnestness to be found within the University walls, because this is after all a periodical meant to mark time and also to induce the students of the University to acquaint themselves with the work that teachers or more advanced students are doing in their respective branches.

It is not expected, to be sure, of anyone reviewer to do justice to all the nine papers collected here. But if it is permitted to offer an opinion, the essay on the Revolt of Divooka though against the popular view, is the best, in point of terseness of argument, and keenness of criticism. The judgment on Sanskrit Poetics is little short of an arraignment, while the comparative study on Antonio and Shylock hardly breaks any new ground. Miss Gupta's modest attempt is worthy of praise, though she joins issues with one of our brilliant indologists and cannot be lightly brushed aside.

The volume becomes amusing when we are treated to the following weighty sentence: "In the Gitagovinda also we have—'*ma kuru* dhanajana-yauvanagarvam'—'Do not boast of your money, men and youth.'" A parallel may be furnished in citing from the Vedas: "asti gadavari-tire visala-salmali-taruh."

Joking apart, one fails to understand how a negative sense is preserved in the word '*akincana*' (p. 155); how Buddhism is associated with atheism (p. 212); how blind bigotry is proclaimed as a prominent feature of Semitic monotheism (p. 214), because theoretically in the creed referred to there is no bigotry at all; what is meant by 'epic necessity' for exposing Shylock (p. 28). Misquotations and examples of careless correction of proofs abound, and the last article is not even a review article, it is a mere notice of an important book on education—but there it ends.

Nothing but the epidemic of small pox, complained of before the book begins, can explain the fact that the volume does not come up to our expectations which are raised by the title.

P. R. SEN

THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE COCHIN STATE FOR THE YEAR 1109 M. E. (1933-34 A.D.).

THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE COCHIN STATE 1110 M. E. (1934-35 A.D.).

These two reports go to prove that harbour questions alone do not engross the whole attention of the maritime state of Cochin. Under the enlightened guidance of its ruler, attempts are being made to take stock of the antiquarian remains that lie within its area. The books under review give some idea of the extremely useful work that is being carried on there under the able leadership of Mr. P. Anuja Achan. Apart from routine conservation work, the most important work done during the year 1933-34, was the excavation of the dolmens at Kattakampal 8 miles to the north-west of Kunnamkulam situated on the border of the State. The side rooms of the dolmen caves were discovered nearly three years ago. Another dolmen was traced few yards to the north of it, and excavated. Rectangular in size it was formed by cutting the latterite 6×3 in. and heavy circular stone, 16 inches in diameter, placed on top of it. At the bottom was found a burial urn with its head towards the north. On being uncovered the point of a long trident, was found, fixed at the head of the urn. Around the cow shaped vessel were found iron utensils and implements. Amongst the illustrations the most notable is the fig. 9, in which the broken copper vessel said to have been discovered within the prehistoric (?) dolmens excavated near the Vellakkat temple in the Porkulam village.

The most important feature of the work done, during the working year 1934-35, were on the mural paintings. The mural paintings at the Muttancheri Palace at Cochin and in the Vaddakunathan temple, Trichur were studied.

JAI

DYARCHY IN PRACTICE: *By A. Appadorai. Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd. 1937. Pp. 431.*

Dr. Appadorai is associated with the Loyola College, Madras, and is a Member of the Institute of Public Administration. He was formerly a Research Fellow in the Department of Indian History of the Madras University and in that capacity this work was undertaken by the author.

The book is well-written and presents the subject in a compact and attractive form to the public. It is divided into three parts and eleven chapters and has two appendices and a helpful bibliography.

The author naturally begins his work with a description of the circumstances in which the dyarchical system had its origin, and then he proceeds to discuss the essentials of this governmental arrangement. In this connection he tells us something of the principles which underlay the transfer of powers to the Ministers and gives us an idea of the checks and balances which the new system of administration introduced in his opinion. In the third chapter the author deals succinctly with communalism, financial stringency and political estrangement between the rulers and the ruled, which constituted the background of dyarchical experiment in our provinces. The next six chapters are devoted to some detailed description as to the working of Dyarchy. Among the topics with which

he deals in this connection are the joint deliberation of the two wings of the Government, the Ministers' relations with the Finance Department, their joint responsibility, their control over the Services and the system of parties. In the last two chapters he gives us a general estimate of the Dyarchical Government and the moral it teaches.

Dyarchy, after sixteen years of experiment, has passed into history. We are grateful to Dr. Appadorai for writing this book which will give the general reader a clear idea of this important phase of our constitutional development.

NARESH CHANDRA ROY

ANGLO-SANSKRIT

SHABARA-BHASYA: *Translated into English by Mohamohopadhya Dr. Ganga Nath Jha, M.A., D.Litt., in three volumes. Published from the Oriental Institute, Baroda. Price Rs. 48.*

The first volume of this invaluable book was published in 1933 and was reviewed in this paper duly. Now this book is complete by two more volumes, one published in 1934 and the third in 1936.

The intense delight that we feel at the completion of this gigantic book is eclipsed by the expression of the author in the first line of the introduction of the last volume of this book. It begins with the sentence "My life's work is finished with the completion of this work." No reader cannot but feel shocked at this remark It is he who has translated and edited the most difficult and obscure literatures of our Sanskrit culture, and has brought into light many things of unparalleled glory of our forefathers, which otherwise would have remained in the gloom of the oblivion. The literary public specially interested in Philosophy and Indology will ever remain grateful to him for the work he has done. The only tribute that we can give to him is to bow down our heads with all respect and reverence before his image which occupies our heart and mind. Students of Indian Philosophy all know that it is the Mimansa System that is at the foundation of our culture *i.e.*, the Hindu Religion and the civilisation of the past and present of the mankind. To a Hindu mind it is patent that all thoughts, all languages, all civilisations and every thing human, owe their origin to the Vedas, and this Mimansa Darsana is the key to the massive edifice of the Vedic literature. It contains full one thousand laws or rules of interpretation of the Vedic texts in full conformity with the laws of human thought. It is the savants of this school, such as, Shabara, Kumarila, Prabhakara, Mandana and others, who fought out the battle with the opponents of Vedic religion, such as the atheists, the Buddhists, and the Jains and even those who admit the authority of the Vedas, but give equal place to other evidences, such as Perception, Inference, Intuition and others. The place of Mimansa Darsana is therefore unique, and so is the position of Shabara Bhasya of the same. Without this Bhashya the Mimansa Philosophy could not have been understood at all. All other commentaries anterior to that of Shabara, are lost, very possibly, for the hostility of the Buddhists. It was Shabara Swami who restored this Philosophy, and so the Vedic religion and civilisation also were re-established by him in some sense no doubt. But this Shabara's Commentary is written in such style and character, that it is very hard for one, not well-versed in Sanskrit technique, to go into it. There is a huge literature, which is even available to this day, to explain the Commentary of Shabara and so this English translation has rendered it approachable to almost all interested in this philosophy of India. The language is lucid and simple, and the arrangement is excellent.

RAJENDRANATH GHOSE

BENGALI

SHATA-PARNI, OR, (A TWIG) OF A HUNDRED LEAVES: *By Surendranath Maitra, M.A. (Cantab.), I.E.S. (Retired). Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Re. 1-8.*

This is a collection of one hundred beautiful sonnets. In externals, some are modelled on those of Petrarch and some on those of Shakespeare. But the thoughts and sentiments are entirely the author's own. His style is chaste. The poems are characterized by profundity of thought and depth of feeling. Though the author writes with due self-control, the stream of his poetry flows unimpeded.

SAB-HARADER GAN OR SONGS OF ALL-LOSTS: *By Bijay Lal Chattopadhyay. Naba-jiban Sangha, 4 Nyayaratna Lane, Calcutta. Annas Eight.*

This is a collection of ten poems by the author. They all have the dynamic power which readers expect to find in both his prose and verse. The metre in each poem is suited to the subject. The love of freedom which breathes through the book is irresistibly catching.

BISWA-PARICHAY OR INTRODUCTION TO THE UNIVERSE: *By Rabindranath Tagore. Visva-Bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Re. 1. With three excellent illustrations.*

In this book, published a month ago, the Poet-sage introduces juvenile readers to the Universe in his inimitable style, instinct with humour, though older readers are also sure to profit by its perusal. Its five chapters treat of Paramanu-loka (World of Atoms), Nakshatra-loka (World of Stars), Saura-Jagat (Solar System), Graha-loka (Planets), and Prithibi (The Earth). These are followed by a concluding chapter.

The Introduction, which is in the form of a letter to Professor Dr. Satyendranath Bose of Dacca University, to whom the book is dedicated, is important and interesting. In it the Poet tells, among other things, of his early initiation into the mysteries of science, particularly into those of Astronomy by his revered father.

There are fine illustrations of the nebula Andromeda, of Halley's Comet as seen in 1910, and planet Saturn and the Earth.

RAMMOHUN ROY O MURTI-PUJA, OR RAMMOHUN ROY AND IMAGE-WORSHIP: *By Amar Chandra Bhattacharya. East Bengal Brahmo Samaj, Dacca. Price Eight Annas.*

For a book of some 250 pages the price is very moderate. In it the author has brought together all the scriptural and other arguments used by Rammohun Roy in his many controversies with the orthodox pandits of his day to prove that the highest teaching of the Hindu Shastras is the worship of the Supreme Spirit in spirit and in truth, and that the worship of numerous gods and goddesses through idols was considered an inferior cult by the Rishis of the Upanishads and other ancient teachers. The author has modernized Rammohun Roy's Bengali wherever necessary. In spite of the greater progress which general and scientific education has made in India, idolatry still prevails in this country. The only difference is that whereas the orthodox Hindu contemporaries of Rammohun were sincere in their image-worship, many of their modern sophisticated descendants are indifferentists who have no faith in images but find it con-

venient or fashionable to pay lip homage to them. The temple-entry agitation, which has certainly served a useful purpose, has had the unintended result of giving a fillip to idolatry. The storm of political democracy has in the Hindu religious world transformed itself into the direct worship of Hindu goddesses like Durga, Kali and Saraswati by all Hindu castes.

These circumstances have made the publication of this book quite timely. The thoughtful introduction by Mr. Satischandra Chakrabarti adds to the value of the book. It ought to be translated into the principal languages of India.

CHHADAR CHHABI : *By Rabindranath Tagore. With numerous illustrations by Nandalal Bose. Visvabharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price : Paper cover, Re. 1-8; cloth, Rs. 2.*

This is a book of original "nursery rhymes" by the great and young-old Poet with excellent pictures by Nandal Bose. It is a lovely production, beautifully printed, with a charming cover.

D.

GORA : *The celebrated novel of Rabindranath Tagore, presented in the form of a drama by Naresh Chandra Mitra. Published by Kishori Mohan Santra on behalf of the Visvabharati Publishing Department, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

Bengali literature is not rich in dramas, and until the advent of another Bengali dramatist of the calibre of Dinabandhu Mitra, our playwrights, while trying their hands on original themes, should not forget to make use of suitable themes already in existence in stories and novels, with characters and situations that require the minimum of alterations to be made presentable on the stage. Such an attempt has been made by Mr. Naresh Chandra Mitra, and quite successfully, as was to be expected from a man whose association with the stage has been long and intimate. The only drawbacks which the book suffers from arise from the very nature of the task undertaken, *viz.*, condensing a big novel, with a multitude of forceful and important characters, into a drama meant for stage acting. That Mr. Mitra knew exactly what he was about while dealing with the greatest Bengali novel of all times, is proved by his unconcealed effort to keep within the four walls of the original, and the result has been an interesting drama managed almost exclusively with dialogues taken unaltered from the novel.

ALAKH-JHORA—A Novel : *By Srimati Santa Devi. To be had of the authoress at 283, Darga Road, Park Circus, Calcutta. Cloth, Rs. 2-8.*

The progressive unfolding of an introvertive mind, that of a girl in this case, through a series of experiences, great and small, that bring to her, till the end of her adolescence where the story ends, nothing but wonderment mixed with love, preparing her all the way for the supreme sacrifice of a lover when the inevitable conflict arises,—this in short is the theme of this wonderful novel from the pen of one of India's foremost woman writers. The plot is simple and charming. There is a rich and colourful background of the decaying village life of Bengal, which still retains in its beauty and in the strength of its simplicity the undying hope for the future, and of a modern city life struggling to find itself. In the midst of it all the soul of a girl growing in years proceeds from discovery to discovery, made on the plane of her comparatively eventless existence, but brimful with significance because she sees things in the light of her own projection and with eyes that have the clear, straightforward and penetrating vision of a child even when she is a child no longer.

We are not amongst those who believe that it is the plot that makes the story. We incline to the view that the real test of a story lies in its power to grip the interest of the reader by enabling him to identify himself with the characters he reads about. The authoress, who has in the past given enough evidence of her ability to construct a plot, achieves this end quite easily while allowing the present story to develop itself, so to say, as the great but simple story of life so often develops, with the result that she has been able to produce a work of art of unquestioned excellence. The book will commend itself to all lovers of literature, and more particularly to those who love a simple story simply but beautifully and revealingly told.

S. K. C.

CHAITANYA-CHARITAMRITA OF KRISNADASA KAVIRAJA : *Translated into English by Sanjib Kumar Chowdhury. The Antya-lila. Published by Narendra Kumar Roy, Faridabad, Dacca.*

This is a faithful reading of the Antya-lila of Krisnadasa Kaviraja's famous work, the life of Chaitanya. Only a portion of this work from the Madhya-lila has been, so far, translated into English by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Not only as a biography but also as an authoritative theological treatise Krisnadasa Kaviraja's Charitamrita is deservedly popular, and the English translation will make it available to those outside Bengal, who do not know Bengali but want to familiarise themselves with some aspect of Chaitanya's life and teachings. The Antya-lila, while it represents the last phase of Chaitanya's career, is indeed devoid of striking external incidents, but it is rich in impassioned religious consciousness, which forms a peculiar feature of Chaitanya's spiritual realization. The work, however, is not a charita but charitamrita, written more from the devotional than the strictly historical point of view. Those exuberant metrical narratives therefore, love to linger over the scenes of ecstasy, madness and miracles; and the Antya-lila is especially favoured by the faithful, for its picture of the Divyonmada of the closing years of Chaitanya.

S. K. De

TAKAR KATHA or ESSAYS ON MONEY : *By Anathgopal Sen. Published by the Modern Book Agency, 10, College Square, Calcutta. Second Edition, 1937. Pages 223. Price Re. 1-8.*

Here is the second edition of a book that was successful in securing appreciation immediately after the first edition was issued to the public. Bengali books on economic problems are rare, and very few have had the courage even to try to explain the intricacies of monetary problems in a language poor in technical terms. Mr. Sen has taken up a difficult task, and his success is proved by the wide popularity his book has enjoyed. In the new edition, the original essays have all been retained and some new ones have been put in to give the readers some idea of banking practices and of the position of the banking business in India.

We feel, however, that the author should have revised portions of his essays. His book is certainly meant for the lay reader, but that is no reason for retention of statements of doubtful validity. He has, for example, assumed that a gold-standard necessarily implies a freely-minted, legal-tender gold currency; the post-War student of monetary theory will not accept this, and will not understand the author's patent bias towards a free mint and a specie standard. The author seems to hold that the Babington-Smith Committee recommended the stabilisation of the rupee at 2 sh. *sterling;* the Committee in fact recommended stabilisation at 2sh. *gold,* and the 2sh.

sterling rate was adopted by the Government in June, 1920, only after the attempt to maintain the 2 sh. *gold* rate had failed. Again, the author says that the *rouble* is not backed by gold reserves; in fact, however, one rouble is equal in value to 0·775 grams of fine gold, and the *Chervonetz* notes issued by the Gosbank require a firm 25 per cent cover in gold.

We point out all this only because we believe Mr. Sen's book to be the best book in Bengali on monetary and banking problems. Mr. Sen has introduced a new technique of writing on intricate issues, and his facile method of expression reminds one of the delightful writings of Hartley Withers. Broadly speaking, the field of his studies is extensive, and his opinions are in conformity with what is regarded as rational economics in our times. With a mastery over the main principles of monetary theory, he combines the power of explaining lucidly whatever he seeks to explain. No reader will say that he has not understood what Mr. Sen has tried to discuss; and, this is perhaps the greatest commendation that any book on a technical subject can carry.

BHABATOSH DATTA

HINDI

PATITODDHARAK JAINA-DHARMA : *By Mr. Kamtaprasad Jain, M.R.A.S. Published by Mulchand Kisandas Kapadia. Gandhi Chowk. Surat. Pp. 204. Price Re. 1-4.*

Mr. Jain is a well-known writer on Jainism. In this book he has collected together the lives of some old Jain persons, men and women, who rose to eminence from low ranks of society. He has drawn the materials from old Jain and other writings. Though the persons dealt with in this book are not all historical, yet the stories are emulating, showing that birth or caste was not always a hindrance in India. In the Introduction the author discusses the ideas of Jainism about high and low classes and puts together examples of good deeds done by the latter classes. The book is a welcome addition to Hindi literature.

RASHTRA-SAMGHA AUR VISVA-SANTI : *By Mr. Ramnarain Jadavendu, B.A., LL.B. Published by the Mansarowar Sahitya Niketan, Muradabad. Pp. iv+324. Price Rs. 3-8.*

This book deals with the ideals and organisation of the League of Nations. The Hindi-knowing public is hereby given a chance of knowing all the important particulars of that big organisation. There are many illustrations. Mr. Sampurnananda of Benares has written a short introduction to this book.

RAMES BASU

ENGLISH-TAMIL

TOLKAPPIYAM. THE EARLIEST EXTANT TAMIL GRAMMAR : *Edited and translated into English, with a short English commentary, by P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Oriental Studies, Bishop Heber College, Trichinopoly and Assistant Editor, Tamil Lexicon, University of Madras : Volume I : Ezhutt'atikaram : Published in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, 1930. Pp. 105, with an index of Sutras and index of words : boards Re. 1.*

The *Tolkappiyam* is a unique work, being the oldest grammar and rhetorical treatise of Tamil, embodying the Tamil language and Tamil literature in their earliest phase. Attributed to the sage Trinadhumagni, a reputed disciple of the sage Agastya, orthodox Tamil scholarship would claim a hoary antiquity for the work. The late P. P. Srinivas Iyengar was content to take it to the 1st century after Christ, as the upper limit for it. The kind of Tamil treated in the *Tolkappiyam* belongs to the oldest stratum of Tamil literature which continued down to about the 7th century after Christ. The *Tolkappiyam* consists of 3 parts—(*i*) *Ezhutt'atikaram* or the part dealing with writing—with phonetics, phonology and orthography; (*ii*) *Coll'atikaram*, dealing with words and inflexions—with morphology; and (*iii*) *Porul'atikaram*, dealing with the subjects treated in poetry—with rhetoric and poetics.

The earliest literature of Tamil, the so-called 'Sangam' literature, gives us the old Tamil spirit at its purest. The Tamil outlook upon the world, upon love and life, and the Tamil classification of life's categories, were independent of and in some respects quite distinct from those of the Aryan-speaking North Indians and the peoples who early came under their influence. All this is properly formulated in the third part of the *Tolkappiyam*.

Dr. Subrahmanya Sastri has taken upon himself the task of giving out to the wider world outside the *Tamizhnadu* the *Tolkappiyam* in a form which will be easily acceptable and understandable. He has in the present volume given us the first part, consisting of 482 out of the 1200 and odd sutras which go to make up the work : this is a self-complete volume. He has done his work in a brilliant manner. We non-Tamilians who have an interest in Dravidian and Tamil studies but are not so much at home with the Tamil language, feel grateful to the author for giving us the text in Roman characters, in a rigid transliteration based on the *Cen-Tamizh* or Old Tamil values of the letters. We have a wealth of pure Tamil phonetic and phonological terms in this work, which is thus an ample testimony to the richness and power of this grand old Dravidian language. About the articulation of the Old Tamil sounds, it is remarkable to find (and this point has been specially commented upon by Dr. Sastri) that the cerebral *ṭ ṇ* of Old Tamil are described as if they were just tongue-tip alveolars or supra-dentals, without any mention of their retroflex character. This is both startling and puzzling. Dr. Sastri notes that this original pronunciation *ṭ ṇ* are preserved in Malayalam even now. Would it mean that the pure retroflex cerebral sounds did not originally belong to Tamil (and possibly also to other Dravidian speeches?), and they were later developments? We should always be prepared for most unexpected results in a historical study of a linguistic problem. In that case, are we to assume that it was not Dravidian contamination that gave the cerebrals to Aryan (Vedic, Sanskrit and the Prakrits), but these were developed independently in Indo-Aryan, as much as they have in Scandinavian, or were imposed upon Indo-Aryan by the impact of some other speech family?

Dr. Sastri's two appendices will be very useful. I wish he had given English translations of the examples quoted by him to explain the *sutras*. We are not all scholars of Old Tamil, and for the average linguistician the translations would have been a great blessing.

Dr. Sastri's work has been done in a fine style, and we hope he will complete the entire work in the same manner. It will then be a monument of modern Tamil Scholarship, and a desideratum in the domain of Tamil studies will then be achieved. We want badly similar editions of other important Tamil classics of the Sangam period—the text in a systematised transliteration based on the Old Tamil values of the Tamil letters, with a literal English translation opposite and linguistic and literary notes. Some of the *Patthupattu* poems, of the *Ettutthokai* collections, and of the *Pathi-nen-kil-kanakku* didactics may be attempted, before the bigger *kavyas* like the

Cilappathikaram and the *Manimekalai* can be taken in hand. Dr. Subrahmanya Sastri, who has done the first part of the *Tolkappiyam* so beautifully, should with other Tamil scholars, take up this kind of work, in which success is assured.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

TELUGU

SRI SUKANASOPADESAM AND SRI GURU-DAKSHINA: *By Vidwan Darbha Venkata Krishnamurty, M.A., Lecturer, Madanapalle College. Pp. 60. Price Annas Twelve. To be had of the author.*

The first part is a rendering of a fragment of Bana's *Kadambari*, wherein Sukanasa warns Prince Chandrapida of the evils of kingship. The second part depicts the virtues of Truth; and in both Mr. Krishnamurty has weilded the idiom with dexterity and has dealt the metres with command.

ELECTIONS: *By Avasarala Venkata Narsu, B.A., B.L., Vakil, Rajahmundry. Pp. 376. Price Rs. 2-8. To be had of Andhra Granthamala, Madras.*

This is a compendium of acts relating to the election of members to the Indian Council of State, Federal Assembly, Provincial Assembly and Council, Local Boards, Municipalities and Panchayats. The mysteries of the Ballot-box in the Self-Government are vividly explained with interpretations of difficult sections. The proceedings of the various High Courts over the Election suits, and innumerable appendices make the work a *vade mecum* to the raw candidate and the voter. The author deserves congratulation for the high amount of pain he has taken in producing the book.

B. SUNDER RAM RAU

GUJARATI

RUPALEKHA: *By Bhagvanlal L. Mankad, M.A., B.T., Rajkot. Printed at the Liberal Lakshmi Printing Press, Rajkot. Paper cover. Pages 96. Price Rupee One. 1937.*

Mr. Mankad had published sometime ago a collection of his poems, called "Rupalila," and the same had been well received. This second collection is also full of creditable poetical conceits. The songs show that the poetic spark is there, though glowing intermittently.

MANGALSUTRA: *By Padrakar. Printed at the Anand Printing Works, Bombay. Illustrated Jacket. Cloth bound. Pages 254. With coloured pictures. Price Rupees Two. 1935.*

Mangalsutra is the symbol tied round the neck of a married woman to denote that she has entered the holy state of matrimony. In this very interesting book Mr. Padrakar has treated the whole business of marriage in Gujarat from a chronicler's point of view. In the preface and the notes written at the head of each song composed by him, he has traced the origin of the various details of the ceremonies and rites of marriage, as seen and performed amongst orthodox and non-orthodox families. He has tried to amalgamate the spirit of the old with that of the new: by new, we mean a marriage that can be performed before the Registrar in half an hour, in contrast with a marriage which takes nearly a week to accomplish, with pre-wedding and post-wedding rites. The various stages in this business of marriage are set out systematically and to each is annexed a song, which breathes love, harmony, romance and domestic happiness. To appreciate the value of the labour undergone and intelligence displayed in the composition of the work, the reader is requested to read it in the original.

VYAPAK DHARMA BHAVNA: *By Gandhi: Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Thick cardboard. Pages 565. Price annas fourteen. 1937.*

A collection of Mahatma Gandhiji's writings on religious subjects has already been published under the title of "Dharma Manthan." The present one consists of articles and writings on other subjects, such as Ethics, Morals, Labour, Social Service, Swadeshi, etc. Gandhiji's views on these matters are well-known. They are couched in very simple Gujarati and therefore are accessible to masses. The publishers have divided them into nine sections according to subjects and have thus facilitated the task of the student of Gandhi literature, who thereby gets a connected treatment of a particular subjects handy, instead of having to wander over a scattered field. The Index at the end is very valuable from this point of view as it contributes greatly to the above facility.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

WHO ART THOU AND OTHER VERSES: *By Ramandasa K. S. Seshagiri, B.A. To be had of 138, Brodie's Road, Mylapore, Madras. Pp. 16+8. Price Two Annas.*

A booklet containing eight poems.

GOLDEN RESOURCES—*a guide to health, wealth and happiness: By L. V. Narasimha Rao. Published by The Author, Santivasati, Guntur. Pp. xxxii+201.*

The author deals with the subject from the orthodox Shastric point of view.

CHRIST AS CRISNA IN INDIA: *By Rajani Kumar Padmapati, Tezpur, Assam. Pp. iv+91. Price Annas Eight.*

In this book the author has tried to show that Crisna of the Puranas is no other than Jesus Christ of the Bible.

VICHARA-BINDHU UPANISHAD: *By Swami Sivananda Saraswati. Published by Swami Paramananda, Secretary, The Divine Life Trust Society, Rikhikesh (Himalayas). Pp. 20. Sent free on application with sufficient stamps for postage.*

ANANDA-BINDU UPANISHAD: *By Swami Sivananda. Published by Swami Paramananda, Secretary, The Divine Life Trust Society, Rikhikesh (Himalayas). Pp. 16. Sent free as above.*

English translations of Vichara-Bindu and Ananda-Bindu Upanishads with the translator's commentaries in English.

A NEW CORONA FOR THE SUN

By GOBIND BEHARI LAL

Science Editor, Hearst Newspapers & International News Service

WELL, in the eyes of science our old sun has a new corona.

It is a bigger and more uniformly made corona than any known to man before.

The discovery of the corona in its new aspect was almost accidental, made by a layman—Major Albert W. Stevens of the U. S. Army Air Corps, during the total eclipse of the sun of last June 8.

I am writing this account of the newly found corona a couple of hours after having seen its motion pictures at a demonstration given in the Hyden Planetarium of the Natural History Museum, New York.

The photographs, still and moving, taken under Major Stevens' directions were projected upon the ceiling of the Planetarium. I had no difficulty in noticing what it was that made these pictures of the sun's corona strikingly different from the actual observations of the corona I had made in two or three total solar eclipse expeditions.

As Dr. Harlaw Shapley, famous astronomer of Harvard University, has aptly said :

> "All of Major Stevens' plates clearly show a perfectly even corona surrounding the sun. Here is the first decisive proof—that the solar corona is an even globular blanket covering the sun more than a million miles deep."

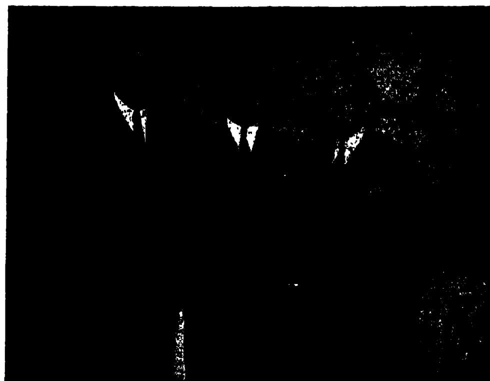
Until now it was believed by the world of astronomy that the corona consists of flaming streamers. Now we know that the streamers are relatively insignificant bright tracery in the immense round envelop of silvery light, the " corona."

A careful comparison of Major Stevens' pictures with those of the corona taken by the Harvard Expedition in Russia, last year, shows that the globular form of the corona was faintly recorded in the latter. Even before this, two European astronomers, Bergstrand and von Klueber, had obtained the same kind of round coronal pictures. But all these previous photographs were quite uncertain.

What was the way of the coronal photography this year ? Simple enough : Major Stevens did not observe and photograph the sun's corona from the ground. He went up in an aeroplane.

It was from an aeroplane, about 25,000 feet above the Pacific Ocean, near Lima, Peru, that Mr. Stevens and his able photographer W. O. Runcie, and Capt. Charles Disher and W. E. Gray, pilots, observed the June total eclipse of the sun.

They had risen high into the substratosphere, clear above the dust, smoke and other atmospheric light screeners. So the real form of the sun's corona was not hidden from them, as it is from the ground observers.

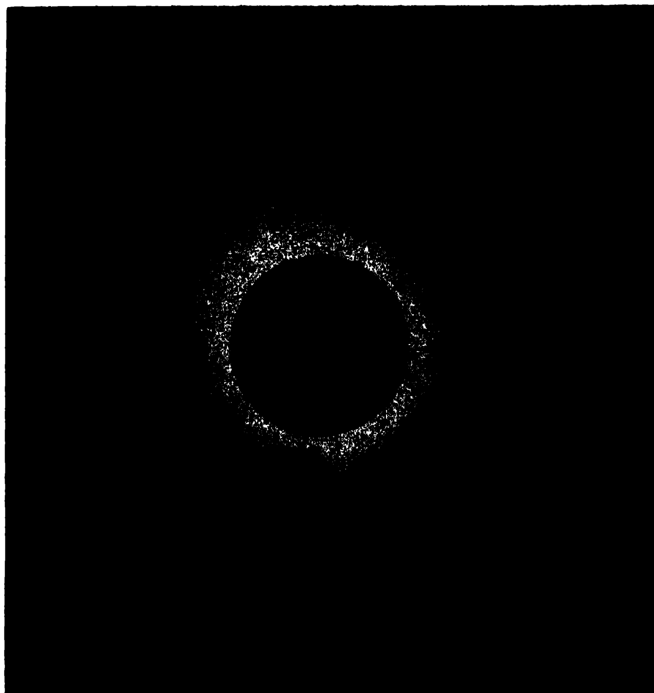


Left to Right : Major Albert W. Stevens, U. S. Army Air Corps; Mr. F. Trubee Davison, President of the American Museum of Natural History; and Dr. Clyde Fisher, Curator of the Hayden Planetarium.
Courtesy : The American Museum of Natural History.

You have to ask a great astrophysicist like Professor Meghnad Saha, of the University of Allahabad, why it is important to have a true picture of the corona. I venture to say, he'll reply, " The shape of the corona helps us in understanding the structure of the Sun's upper atmosphere and even of the sun's interior."

Now, flying up to 25,000 feet above the earth and taking accurate photographs of the sun, at the time of the eclipse, was no easy matter. Here came handy the skill of the great aerial explorer Major Stevens.

From now on the American astronomers will make more and more use of aeroplanes for observing the sun in the total eclipse. Harvard already plans to send up aeroplanes equipped with still and moving cameras and spectrographs,



A photograph of the Corona taken during the June 8th eclipse of the sun by Major A. W. Stevens, a member of the Hayden Planetarium-Grace Eclipse Expedition, from a Pan American-Grace airliner at an altitude of 25,000 feet

some having ultra-violet lens systems, when the eclipse of 1940 takes place over South America and South Africa.

Major Stevens went to the Pacific coast eclipse as a member of the Hayden Planetarium-Grace Expedition, under the leadership of Dr. Clyde Fisher. The aeroplane was donated by the Pan American Grace Airways. The Eastman Kodak Company's master optical technicians assisted in photographic details.

Altogether the aerial photography of the corona included 11 pictures with a 24 inch camera, 4 pictures with an 8½ inch camera and 150 feet of motion picture film made with 6 inch lens.

Well, the sun has a round, a million-miles deep corona, instead of one of streamers. So what of it?

The answer is, it is the nation that seeks truth through science that prospers. It is not for nothing that public spirited Americans of wealth—"the maharajas and nawabs" of the New World—give money, aeroplanes, costly instruments to their scientists.

The scientists go out like great hunters. They return with big and small game—the discoveries of nature's secrets. Then these discoveries are made known to the plain people.

So superstition passes away and the ordinary citizen learns to face nature bravely and learns how to control the forces of nature, and make them serve his ends.

How marvellous is this New York Planetarium! There are four such planetariums in the United States—one each in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Los Angeles. Others will be built. Countless men, women and children pour into these "Houses of the Planets and the Stars," and are shown an incredibly beautiful imitation of the real sky and of its blazing stars, planets and other celestial objects, in true relationships and motions.

How I wish that as a boy in Delhi, India, I had been taught about Nature in this fashion! Will New India foster scientific research by her scientists, and spread science among the people?

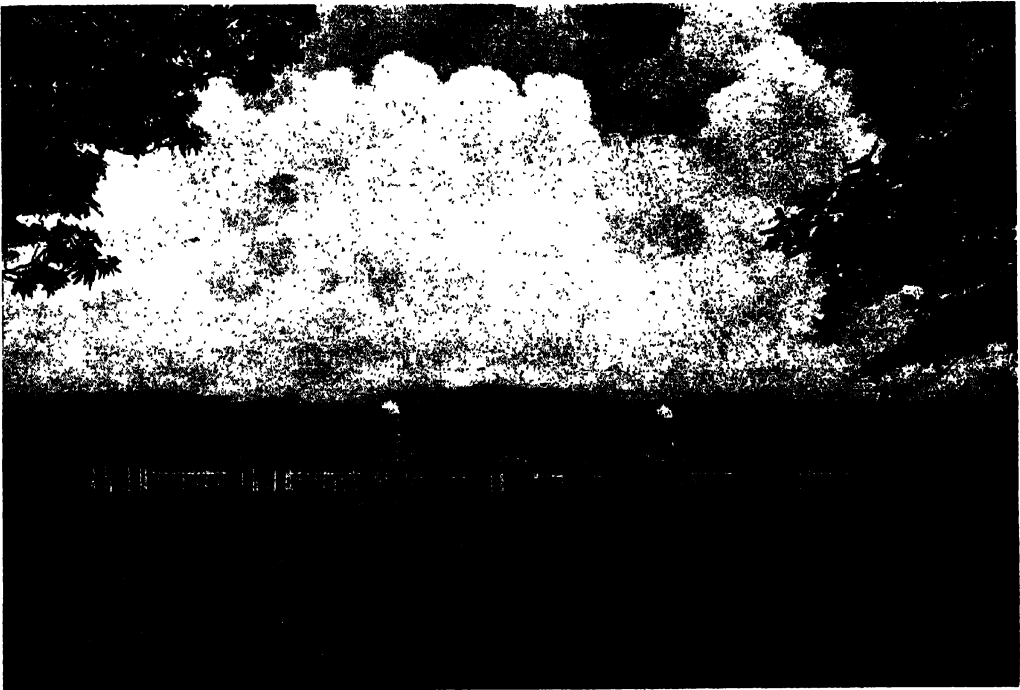
FORESTS IN INDIA

By L. R. SABHORWAL, I.F.S.

It may safely be said that, there is hardly any Government Department in India whose work and aims are so little understood as those of the Forest Department. It is partly due to the fact that forest officer's work lies in remote places and partly because the results of his work become apparent only after half a century or more.

The Forest

It would be a mistake to think of a forest as merely a piece of land with trees growing on it. It has been said that "a virgin forest is a battle-ground where varied and multitudinous forces meet and fight for supremacy." There is an interplay of forces, a setting up of new conditions that make the forest a distinct unit in nature. A forest is essentially a partnership of trees, plants and animal life. One might think of them as friendly enemies. In forest life, much as in human life, there are not enough of life's necessary things to go round and so only those trees which are the strongest and best equipped survive. To tell the story of our forests is to tell the story of man's loyal ally in his long and perilous pilgrimage from cave-dweller to master of the civilized world. In one sense the story of our forests is a re-affirming of old Biblical wisdom, that tells us, "As ye sow, so shall ye also reap."



Forest Research Institute, New Forest, Dehra Dun

There is plenty of evidence to show that at one time the greater part of the habitable portions of the globe were covered with dense forests. As men grew out of their early condition of mere hunters of beasts for the sake of food and clothing, when the savage who had run "wild in woods" began to keep domesticated

animals, and, in a still more advanced stage began to till the land and exchange a nomad for a settled life, it was necessary that the forests over certain areas of the land should yield to higher requirements. When land is cleared of trees to make room for steady cultivation or for a town, no valid objection can be raised. The point to be considered is the true welfare and enjoyment of the community, and each case must be settled on its own merits. This however has not always been done.



Experimental paper machine
Forest Research Institute, New Forest, Dehra Dun

The great power which man has over nature has too often been exercised capriciously, and men have within a few years wasted forests —the growth of centuries, and from pure selfishness, or ignorance, or from want of foresight, have found themselves either compelled to abandon a whole countryside, or to submit to the greatest sacrifices and to the expenditure of time, money, and labour to regain that which nature had bestowed so freely. One of the most painful cases in India of the evils of denuding hill-sides of all vegetation will be found in the Punjab. There, in the Hoshiarpur District, many square miles of arable land have been thrown out of cultivation by the constant and steady spread over the soil of rivers of sand brought down without ceasing from the low hills. These sand-torrents are known locally as *chos*. When it is remembered that each strip of sandbed renders so much arable land valueless, and that there is plenty more where it comes from, the matter assumes a very serious aspect. During the rains each bed will become a torrent, more sand will be brought down and spread out like a fan over land still untouched. This evil is now being attacked and will be doubtless carried out successfully, and the Forest Department will be able to point to it with just pride before many years have passed. There are also other examples which show evils of denudation. Mesopotamia which for generations produced all the revenues of Persia has degenerated into a dreary waste. In Greece, Anatolia and Spain, the destruction of the forests has seriously interfered with their climate, cultivation and with the moisture-content of the soil.

Area

The area of forest under the control of the Forest Department is about 261,000 square miles, an area more than twice that of the British Isles and nearly 24% of British India. Taking the country as a whole, this is ample but the distribution of forests is irregular. While some provinces, such as Burma and Assam, have large areas of forests, in other parts of India, and notably in the Gangetic plain in the Punjab, the area of forests is quite inadequate, and the rural population has to carry on as best it can without forests. At the same time there are extensive areas of waste land which are capable of being made into successful plantations for the production of small timber, firewood, grass, etc., which have the double advantage of ameliorating the agricultural conditions of these treeless tracts and of putting to a profitable economic use lands which are otherwise barren and valueless.

The Policy

Lord Dalhousie inaugurated a forest policy in India in 1855, and the start made in Burma and Madras was soon followed by the creation of a forest department by government in other



Tectona grandis plantation 18 months old.
Kaptai, Chittagong Hill Tracts Division, Bengal



Erosion on Southern slope of Katon Dhar.
Hoshiarpur Division, Punjab



Afforestation of Ravine Land
Famine labour employed on bandh construction for reclamation of eroded ground at Etawah, U. P.



Floating in the river Pohan in Lalab. Log Mehaw releasing jamb with rope on key log—Kashmir State

provinces. The first duty of the Department is to provide for the wants of the agricultural population and to maintain the areas committed to its charge in such a condition that their indirect effects, shall be as beneficial as possible.

Indirect Utility of Forests

Repeated observations and experiments have proved that the presence of masses of trees modifies climatic conditions in a very striking manner. The forests protect the country to the leeward against prevailing winds, and thus raise or lower the temperature as the winds themselves are moist or dry, hot or cold. It is beyond doubt that forests make a land more temperate—less subject to sudden changes. A forested country is neither so hot in the day nor so cold at night. The forests also prevent the great damage sometimes caused by sand dunes, those areas of shifting sands which, blown by the wind, move across the country destroying farm lands and covering roads and buildings.

When a heavy storm of rain falls on a forest it is at the first outset, as it were, broken into myriads of parts. The resistance of each leaf, small though it be, checks the force of the storm; the water is then led along the boughs and down the trunks of the trees till it falls gently on a thick carpet of dead leaves, twigs and mosses and passes on through a layer of humus into a soil pierced with innumerable roots and fibres. This power of absorbing water renders forests the best means of retaining soils on slopes and preventing floods. If, as every one knows, it is necessary to revet the slopes of bank to protect them against the influence of ordinary weather, it is easy to imagine the effect of heavy storms of rain on bare slopes. In all mountain districts which form watersheds of all of our rivers, forests are not merely ornamental or valuable only as producing useful products, but are actually necessary to the security and existence of inhabitants both of the hills and of the plains below them. Without the forests the soil is washed away, ravines are formed, torrents sweep down unchecked, and the hills are left bare and desolate, while the most elaborate system of carefully-built up dykes, dams, and ditches for the protection of the plains is found to be a source of constant and great expenditure, and of little value as a defence when the floods of water and liquid mud carrying great rocks with them come down with irresistible force. The loss of cultivated lands, grazing grounds, houses and villages by the floods that pour down from off the denuded hills is very great indeed.

Direct Utility

The Revenue and Economic Value

Trade in forest products makes a large contribution to the wealth of the country. The increase of revenue from the forests was continuous until the world economic crisis began in 1930. Revenue in the Forest Department has increased from Rs. 37.4 lakhs in 1864-65 to 1868-69 to Rs. 296 lakhs (1913-14 to 1918-19) and post-war demand and high prices raised it to Rs. 595 lakhs in 1924-25 to 1928-29. Since 1930 it has fallen and now stands at Rs. 395 lakhs. These figures take no account of large quantities of forest produce provided free of charge or at concession rates to the villagers; such supplies including timber, firewood, grass, grazing, bamboos, etc., are often irreplaceable necessaries of life in the vicinities of the forests. Some conception of their local importance is afforded by the fact that the estimated value of free grazing and timbers and other forest produce removed free of charge is about 66 lakhs of rupees. Forests provide grazing for over 13,000,000 heads of cattle out of which about 8,000,000 graze free of charge. Very little forest is closed to grazing and in times of scarcity supplies of fodder from the forest are invaluable.

I wonder how few of us have ever considered the capacity of forests to furnish employment. It is most fortunate that the forest work fits in very well with the slack period in agriculture and a large number of villagers when free from their fields go to the forest for work. The census returns of 1931 show that directly or indirectly the forests offer employment to about 2,000,000 people in British India alone. To many these figures will come as a surprise. They however show what a great part forests play in the economy of an agricultural country like India.

Indian forests are exceptionally rich in a large number of what we call minor forest products, such as gums, resins, myrobalans and other tanning materials, essential oils, lac, cutch and katha, drugs and medicinal herbs, oil seeds, canes, fibres and numerous others, so the forests have an additional importance in supplying the raw produce on which a number of important industries are based. A detailed description of such industries requires a large volume so I will contend myself by merely drawing attention to one or two of them.

The Indian Pine-resin industry provides

resin for shellac making, soap manufactures, paper concerns, oil-cloth linoleum, sealing wax, printing inks, electric installation, gramophone records, etc., etc. It also provides turpentine which is employed in the paint and varnish trades, as an ingredient of boot polishes and in the manufacture of munitions. India's annual consumption now amounts roughly to 150,000 maunds of resin and over 2 lakhs gallons of turpentine. Both the resin and turpentine are of the highest grade and compete with the standardized American article in all the markets of the world. The Forest Department which initiated and brought this industry to a high state of efficiency made it over to a private company retaining only a financial interest and falling back on its prime function of supply of raw material which as you are aware comes from the Pine trees. Large areas of pine forest are systematically tapped for resin, quantities of resin are now exported and imports of both resin and turpentine are nothing as compared to what they used to be.

Lac industry is practically the monopoly of India. Since the war the shipping value of lac has ranged from Rs. 700 to Rs. 4,000 per ton—such are the fluctuations in its price and exports have exceeded in value over Rs. 7 crores in a year.

Forest Research

The Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun, the finest of its kind in the British Empire, is the pulsating heart of Forestry in India. Research is as essential to the life and growth of Forestry as it is to the growth of all other sciences. This Insitute has been carrying on research for some thirty years into the processes of growing trees and of making use of timber and other produce of forests and I will give a few examples illustrating the importance of such research and extent to which it is of use to other government departments and to industrialists concerned with the utilization of timber and forest produce.

Paper Pulp

The present Paper Pulp Section at the Institute was inaugurated in 1923 with the object of exploring the possibility of utilizing the forest resources of the country for pulp and paper making and interesting and assisting capitalists and industrialists in developing this important industry. The investigations in the Section have hitherto been confined to bamboos and grasses, plentiful supplies of which are available in the country. Bamboo has now been established as a material, *par excellence,* for the manufacture of a variety of papers. During the last decade the consumption of bamboos in India mills has increased from 4,400 tons to about 35,000 tons per annum and the yearly output of paper has gone up from about 27,000 tons to over 40,000 tons. This has enabled the mills, with the aid of 'protection,' to capture a major portion of the market for writing and printing papers the total value of which is about 2.5 crores of rupees per annum. It is hoped that in the near future almost the entire increasing demand for such papers will be met by indigenous production. India, however, still imports about 115,000 tons of cheaper varieties of paper *viz.*, newsprints, packing and wrapping papers, boards, etc. of the value of nearly 1.6 crores of rupees per annum. Cheap mechanical wood pulp is in the manufacture of these products. The Paper Pulp Section is now engaged in exploring the possibility of producing such pulp from Indian raw materials. Arrangements for carrying out these investigations are well on the way.

The Section is also conducting research into the possibility of utilizing bamboo pulp for the production of artificial silk and staple fibre products, the imports of which into this country approximate 3 crores of rupees per annum. The aim of investigations in the Section is thus to render the country, as far as possible, self-sufficient with regard to her present and future growing requirements of paper and cellulose products.

Seasoning of Timber

Wood in the green condition contains a large quantity of moisture which has to be removed almost entirely before the wood is fit for use as timber.

The object of seasoning is to get rid of excess moisture in the wood with the least damage to wood itself. If used green, wood will shrink, crack and warp and will be more liable to attack by fungus and insects. The importance of proper seasoning of timber prior to use therefore needs no special emphasis. Considerable loss to the wood-working industries can be saved by introducing proper seasoning methods in this country.

The first experiment in air seasoning of Indian timbers was started about 1914 and since then considerable progress has been made and valuable information on the seasoning of almost all the commercial timbers in India has been collected by the Seasoning Section. Data have been collected on proper methods of stacking of various timbers, time necessary for seasoning,

and the seasoning behaviour of important timbers. If the wood-working industry will adopt the methods discovered at the Institute a lot of money will be saved and the use of indigenous timbers will extend and we can have better furniture.

There has been considerable loss to the Forest Department and the private merchants in the supply and sale of Railway sleepers. Proper methods of seasoning were not known and there was considerable rejection of sleepers by the Railway sleeper passing officers. The seasoning section has investigated the proper method of stacking of sleepers for various periods of the year. A considerable saving will be effected by adopting the methods recommended by the Section for giving protection to sleepers against rapid drying and consequent end splitting and cracking.

As against air seasoning which takes a long time the Seasoning Section has also been investigating since 1923 the possibilities of kiln drying in this country. As a result of these investigations a new method of kiln drying has been developed which is simpler, requires less steam, is easier to operate, takes less time, and gives better results and is cheaper than the old process. The discovery of this process, which has brought down the cost of drying to 1/3 of the old process, it is hoped, will give an impetus to the kiln-drying industry in this country. Already ordnance factories at Jubbulpore and Ishapore, the East Indian Railway workshops at Lillooah, Messrs. Mansfield and Sons, Calcutta, Assam Railway Trading Company and others have installed Timber-Drying Kilns on the recommendations of the Seasoning Section. Further progress has been made by the success achieved in drying hardwoods in a smoke kiln in which the hot gases from a furnace are used for drying the wood without the help of a boiler. It is hoped that this type of kiln will become popular in this country for small wood using industries.

Besides these, the effect of various chemicals on wood with a view to find out suitable Indian woods for chemical industries and the suitability of Indian woods for battery separations, etc., are being investigated. Thermal and electrical properties of woods are also under investigation.

It was a result of the work done at the Institute that tool handles and sports goods are now being manufactured from the Indian woods and the plywood mills have been established in India. The importance of plywood industry may be realised from the fact that 8,000,000 tea boxes which are made of plywood are imported by India every year.

Wood Preservation

It is well known that untreated sapwood of all timbers, including that of the most naturally durable timbers like teak and the heartwood also of most of the otherwise desirable non-durable woods, is destroyed within a year or two by white-ants. Experiments with several wood preservatives that have been conducted in the laboratory and in the field for over a quarter of a century at the Forest Research Institute have shown definitely that if properly treated under pressure against white-ants, borers and rot, wood can be expected to last for at least 20-25 years. With the discovery of suitable wood preservatives commercial wood preservation will make better headway and that the more extended use of treated timbers will become a common feature in India, resulting in more extensive utilization, for structural and other purposes of the numerous so called useless woods. It has been claimed that timber can after treatment compete successfully with steel and concrete for a great many purposes. In an agricultural country like India, the part which the forests play in the economic condition of the people can hardly be exaggerated. "Among the peasant's greatest needs are firewood to replace manure, small timber for houses and wood for implements; as well as grazing and fodder for the cattle." The forests can, and do supply all these things. "It has therefore been recognised with increasing clearness that forestry has an important vocation as the handmaid of agriculture."

But the forests must be preserved and developed to meet increasing consumption. Population is increasing and the standard of living improving; the future supplies can therefore be assured only by systematic management.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Buddhist Painting in Tibet

Rahula Sankrityayana, who brought back from his Tibetan journey one hundred and forty paintings acclaimed as the best collection of Tibetan art outside Tibet, writes in the *Asia* :

Probably the earliest Tibetan paintings were those on walls of temples. We know definitely that the temples of Ra-mo-chhe and Rjo-khang were beautifully decorated in the seventh century by Chinese and Nepalese or Indian artists, and thus was the traditional style of Tibetan temple decoration established. But the Tibetans are not in the habit of building masonry walls. Their frescoes have always been done on perishable mud plaster, and by way of repair the outlines are frequently retraced and the colours relaid, or the entire plaster is cleared away, a fresh coat is applied and new pictures are painted. Only a short time ago, when I paid a visit to the famous fifteenth-century monastic University of Sera, a few miles from Lhasa, I had the painful experience of witnessing this ruthless operation going on under my very eyes, while I was helpless to interfere. Some centuries-old paintings on one side of the Assembly Hall were in process of being totally demolished by workmen engaged to replaster the hall. The greater the prosperity of a monastery in Tibet, the less the chance for the ancient paintings to survive. As soon as the walls begin to crumble or the paintings to grow dim, they are at once repaired. Only in monasteries not prosperous or too inaccessible to invite attention are really ancient paintings still preserved. I was told that some such monasteries are to be found in Gstang Province, but I myself was unable to visit them.

The kingdom of Tibet reached the zenith of its power and prosperity in the ninth century under Thi-srong, the Asoka of Tibet. He was a devout Buddhist, and under his patronage the large monastery of Bsam-yas, three days' journey south of Lhasa, sprang into existence. It was built under the direct supervision of Santarkshita, the brilliant Indian philosopher who had gone to Tibet from the Buddhist University of Nalanda, in Bihar, then undoubtedly the chief seat of learning in all Asia.

Bsam-yas was built after an architectural plan that was supposed to correspond with the ancient Indian geographical conception of the universe. The central temple represented the Sumeru Mountain, and around this were clustered twelve other buildings representing the four large islands and eight smaller ones believed to make up the world. The whole was enclosed by a wall, the boundary of the universe. The walls of this central temple and the twelve side buildings were originally decorated with many wonderful frescoes. A Tibetan disciple of Santarkshita, Vairocana by name, is credited with the principal frescoes, and a *thanka*, or banner painting mounted on brocade, still preserved in the magisterial office of Bsam-yas, is attributed to him. Even now the walls of Bsam-yas are covered with paintings, but since the original monastery was burnt down in the eleventh century the present frescoes certainly belong to a later date. As in India, the painters of Tibet did not adopt the practice of inscribing their names on their work. It is only by chance that the names of artists have survived, and though Vairocana's is the first Tibetan artist's name to come down to us, there must have been many Tibetan artists before Vairocana, whose names perished along with their work.

The passion for building monasteries continued in Tibet, and as the monkhood waxed rich and strong the different orders vied with one another in making their monastic strongholds resplendent with contributions of art. The use of paintings became more and more common. Beautiful tenth-century specimens are still provided by the Al-che and Sum-ra *viharas* in Ladakh, built by the Tibetan scholar Ratna-bhadra. The Ladakh frescoes, as fine for their period as the Ajanta frescoes for theirs, are threatened with imminent destruction and will barely survive another handful of years unless the task of preservation is immediately undertaken.

The art of fresco painting on a high level once flourished all over Tibet, and it is still widely practised in a debased form even today, but time in league with an ignorant and indifferent posterity has allowed the fine work of the old masters to be all but obliterated. Fortunately for us, however, the painters of Tibet did not confine themselves solely to large decoration on monastic walls. Illustrated manuscripts and banner and scroll paintings on cloth or paper were other modes of expression favoured by the artists of Tibet. Every monastic library and hall of worship contains some treasures of this sort, and the palaces of Tibetan nobles and the old feudal houses of powerful families also possess such collections.

Soviet Russia

The following extracts are made from an article (as condensed by the *World Christianity*) contributed to *The Living Church* by T. L. Harris, rector of the Church of St. Luke and the Epiphany, an Episcopalian Church in Philadelphia :

At first the U. S. S. R. seemed to be creating a civilization in the worst sense materialistic. Yet I should be inclined to agree that in the U. S. S. R. culture and material possessions go together, *because Communism holds a philosophy about things* which establishes a connection between things and values. So does Catholicism hold a philosophy about things which establishes a connection between things and values, but contemporary Catholics have not sufficiently worked out in view of modern scientific and industrial advance the social and cultural implications of the Catholic doctrine of Creation, the Incarnation and the sacraments. The naive and unsympathetic observer of Catholicism calls it superstitious for precisely the same kind of reason that the naive and unsympathetic observer of Communism calls it crassly materialistic. Both Catholicism and Communism are in danger of being mistaken by the vulgar as concerned solely with externals. Though in Russia it is a mark of culture to use lipstick or to have a radio, it would be grossly unfair to give the impression that the Russian notion of culture is sordidly materialistic. It is uncul-

tured to lie as well as to go unshaven. It is uncultured to swear as well as to spit. It is uncultured to be sexually promiscuous as well as to go dirty. It is cultured to read literature as well as to use a tractor in preference to a horse. Plainly in the U. S. S. R. culture has a meaning that implies the moral and social use of things.

In morals the parish priest finds much to admire unreservedly in the U. S. S. R. Prostitution is virtually extinct. Relations between the sexes are decent and wholesome. Family life is strong. Marriages are made early. Children are welcome. It is quite wrong to suppose that family life is weak under Soviet rule. Parents have not been relieved from all responsibility for their children, only from the economic bondage of having to support children at excessive sacrifice.

The effect upon children of this removal of economic strain is unbelievably fortunate. After spending five days with 17 children between the ages of 6 and 13, I was puzzled to explain the total absence of the problem child. They were all physically and emotionally healthy. Not one was afflicted with that bitter sense of being a burden which poisons the childhood of so many English and American children.

The word "sin" has disappeared from the Russian vocabulary. And the sense of sin has vanished from the Russian conscience. Young Russians are neither morbid nor holy. They are healthily, if sometimes priggishly, decent. In the place of penitence has grown self-criticism.

The young people of the U. S. S. R. are strenuously hygienic. They hold on athletic not on ascetic morality. But health is no very deep motive for morality, even culture is not the summum bonum which draws young Russians to heights of moral achievements. Basically Russian morality is founded on struggle: primarily on class struggle. Revolution demands reliability; it imposes great demands upon courage, self-discipline, loyalty. The period of violent revolution is over, but the virtues so dearly acquired in the long struggle have not yet been dissipated, rather they have been reinvested in the costly construction of a socialist state and are constantly reinforced by the fear that Fascism may re-awake the fury of revolutionary struggle. One wonders whether the fine robust morality of the young Russian could survive the complete triumph of the revolution. What is there in a successful socialism to evoke devotion, loyalty, courage, and other natural virtues? When I pressed such questions the reply was, "Wait and see: the period of struggle is not over; man has in himself a natural decency which, once liberated, perpetuates and maintains itself."

To a Catholic this is not a satisfactory answer. I would allow that the natural goodness, decency, and humanity of mankind has in the U. S. S. R. reached a level unattained elsewhere; but there seemed to me no satisfactory evidence that the natural perversity of men has been wholly eradicated or corrected. Carcerism is not unknown. Those who have fought for the revolution and sacrificed for it are still capable of exploiting it for selfish ends.

How Dictators Thrive

The following excerpt is taken from *The New York Times*:

Dictators can get things done without going bankrupt because bankruptcy has lost its meaning . . . The leaders of all the warring nations found their people ready for huge sacrifices, on a scale that the pre-War mind would have found inconceivable. Dead and wounded were counted by the tens of millions, and property destruction ran into the hundreds of billions. It was military book-keeping; a ghastly arithmetic. The World War brought the dictators and the World War arithmetic keeps them going. Their work was made easy for them in advance when the World War showed that people's capacity for suffering, hungering, obeying and dying is almost limitless. Today when a Russian or an Italian or a Nazi autocrat takes away one-third of his people's normal food it is moderation compared with what people remember; but it gives the dictator billions and billions of dollars to play with. When German or Italian or Russian babies today haven't enough to eat the thing doesn't show in the monthly bank statements.

Stalin and Trotsky

Axel Schmidt observes in the *Hilfe*, Berlin:

After Lenin's death, Kamenev, the President of the Council of the People's Commissaries and one of the oldest colleagues of Lenin, was expected to fill the place of the Leader of the Soviet State. Everyone was, however, surprised, when the State-President, Kalinin, who had played a purely decorative part in Lenin's days, vetoed the proposal. The people, he said, would not accept a Jew as their Minister-President, and the Russians, Rykov and after him Molotov, were actually appointed to that post. In the meanwhile, however, Stalin, Lenin's right hand in directing the Party—because Lenin was both the Minister-President and the Leader of the Communist Party—took over the reins of party-leadership in his own hands and developed the party-office into a centre where in fact all final decisions would be taken. Both Rykov and Molotov being enthusiastic bureaucrats but no statesmen, the centre of authority gradually shifted from the Government to the Party, so that only current administrative affairs came to be left to the Council of People's Commissaries. . . . The authorities of the General Secretariat of the Party, where all real political work is concentrated, can take shelter behind two organisations: (*i*) The organisation bureau, where all appointments and dismissals of officials are discussed and prosecutions instituted; (*ii*) The political bureau, where new legislation is discussed and lines for guidance of home and foreign politics are laid down. Thus, nowadays, the President of the Council of People's Commissaries, Molotov, prefers to notify all important statutes under Stalin's as well as his own signature, although Stalin is not a State official, but only the Leader of the Communist Party. This gravitation of political power can be understood only when we bear in mind that Stalin was not merely a successor but a usurper of Lenin's authority. In his testamentary letter, Lenin considers most of his old colleagues—Kamenev, Sinowjev, Rykov etc.—to be good bureaucrats, but unfit for serving in the true spirit of Communism. He, however, speaks more warmly about Bucharin and Trotsky. Trotsky, since he had energetically assisted Lenin in his *coup d'etat* of October 1917 for taking over the government, had risen in the estimation of the latter, who appointed him the head of the Red Army, and made him therewith one of the most powerful personalities of Bolshevist Russia. In the same letter, however, Stalin is deprecated with the words: "Take away Stalin from the General Secretariat, otherwise he will spoil the communistic soup." No sooner did Stalin feel himself established in his own position than he began to eradicate all his former opponents, beginning with Trotsky, the most active among them. He was robbed of his office and influence while he lay on his sick-bed. Stalin, however, made a political blunder in merely banishing Trotsky instead of prosecuting him, because,

quite against his calculations, Trotsky never passed into oblivion or disrespect and Trotskyism still plays a part in the country, as numerous prosecutions have revealed. The older generation regarded Stalin not only as a usurper, but as a foreign body within their organisation. For, Lenin and his colleagues had studied and observed Russia only from abroad. As emigrants they had become pure internationalists and discussed Russia in the cafes of Switzerland, Paris, London and Vienna, and had thereby acquired great skill in debates and oratory on the theory of Socialism. Stalin, however, was quite different. He had secretly worked for Bolshevism in Russia itself, and had not only known all revolutionaries, but had led them to their goal with his unbounded strength of will. It was Stalin who had planned the attack, at Tiflis, on the gold-transport of the Imperial Bank, which had enabled Lenin to finance all his plans and attempts for several years. Stalin, who has never crossed the borders of Russia and speaks only Russian, besides his own Georgian vernacular, does not know where else to realise the communistic ideal than in Russia itself and looks down upon the pallid theorists. He has removed most of Lenin's colleagues, excepting Kalinin, Litvinoff and perhaps Woroschilov; but Trotsky, "the eternal revolutionary," has remained unapproachable. For Trotsky everything else is non-essential, so long as the world is not converted to Communism. He has branded Stalin as a Bonapartist—and not without some justification. For, the intellectual superiority of Lenin tolerated all kinds of free discussion, while Stalin does not feel himself up to it; his speeches and memoranda being prepared by his friend Kaganovitsch. To add to it, he has been surrounded by energetic young men, who are blindly devoted to him and cannot be said to be above the average. That is why he is often called another Chengiz Khan. The new constitution, which has been given a democratic appearance, will give more power to Stalin, if he, as has been announced, stands for the election of the State-President. The Party having the power to propose the candidates, the new introduction of universal suffrage will be no remedy against concentration of power in one hand.

The question as to which of the two men, Stalin and Trotsky, is more dangerous, is beside the mark. For both are mortal enemies not only of capitalism but also of the European culture. [Trs. V. V. G.]

Indian Art

In the course of a paper read to the Royal Society of Arts, London, and published in the *Journal* of the Society, W. E. Gladstone Solomon observes :

There is no need to look upon the old paintings and sculptures as highly complex manifestations of the most intricate religion in the world, just because these things have been complicated out of all reason by the elaboration or mysticism with which they have been surrounded by learned or emotional writers. It is better to take the simple point of view—I would call it the artist's point of view—of Indian art. In the Ajanta Caves, for instance, there is nothing difficult for the foreigner to appreciate in the execution of the admirable designs; nor are the mural paintings there occult, or sub-conscious, or super-religious emanations, or in any way different in the principles of art by which they have been produced from the mural paintings in the Borgia apartments of the Vatican. I do not of course imply that they are the same. What I should like to make very clear is that the mural paintings on the walls at Ajanta are not, as has been supposed, and as is stated by well-known writers on the subject, produced by some vague process which may be of sub-conscious or occult origin, in contradistinction to the more sublunary methods of Western art. You have only to look into the most recent books on the subject to see how dear to the critic is this notion of running the spirituality of Eastern art against the realism, if not materialism, of Western art. But there is danger in these sweeping generalisations, however attractive to Western readers, and I believe that the Ajanta frescoes, as they are called, are designed and executed on such sound common-sense principles that they are noteworthy examples of the rules of decorative and pictorial composition, and that you can take students into these caves and teach them there by optical demonstration how to compose a subject, how to co-ordinate a group, and how to arrange a decorative pattern or silhouette within a given space.

The Little Entente

In an article dealing with the Origin, Development and Decadence of the Little Entente contributed to the *Rassegna di Politica Internazionale*, Milan, Giuseppe Solari-Bozzi discusses the defeat of French diplomacy in the Balkans and the triumph of Italian diplomacy. The *Little Entente* was a creation of the *Quai d'Orsay* after the Peace Treaty, and was intended to be a wing of the anti-German diplomatic policies of France in the Balkans and among the Slavonic peoples. France has practically financed the economic and military reconstruction of Jugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Roumania, during these twenty years. French interest in the Little Entents was inspired also by the desirability of keeping Italy out of contact with Danubian politics. This latter aspect of the Little Entente has now lost all importance after Italy's alliances with Jugoslavia and Roumania, and by the Four Power Pact of Rome (1934) as a basic factor.

Italy should have at that moment exercised her own rights and imposed a programme of justice and equilibrium in the new Constitution of Central Europe. Her moderating influence in the conflict, rendered very decisive after the war, between Germanism and Slavism, responded to the safeguarding of her direct interests as well as to those of Central Europe. In short, Italy should not have allowed the establishment of vested interests, particularly the French interests, in a region where, for geographical as well as historical reasons, she should have assumed the precise position of arbiter.

Then, there was a complex of French interests, commercial and financial; there was the necessity of absorbing the emigrants who would assure France of an increasing income from her soil and would correct her deficient natality; there was the necessity of exploiting the markets of the allied countries for her metallurgical products that would substitute the German products, of crating a vast clientele in the heart of Europe, united by various political threats, by common material as well as ideological interests. Thus France agreed herself of a first class position of hegemony in this sector of Europe.

[Trs. M. M.]



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Persian Renaissance

Writing about Chengiz-Khan, Timur, Ibn Saud and the great nationalist movements of these days in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly,* Count Hermann Keyserling cites the special case of Iran. The rise of Iran signifies really for the light-hearted and frivolous Europe such a serious condemnation that, according to Keyserling, this special case of Persian renaissance deserves special consideration :

Iran had hitherto proved herself thrice in history to be a great power with a great prestige which, so far as I am aware, no other nation could claim to be. On all these occasions, serious decadence preceded new greatness, and on all these occasions, this could be overcome by the living creative force within the people in the same sense and spirit. The most important example of this is the Iranization of Islam and Arabia. Religion and the language of the Scripture remained Arabic, and yet the true soul of Iran expressed itself through the originally foreign medium. Now the peoples of the East are generally much more long-lived than those of Europe. They are more tough, have better nerves. On this general question, however, I do not wish to enter into details here. But the case of Iran is also unique. The Persian temperament comprises, if we may slightly exaggerate it, something of the Indian deep sense, of the Hebrew *ethos*, the old Greek poetic joy and the French spirit—surely, a unique richness. This natural disposition continues demonstrably unchanged for thousands of years; moreover, the memory of the days of higher culture was never wiped out. How now, however, if such a highly gifted, old people experience a revitalization and acquire the gifts of younger people ? In that case, and in that case alone, is there not only the possibility, but also the probability, that the old blood will show itself as permanently superior to the younger. Always, indeed does the undegenerate culture-blood show itself as stronger than the uncultivated, and periods of standstill, nay, stagnation, as blessed incubation periods. Thus it may very well happen that the world-hegemony will within measurable time pass again to those peoples who possessed it thousands of years ago. *Only then* can the relatively so young Western nations in my view preserve their present position if they build on deep foundations as China, India, Mesopotamia in their days have done, so that the treasure of depth may survive the on-slaughts of destiny. If we Europeans lay all emphasis on youth and the youthful, then the revitalized old culture will surely be lost to us. And if we lay exclusive stress upon physical work in the form of sport records, then the Negroes will prove superior to us.

Race and Religion

Prabuddha Bharata publishes an article on race and religion by the late Prof. Dr. Winternitz, in which he emphasizes the fact that the talk about a "race-soul" has very little scientific foundation :

We can say something, though very little, of the soul or character of *nations or peoples,* but hardly anything of races. Nothing has caused so much confusion as the mixing up of the terms "nation," "people" and "race.". *Race* is a division of mankind distinguished by similar bodily structure (more especially skull, colour of skin, hair, eyes, stature) and assumed to be of common origin, though in a distant past. A people (Nation) on the other hand is a group of men living under the same geographical and climatic conditions, sharing the same language, culture, traditions, and history, and being, at least to some extent, of the same "blood" or "race." The latter, however, is by no means always the case, but more often only a pious belief. The most important factor, however, in the making of a *people* or *nation* is the feeling of belonging together, the consciousness of belonging to one and the same group of mankind,—a factor which is entirely absent in what is called *race.*

All generalizations are dangerous and pernicious, and it is always risky to speak about *the* Indian, or *the* Englishman, or *the* German, and above all, any verdict against a whole nation or a whole race must needs be unjust. And yet it is possible to speak, with the necessary caution, of "national character" or "soul of a people."

But the talk about a "race-soul," that is about the mental and spiritual structure of any of the larger divisions of mankind, such as Nordic, or Oriental, or Negroid, or Mongolian races, has very little scientific foundation. The difficulty begins already with the larger ethnical groups. It is easier to describe the Russian or the Czech, than the "Slav." Still more vague are such terms as "Aryans" or "Semites" which include peoples of entirely different characters.

Through Congress Eyes

Public attention has up till now been focussed entirely on the six or seven provinces where the Indian National Congress has a clear majority in the Legislatures. Subhas Chandra Bose maintains that the 'minority' provinces demand greater attention on the part of the Congress high command. In the course of an article in the first annual number of *The Orient*

he enquires as to why the Congress failed in these provinces. As for Bengal he says :

And Bengal? The position there is hopeless. With a population of over 44 per cent. the Hindus have 80 seats in an Assembly of 250 (with 30 seats reserved for the scheduled castes) while the Muslims have 119. The vested interests, Europeans and Anglo-Indians have collared as many as 39 seats. Under the present constitution, or rather under the present communal arrangement, the future for the Congress Party in the Bengal Legislature is very dark.

But are we to throw up our hands in despair? That would not be a sign of statesmanship or patriotism. We have to 'radicalise' the Congress and so identify it with the interests of the masses as to make it a real mass organization. Only thus can we cut across communal divisions and frustrate the intentions of the constitution-mongers at Simla and Whitehall. The future for the Bengal Congress lies in converting it into the one organ of the Bengal peasantry. In that event Congress will once again emerge as the majority party in the province.

This should have been done five years ago. But better late than never.

Policies and Programmes

The Mysore Economic Journal writes editorially :

The Congress has taken office and it is up to it to make its regime a success. The best way to demonstrate the defects of the present Indian Constitution is to work it in such a way as to make its defects visible to the naked eye. That is why Mahatma Gandhi said that there is no need to artificially create political deadlocks, if you work the Constitution in a spirit of sincerity. Those who have been critical of the Congress and its capacity to administer the country are waiting to see how the new Ministries will shape. They may, perhaps, even feel that if these Ministries fail, that would be the end of the Congress as a political body. The wish may, in this case, be the father to the thought, but it is better to bear all this in mind, if the new Ministries mean business. Every Minister must feel his responsibility and every Cabinet in every Province must realize its collective responsibility is great. A Cabinet is expected to act with knowledge; it should agree to a correctly outlined policy by instinct as it were; and it should act with quickness and deliberation. If the new Ministries acted thus, there is no withstanding their power or their success.

The Manifesto issued at election time outlines primarily an economic programme. Its underlying policy is doing good to the masses. The action that should follow now should be in keeping with the Manifesto, if public good-will is to be retained.

The Manifesto bears abundant testimony to the fact that the real issues involved are clearly grasped by India's leaders. What is now needed is that the new Ministries should, without delay, effectuate the objectives underlying them. A programme of agrarian reform is one of these. Another is the nationalization of education. And a third is the nationalization of the key industries of the Provinces. Each of these is likely to raise difficult problems but the essence of governmental administration is to raise such problems and solve them—and solve them in a successful manner with the aid of the popular representatives who are there (in the Assemblies and Councils) to put through every good cause conceived in a spirit of good-will and sympathy to all interests affected.

Some Aspects of Education in Ancient India

In the course of an article in *The Indian Review* describing briefly the educational system of the ancient Indians Mr. R. K. Tripathi speaks of the teaching at the Buddhist Universities :

It is interesting to compare the great stress that is being laid on tutorial instruction in University education at the present moment with the great importance that was attached to it at the Buddhist Universities. All available evidence goes to show that no teacher was, as a rule, placed in charge of more than 15 students so that he could pay individual attention to every student and could come into an intimate contact with him with a view to proper guidance in his studies. While teaching, the teacher used three methods : he would in most cases teach students as if he were talking to them. At times in order to stimulate the interest of the boys, he would start a discussion by putting before them a problem connected with the subject of teaching. Occasionally he would also make use of casuistry or sophistry to keep the students alert and set them thinking. To supplement ordinary class teaching, there were from time to time general lectures also, or visits to other educational institutions were arranged. As regards games and sports many details are available. Tossing the ball, blowing trumpets, archery, marble shooting, sword play, horse riding, wrestling and boxing were some of the forms of recreation and exercise approved and practised.

Vocational Education in India

The predominatingly literary character of education in India is often severely criticised. But the expansion of vocational education should not greatly outstrip the development of industry. Dr. Sukumar Ranjan Das observes in the *Financial Times* :

India has built up some large and many small industries, but their influence on educational thought and practice has not been great. They have given no sign that they suffer for want of a continual supply of men with special aptitudes that the current education does not or cannot give. Indian Universities are fairly well empowered and equipped to do whatever work the country wants them to do, and if there is any special need to be met, they will not let slip the opportunity of doing increased service to the community and country. If industry shows the demand, Universities and Colleges are eager to meet it.

Nature of Japanese Imperialism

In describing the background of the war in the East in *The Oriental Review*, Freda Utley discusses the nature of Japanese imperialism :

Japan has as yet got little out of Manchuria and the expense of suppressing the Chinese population has been

enormous. In North China she hopes to get both coal and cotton in great quantities. It is not that Manchuria could not supply raw materials (not cotton but coal, iron and food-stuffs) but that Japan lacks the financial resources to develop the country. Japanese imperialism is primarily predatory and military, not economic. She wants millions of small producers to squeeze, not new territory to colonise and in which to sink capital to produce new riches. Japan has not got the capital even to complete the industrialisation of her own country, much less a large surplus for export. Nor has she a well-developed heavy industry to produce "means of production" for export.

The mirage of prosperity for the whole population through the conquest of Manchuria has faded. All the mass of the people have got out of it is new burdens and increased cost living. Now they are told that Manchuria has failed to solve Japan's problems because it is useless without North China.

The driving force of Japanese imperialism is not "over population" as her propagandists make out, but social and economic maladjustments, and above all the agrarian problem arising from Japanese failure to "liquidate" feudalism in 1868. Three quarters of the Japanese peasants are tenants for all or part of the land they cultivate, paying half or more of the harvest to a million parasitic landowners—entirely parasitic since they supply neither capital nor seed nor fertilisers to their tenants. Hence the methods of cultivation are primitive, the waste of labour power in cultivation enormous, and peasant poverty almost universal.

No foreign conquest can ameliorate the position of the Japanese people without social and economic changes within Japan which her ruling classes seek at all costs to avoid. A sick man cannot be made healthy by stuffing him with food if his blood stream is poisoned and certain vital organs receive no nourishment. In fact the effect of over-eating will be to aggravate his sickness.

In a word Japanese national economy is strained to the utmost and the people are increasingly restive. A new foreign adventure is called for since armed aggression has been the traditional Japanese remedy for social discontent ever since the Sino-Japanese war of 1894. Only thus can the Japanese ruling classes hope to put off the day of reckoning and the reconstruction which would inevitably "liquidate" the landowners and destroy the immense economic and political power of her giant family trusts.

Japan counts upon European pre-occupation with Spain and the menace of Fascist Germany, upon Russian pre-occupation with purges, upon the benevolent neutrality of the present British Government, and upon the unlikelihood of the U. S. A. intervening to save China. Without the prospect of Britain and the U. S. A. remaining aloof, as in 1931-32, Japan would never dare to strike for she realises that the Anglo-Saxon Powers could easily stop her by a minimum of financial and economic pressure without firing a single shot.

The Modern Poetic Temper

G. P. Johari refutes in *The Twentieth Century* the argument of certain critics who say that modern English poetry is puerile, wayward and insincere. He concludes:

It must be admitted, however, and accepted almost as a canon of art with the modern poet, that he is *sincere*. He does not aim at theatrical devices; he is not a moralist or a propagandist. He writes, not with a deliberate purpose, but with an inner urge. For him the highest truth is not, as it was with Keats, beauty, but sincerity. His technique also, despite its eccentricities, is honest. He suits his metre, rhythm and diction to his themes. He sees and understands life in all its variety and complexity. He does not turn away from its horrors and ugliness; he does not apply the anodyne of art in order to forget the pains of life. But he takes you soberly and calmly, to the narrow lanes and streets of the modern city and shows you life seething and struggling, like a despicable creature, gasping for a breath, but still uncrushed. It is wrong to imagine that the modern poet has a defeatist tendency. He believes that man has in him the divine spark, but he is not blind to his earthiness either. The modern poet is the poet of the short lyrics: the epic belonged to an older generation. But his lyrics are the lyrics of thought: they are not the lyrics of love as in an earlier age. In fact, modern poetry has a peculiar dearth of love-poems. There are a few genuine love-lyrics, *e. g.*, Lawrence Binyon's *O World, be nobler for her sake* or W. H. Davies' *Lovely Dames*. But such poems are very rare at the present day. The modern generation is too much occupied with the more serious problems of life—its hardships, its strain, its struggles—to bestow much thought upon the dalliances of love. In life as in poetry love has got choked up among a number of weeds.

"The poets of today," remarked Robert Lynd, "are not a remnant but a nation." It is impossible to ignore them. This work is marked by high seriousness and deep sincerity. It is unconventional, it seeks to establish new methods and new values in art. It aims at seeing life steadily and seeing it whole, and also at its realistic interpretation.

The new poetry strives for a concrete and immediate realization of life; it would discard the theory, the abstraction, the remoteness found in all classics of the first order. It is less vague, less verbose, less eloquent than most poetry of the Victorian period. It has set before itself an ideal of absolute simplicity and sincerity —an ideal which implies an individual and unstereotyped rhythm.

Poetry, in order to be living, cannot remain out of touch with life: it must be, in the words of Matthew Arnold, "a criticism of life." Judged by this standard, modern poetry will appear great and serious and not petty or puerile, as thoughtless critics might feel inclined to condemn it.



Notes

"Must Be Free, Or Die"

In *The Challenge of the North-West Frontier*, by Mr. C. F. Andrews, published less than two months ago, the author does not confine himself to the problem of the North-West Frontier of India. He ranges over a much wider field and discourses also on the world situation, foreign policy and the League of Nations, the Russian menace, Soviet Russia, the brotherhood of Islam, the Hindu tradition, the Far East, the shock of Abyssinia, and the challenge of Asia.

The chapter on the challenge of Asia he begins by telling the reader :

> India, as the world's ancient centre of intellectual and spiritual culture in the East, needs today her full freedom and the command of her foreign relations, if she is to play her part as a peace-maker in Asia. The British rule, which, with all its shortcomings, has encouraged during the past hundred years an education based on freedom, cannot now deny those ideas at a time when educated Indians claim the right to put them into practice. Mr. Tilak exclaimed, "Freedom is my birthright, and I will have it." The cry was taken up in every part of the country. We can trace one of its sources back to our own English poets, who gave to all those Indian students who were educated in English literature a new aspect of this high ideal."

Mr. Andrews then relates an incident in his early career as a professor of English at Delhi :

> I remember well at Delhi teaching Wordsworth's poetry to a group of young, eager Indian students. We came to the greatest of the famous "Sonnets on Liberty" :
>
> "We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
> That Shakespeare spake : the faith and morals hold,
> Which Milton held.—In everything, we are sprung
> Of Earth's first blood, have titles manifold."
>
> After explaining its meaning to them, I was asked by one of the group whether Indians could use the same language about *themselves*—when they in their turn had learnt to "speak the tongue that Shakespeare spake." Without a moment's hesitation I answered "Yes"; and I am sure the answer was right. For it would have been a refined form of cruelty to have taught these songs of freedom and denied its practice.

Mr. Andrews' answer was certainly right. But the student who asked him whether Indians could use the same language about *themselves* —when they in their turn had learnt to "speak the tongue that Shakespeare spake," need not or should not have asked that question. For human liberty, all over the world, *including India*, and the yearning for it, are older than "the tongue that Shakespeare spake."

Mr. Andrews continues :

> When I was taking the essay work in the same class, one of my students said to me, "Sir, that line of Wordsworth—'We must be free or die'—haunts us! That is just what every true Indian feels today. Why does Great Britain keep us in subjection ?"
>
> It is not easy for us to answer that question, unless we are doing all we possibly can to hasten the day when India will be free indeed—free from without, and also from within. For there is an inner subservience which is far harder to overcome than any outward bondage.

"He Would Be Free Or Not Be At All"

The Delhi students who asked Mr. Andrews the questions mentioned by him did not perhaps know that more than a century ago there was an Indian, Rammohun Roy by name, of whom his friend Mr. Adam wrote, "He Would Be Free or Not Be At All." Mr. Adam has also left it on record that the freedom which Rammohun Roy claimed for himself he claimed for all men of all races, countries and creeds, and that this freedom was not merely political freedom but intellectual, spiritual and social freedom as well.

London Conference Protest Against Suppression of Civil Liberty in India

LONDON, OCT. 17

The Earl of Listowel presided today at the conference convened by the National Council of the Civil Liberties India League to protest "against the suppression of civil liberty in India."

The senders of messages of goodwill included Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. M. N. Roy, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. Norman Angel.

"GREATEST BLOT"

Lord Listowel described the Viceroy's special powers as the "greatest blot of the New Constitution." He expressed the opinion that it should have been possible to apply the Statute of Westminster under the New Constitution so that India could enjoy Dominion Status.

A WARNING TO ENGLAND

Prof. Harold Laski said that India herself would have to fight for her liberties, but it was also necessary that Englishmen should fight for them for there was every danger of England losing her civil liberty if India's liberties were not secured.

At the evening session of the Conference Mr. Joshi deplored the use of the Criminal Procedure Code to prevent workers from forming effective trade unions.

The Conference passed a resolution condemning the enforcement by the Government of India of "repressive laws and administrative orders wholly inconsistent with democracy" and deploring the "policy of the Punjab and Bengal Governments in maintaining the rigors of the old regime."—*Reuter.*

RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S MESSAGE

"Liberty is a privilege which the individual has to defend daily for himself; for even the most democratic Government tends to be oppressive if its tyranny is tempted by the indifference or cowardice of its subjects. Hence the need for a Civil Liberties Union in any system of government, and hence the need for such Unions to realize that they cannot safeguard liberty for the individual if they do not teach him to defend it for himself by his continual readiness to pay for it by sacrifice. The problem is one, not of external organization so much, as of inducing the appropriate moral qualities in the individual, of creating in him an awareness of his inmate worth as an individual. Otherwise, if the individual is made to care for liberty as a means of attaining mere material satisfaction, then the State will easily tempt him to part with it by holding out to him the bait of better satisfactions; which is what is actually happening in party dictatorships—Red, Black or Brown.

"The English people, too, though they are traditionally supposed to cherish liberty for its own sake, have allowed other peoples to be robbed of it without any scruple whatsoever, simply because their greed for material satisfaction has been effectively appeased thereby."

"Perhaps my English friends will not agree with me there, but when the rivalry for colonial exploitation would become still more acute the British citizens will find it necessary to arm their Government at home with extraordinary powers to defend their possessions abroad. Then they will suddenly wake up to find that, without meaning it, they have forfeited their own liberty and drifted into a Fascist grip and, may be, then they will realize that liberty has a true foundation only in the moral worth of the individuals who compose the State."

PANDIT NEHRU'S MESSAGE

A striking contrast between suppression and repression in the non-Congress provinces and restoration and inauguration of civil liberties in the Congress provinces is sketched by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Congress President, in the course of a speech to be read at the London Conference on Civil Liberty in India.

After narrating the circumstances under which the Government of India Act was enforced and the Congress accepted offices, Pandit Jawaharlal observes, "The acceptance of ministerial offices by Congressmen in seven provinces brought a rapid and marked change in all these provinces. The change is especially noticeable in regard to civil liberties. The bans imposed by Government on hundreds of organizations have been removed, a large number of political prisoners released, the securities taken from newspapers returned and the continuous shadowing of public workers become less obvious. Public meetings are not being interfered. People feel to some extent that they have wakened from a nightmare."

Pandit Jawaharlal also added that much remained to be done, but the restrictions in Provincial Autonomy were terrible.

Referring to non-Congress provinces, Pandit Jawaharlal remarks, "Bengal, as in past, so today, keeps the lead in the repression and suppression of civil liberties. It takes one's breath away to learn that in Chittagong alone 23,000 persons were interned and restricted by Government orders. Large number of detenus are still in Bengal, untried and unconvicted but kept in concentration camps for years. The Punjab is no better. The full weight of the British Raj continues to be felt by the unhappy people of Bengal and the Punjab."—*United Press.*

Mr. C. F. Andrews on Dominion Status for India

In *The Challenge of the North-West Frontier* Mr. C. F. Andrews says:

In one other respect I have tried to point out an anomaly which is becoming more and more obvious to thinking Indians as the years go by. This is the use of the words "Dominion Status" as the goal which India is supposed to reach. These words—it is pointed out—are naturally and rightly used about Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, because they are daughter countries of their mother country, Great Britain. But India can never be thus regarded. The idea is palpably absurd. India is old enough, in its civilization and culture, to be the "mother of Great Britain."

Japan and Siam

SINGAPORE (By Air Mail)

Cordial messages ware exchanged between Siam's Foreign minister and the Japanese Foreign Minister to mark the 50th anniversary of Japan entering upon diplomatic relations with Siam.

The messages referred to the fact that the relations over half a century never once witnessed "an occasion of an adverse nature but only of perpetual peace and growing friendship between the two nations."—*Reuter.*

Though this message was sent by air mail, the world will take note of it just as if it were sent by wireless.

Shia Moslems Decide to Join Congress

It is welcome news that the Shia Moslems have decided to join Congress.

LUCKNOW, OCT. 11

The decision to change the creed from Dominion Status to Complete Independence has been arrived at after a lengthy discussion in Subjects Committee meeting of the sixth All-India Shia Political Conference which is being held today under the presidentship of Sir Wazir Hasan.

"The days of drawing-room politics and intellectual gymnastics with a view to moulding an agreed formula by the best minds of the Hindu and Muslim communities have gone.

"You cannot reverse the wheels of the force which is dominating the thoughts and actions of the people and nations of the entire world.

"If you have the least impulse of patriotism in you you cannot let your politics degenerate from nationalism to communalism and from communalism to fanaticism."

These observations were made by Sir Wazir Hasan in the course of his presidential address.

As regards the Communal Award, he said that the attitude of the Congress was perfectly honest and clear,

though that attitude had resulted in certain split among Congressmen themselves.

Referring to the Constituent Assembly, he said that the destiny of India in the future rested not only in the hands of the young educated people of today, but also in the hands of the masses, and they should not be a party to stultifying the main purpose of the resolution by annexing provisos to the safeguards.

Taking in view the position of the Muslim League in all the Provinces, Sir Wazir Hasan thought that the League could not be thought to represent the majority of the Mussalmans of any province except Bombay, and in several provinces it did not represent the Muslims at all. But he thought it advisable, in the interest of the solidarity of the community, to work for the achievement of their goal from inside the League. He said that the battle for freedom must be purged of communalism and fought at any sacrifice and cost.—*A. P.*

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS

LUCKNOW, OCT. 12

Noisy scenes marked the proceedings of the second day of the All-India Shia Political Conference at which far-reaching decisions were taken.

After a heated discussion the Conference decided that the Shias should join the Congress unconditionally.

Sir Wazir Hasan speaking lengthily traced the history of the Muslim League and said that the body did not treat the Shias honestly and had forced their hands to join the Congress.

By another resolution the Conference expressed the opinion that separate electorates in all legislatures be abolished and replaced by Join Electorate with reservation of seats for Muslim minorities on the basis of the ratio fixed by the Communal Award and joint electorate with a ratio of representation of Mussalmans as provided by present Municipal and District Boards Acts be immediately introduced.

The Conference unanimously passed the Constituent Assembly resolution as passed by the U. P. Assembly without any proviso.

While resolving and requesting the Congress to note that the Muslim League did not represent the entire Muslim India, allegations were made that the rights of the Shia minority had always been crushed by the League and even the League party had helped the Madhe Sahaba agitation.

The Conference formed a propaganda committee and decided to start a newspaper.

The Conference "condemned" the Royal Commission's proposal for division of Palestine.—*A. P.*

We are opposed both to separate electorates and to reservation of seats for different communities.

All-India Federation Opposed and Welcomed!

LUCKNOW, OCT. 18

The open session of the All-India Muslim League unanimously opposed today the introduction of the Federation as embodied in the Government of India Act. The resolution as passed runs:

"The All-India Muslim League records its emphatic disapproval of the scheme of an All-India Federation as embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, and is opposed to its introduction; and urges the British Government to refrain from its enforcement, as it considers the scheme to be detrimental to the interests of the people of India generally and to those of the Muslims in particular."

For the Muslim League to speak of "the interests of the people of India" was mere eyewash. It is necessary to try to understand why in the opinion of the Muslim League All-India Federation is detrimental to the interests of Muslims. Though the Muslim community is less than one-fourth of the population of India, it has been given one-third of the seats in the Central Legislature so far as British India is concerned. So in this respect, Mussalmans have no grievance. As regards the seats allotted to the Indian States, there has been no allotment according to religious communities. These seats will be filled by men nominated by the Rulers of the States. The Government of India Act does not lay down how many of these nominees are to be Hindus, how many Muhammadans, how many Christians, etc. So, as the majority of the people and the Rulers of the States are Hindus, there is just a possibility that, in spite of the influence of the British Residents and Political Agents and the Mussalman Prime Ministers of Hindu and Sikh States, the Muslim nominees of the Rulers of the Indian States may not be one-third of the total number of these nominees. That constitutes the grievance of the Muslim League! If the British Government can somehow make an effective promise that one-third of the nominated representatives of the States will be Mussalmans, then the Muslim League's support to the All-India Federation Scheme can be immediately secured.

The Sind Hindu Conference, presided over by Bhai Parmanand, has welcomed the scheme of Federation.

KARACHI, OCT. 18

The Sind Hindu Conference concluded last night after passing a number of resolutions, *inter alia*, welcoming the formation of All-India Federation, drawing the attention of the authorities to the insufficient representation of Hindus under the Communal Award, requesting the Viceroy to increase Hindu representation and urging the Government of India to give Hindus proper weightage in the Sind Assembly.

The Conference condemned the murders of Hindus in the recent communal trouble in Upper Sind and stressed the need for ensuring safety of Hindus in villages and requested the Government to give Hindus 50 per cent. representation in services and give more grants to Hindu educational institutions to encourage Hindi.

The Conference appealed to Sind Hindus to sink their differences and live as one solid community and establish Hindu Sabhas and organizations in every village.

An influential Working Committee of 15 members was formed to implement the resolutions.—*A. P.*

We do not know the reasons why the Sind Hindu Conference supports Federation, as laid down in the Government of India Act. Is it expected that the Rulers of the States will so nominate "representatives" as to redress to some slight extent the wrong done to the

which we knew nothing until we heard of it in Gauhati last month.

It is to be noted that Mr. Gokhale had already presided over the Benares session of the Congress in 1905 and was a very busy and famous man, and the editor of *The Modern Review* was neither a friend nor even an acquaintance of that great leader, and was in fact quite a 'dark horse,' having no position in public life, and his English monthly had yet to become known to the public. For a great and very busy leader like Mr. Gokhale to enquire whether an yet unknown monthly edited by an obscure journalist had come out showed the breadth of his patriotic outlook and the catholicity of his interests.

"Bande Mataram"

From what has appeared in newspapers and from private letters received by us we gather that the "Bande Mataram" song will or may have to stand a trial before the Congress Working Committee and the All India Congress Committee in Calcutta (we write this on the 26th of October at Ghatsila). We do not know who exactly will be the prosecutors and who will open the case for the prosecution.

This song has been used at public gatherings, including the Congress, practically as a national anthem, for more than three decades. One or two other songs have been so used—though not so often as "Bande Mataram." Neither the votes of Congress delegates nor those of any other representative men have given it the position which it has acquired. Those who have practically accepted it as a national anthem have done so spontaneously. So, we do not think the opinion of any committee can or ought to affect its character.

The charges against it are, we understand, mainly two, namely, that it is anti-Moslem and that it is idolatrous. There are perhaps two other charges, namely, that it contains difficult words, and that it is not "non-violent." But let us first consider the two main charges against it.

There is no mention in it of Moslems or of any other religious community. Therefore, it cannot be construed as being hostile to any community. The existence of an enemy party may be supposed to be implied in the expression 'Ripudala-barinim', 'To her who curbs the enemy party.' But in a previous line the song mentions the roar of seventy million throats of the votaries of the Motherland. These seventy millions, the total population of the Province of Bengal (including Bihar and Orissa), for which the song was written, at the time of its composition, comprised all religious communities, who all bow to the Motherland reverentially. Therefore, a section of them, the Mussalmans, cannot be the "enemy party." Moreover, the battles described in the novel "Ananda-Math," in which the song is to be found, were fought against the English East India Company's troops. Therefore, if there be any enemy party definitely alluded to in the song, these troops of the British Company are that enemy.

We think the song is not idolatrous. In the last chapter of "Ananda-Math," the Physician, who voices the ideals and opinions of the author, says:

"তেত্রিশ কোটি দেবতার পূজা সনাতন ধর্ম্ম নহে, সে একটা লৌকিক অপকৃষ্ট ধর্ম্ম; তাহার প্রভাবে প্রকৃত সনাতন ধর্ম্ম—ম্লেচ্ছেরা যাহাকে হিন্দু ধর্ম্ম বলে—তাহা লোপ পাইয়াছে।

"প্রকৃত হিন্দুধর্ম্ম জ্ঞানাত্মক—কর্ম্মাত্মক নহে।"

Freely translated these words mean:

"The worship of thirty-three crores of deities is not Sanatan Dharma, that is only an inferior popular cult; under its influence the true Sanatan Dharma—which the Mlechchhas call Hindu Dharma—has disappeared. The essence of the true Hindu Dharma is knowledge—not rituals."

It stands to reason that an author who has thus condemned idolatry cannot have composed an idolatrous song addressed to the Motherland personified.

But let us consider the lines in it in which the names of some Hindu goddesses occur:

"ত্বং হি দুর্গা দশপ্রহরণধারিণী
কমলা কমল-দলবিহারিণী
বাণী বিদ্যাদায়িনী নমামি ত্বাং"

The author says: "Tvam hi Durga . . . [Tvam hi] Kamala . . . . [Tvam hi] Vani," "THOU *verily* art Durga . . . . Kamala . . . Vani." That is to say, there is no other goddess Durga, Kamala, or Vani.

The mere fact of the names of Hindu gods or goddesses occuring in any sacred chant or in any secular statement cannot make it idolatrous. The Brahmo Samaj is a non-idolatrous body. In its formula of adoration the word "Shivam," which is the name of a Hindu god, occurs. But that does not make the chant idolatrous.

Only the other day, Rabindranath Tagore who is certainly not an idolater, in expressing his appreciation of Srijut Surendranath Maitra's Bengali "Hundred Sonnets," wrote to him:

"তোমার এই কবিতাগুলি পড়ে দেশভুজা ভারতীকে আবার মনে পড়ে গেল।"

"Reading these poems of yours I was again reminded of the White-handed Sarasvati."

This opinion has been printed and published.

We are justified then in concluding that the use of Hindu ideology or Hindu imagery—particularly in poetry—does not make a composition idolatrous.

Among Brahmos, who are not idolaters, none took a more prominent part in the anti-partition and Swadeshi agitation in Bengal than the late Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra, who was deported for it. All who knew and know him knew and know that he was a very strict monotheist. Yet even he never objected to the singing of "Bande Mataram," which was sung on innumerable occasions in the course of that agitation. Nor have other Brahmos objected.

As for the occurrence of difficult words in the song, the difficulty will vary according to the degree of the hearers' ignorance of knowledge of Sanskrit and of Sanskritic vernaculars and vernaculars with large Sanskrit vocabularies. The culture of India is fundamentally Sanskritic. In expressing any high Indian ideals in any Indian language, the use of some Sanskrit words is indispensably necessary. Therefore, unless a national song is to be strictly confined to a demand for "dal-bhat" or "dal-roti," or to be an incitement to "mar-pit," it is bound to contain some words which some Indians may not at once understand.

We come last to the violent or non-violent character of the song.

The Motherland, personified, is described in the song as armed with ten weapons. But that does not necessarily mean that they are to be used aggressively or wantonly. They are symbols and insignia of power and are to be used in fighting and destroying Evil. The Cosmic Power is similarly armed with thunder and storm, earthquake and volcanic eruptions and floods and the raging sea. That Power does not always go in for 'passive resistance,' does not make a fetish of 'non-violence.'

In *real-politik,* can the use of force be entirely dispensed with? Is there any State which has no military or police force? And are not the members of such a force, armed?

Only recently, with reference to an incident connected with the Cawnpore labour strike, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress President, declared that violence must be suppressed with force. And that force implied arming.

Mahatma Gandhi, the apostle of non-violence, has written in *Harijan*, dated October 23:

"It has been suggested that Congress ministers who are pledged to non-violence cannot resort to legal processes involving punishments. Such is not my view of non-violence, which has been accepted by Congress. I have personally not found a way out of punishments and punitive restrictions in all conceivable cases. No doubt punishments have to be non-violent, if such an expression is permissible in this connection."

In the last sentence, quoted above, 'non-violent,' we presume, means 'free from vindictiveness, hatred and revenge,' and God's punishments are so.

To be able to punish, Governments must have armed forces, to be used 'non-violently' in emergencies.

In the realms of rhyme, "Bande Mataram" is not the only poem and song in which the Motherland is portrayed as armed. Rabindranath Tagore, who is neither 'violent' nor 'idolatrous,' has sung:

"ডান হাতে তোর খড়্গ জ্বলে
বাঁ হাত করে শঙ্কা হরণ,
দুই নয়নে স্নেহের হাসি,
ললাটে নেত্র আগুন-বরণ।"
"তোমার মুক্ত কেশের পুঞ্জ মেঘে
লুকায় অশনি।"

"In Thy right hand flames Thy Sword,
Thy left dispels fear,
Affection smiles in Thine eyes,
In Thy forehead shines Thine eye like fire."
"In the mass of clouds of Thy flowing hair
Hidden lies Thy thunder."

There is a reference here to the third eye of Bhavani.

We Bengalis are said to be a sentimental people. What we have written above is, we hope, free from sentimentality. But that is not to admit that sentiment is negligible, even in politics. With the "Bande Mataram" song are associated the memories of innumerable deeds of heroism and sacrifice and of true stories of daring and suffering in the cause of freedom. It is not only Bengalis or Hindus who were inspired by "Bande Mataram" to such deeds and such suffering, but non-Bengalis and Mussalmans also were similarly inspired. There is, therefore, no doubt in our minds that, whatever any Congress Committee or Congress leader may decide, "Bande Mataram" will continue to fulfil its mission.

Dacca Student Wins Continental Prize

Dacca, Oct. 22.

Samar-ranjan Sen, a student of the Dacca University and only son of the prominent Congress worker Mrs. Ashalata Sen has been awarded the Continental prize for Asia amounting to 400 dollars as his paper on "How

can the people of the world achieve universal disarmament" was considered the best of all papers submitted from the Continent of Asia for the world competition arranged by the New History Society of the United States of America.—*United Press.*

Mr. Yakub Hasan on Why Muslims Should Join Congress

New Delhi, Tuesday.

On his way to Madras after attending the Muslim League's Lucknow session, Mr. Yakub Hasan, a member of the Madras Cabinet broke his journey here for a day addressing a public meeting last evening, held under the presidentship of Mr. Asaf Ali, M.L.A. (Central). Mr. Yakub Hasan advised the Muslims to join the Congress in large numbers and to capture its machinery and use it for their own purposes. Personally, he believed that the Congress was a national body above communal considerations. Illustrating his point, he said, in 1916, all members of the Muslim League were also the members of the Congress and it was popularly believed that the reins of the Congress policy were in their hands. Further proof of this was supplied in the form of the Montford Reforms which were based on the Muslim demands regarding which they had arrived at an agreement with the Congress. He said, in only a few months the Congress Ministry in Madras had completely dissipated the suspicions of Muslims which, he thought, was chiefly due to his presence in the Cabinet.

"I take pride in the fact that I belong to a ministry which has done the greatest Islamic duty by the enforcement of prohibition. With that achievement alone I can confidently face Allah," said Mr. Yakub Hasan.

He narrated at length the advent of the Congress Ministry in Madras and particularly referred to the repeal of the Moplah Outrages Act and other measures to infuse confidence among the minorities and particularly the Muslims.

Speaking further he said that his only fault for which he had been expelled from the Muslim League was that he raised his voice against the present reactionary leadership of the League.

Mr. Asaf Ali, in rounding up the meeting, said that during the last nine months he had strained every nerve to bring about a settlement between the Muslim League and the Congress. He asked Mr. Jinnah to give him a list of Muslim demands and he would do his best to get them accepted by the Congress and adopted in its programme. But he regretted all his efforts proved futile. He announced that he might release this correspondence very soon.—*A. P. I. & U. P.*

Perhaps, it is speeches like those summarized above by two news agencies that lend colour to the suspicion that Muslims join the Congress to capture it for the purpose of gaining their communal ends.

Bombay Ministry Scrap All Repressive Orders

Poona, Oct. 18.

The Government have now cancelled all the remaining orders, either in respect of individuals or organizations, which had been imposed under the Emergency Laws by the previous Governments in Bombay.—*United Press.*

The Bombay ministry have, it is reported, decided also to return all confiscated lands.

The head of the Bengal Ministry is out for a different kind of achievement.

Proposal to make Mr. Nehru Permanent Vice-president

The Tribune of Lahore has published the following:

(*From Our Own Correspondent.*)

Allahabad, Oct. 19.

It is reported that there is a proposal in certain Congress circles to make an important amendment in the Congress constitution, creating a new office of Vice-President of the Congress to which Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru is likely to be appointed permanent incumbent next year when he lays down the office of President.

Diverse reasons are being given for this move. It is stated that the task of the Congress President has become very arduous in recent years. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru's presidentship has indeed created new standards of work. The way in which he piloted the Congress ship in troublesome times is regarded nothing short of miraculous. He set up an amazing record of ceaseless activity; he has been a veritable dynamite which has shaken the entire nation out of its lethargy and brought unprecedented awakening and organization in its wake. It is considered desirable that the present tempo and momentum of the national movement should not only be maintained but intensified by appointing Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru as permanent Vice-President of the Congress. He is likely to be far more useful in office than outside.

Apart from this aspect the question of location of the Congress secretariat at Allahabad probably constitutes another reason for such a step. The Congress secretariat during Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru's regime has been an ever explaining institution. The organising genius of the Congress President has been at work here as elsewhere. There are obvious difficulties in shifting the secretariat from Allahabad to any other place. It would have been certainly desirable to extend Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru's term of presidentship for two or three more years, but in view of the claims of other Congress leaders the proposal seems to be a satisfactory alternative in the best interests of the country.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's entire devotion to the cause of the country, his intellectual equipment, energy, driving power, organizing ability and truly democratic temper are worthy of all praise and should be utilized to the full. For such utilization and because the work of the Congress president has become very arduous, the creation of the office of Vice-President is perhaps necessary. We also support the proposal to appoint Pandit Jawaharlal Vice-president. But we are opposed to making anybody the permanent incumbent of any such honorary office. No man, however highly gifted, can render to the country all the service and all the different kinds of service even in the sphere of politics, which it stands in need of. Therefore the abilities of other capable men and women must be utilized. Permanent appointments stand in the way of such utilization. Annual, biennial or triennial election is to be preferred.

There is a tendency among some men in various countries, including India, to create dictators or to submit to dictatorship even in

ordinary times, in the sphere of politics and the like. This tendency should be resisted. It is like the other tendency, observable among many Hindus, of elevating some religious persons to the position of incarnations of God and worshipping them. We do not support either tendency.

Cultural and Economic Co-operation of Germany and Afghanistan

Berlin, Oct. 19.

Negotiations between Germany and Afghanistan for co-operation in economic and cultural spheres has been brought to a successful conclusion according to a *communique*.

Mr. Abdul Majid Khan, President of the Afghanistan National Bank, who has been in charge of the negotiations, was given reception by Rosenberg, Cultural Leader of the Nazi Party.—*Reuter*.

Tagore Urges Moslems to Join Congress

Chittagong, Oct. 19.

In a message to the President of the recently formed City Congress Committee on the subject of local Muslims joining the Congress, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore says :—

"Every patriot cherishes the desire that Hindus and Muslims should combine for the country's cause and follow the path of perseverance pursued by the Congress, which aimed at the attainment of freedom."

"Obstacles in the way," the poet adds, "stand all to the shame of the entire country which in eager expectation that Muslims of eastern Frontier will with unrestricted enthusiasm join in the happy wish that the lapses and limitations of Indians will vanish and their stand for self-determination will be attended with success."

The message which was received today created a profound impression.—*A. P. I.*

Response to Call for Boycott of Japanese Goods

London, Oct. 17.

The General Council of the Trade Union Congress claims unanimous response by the International Trade Union and Labour movements to the call for boycott of the Japanese goods. Replies received from Trade Union organizations in the United States, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, India, Mexico, Holland, France, Switzerland, Scandinavian countries, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Ireland all indicate the determination to carry out to the utmost extent the policy of boycott.—*Reuter*.

Railway Member at Railway Conference

The 37th Annual Session of the Indian Railway Conference Association was held on the 16th October last in the Assembly Chamber Sir Maurice Brayshay, Agent, B. B. and C. I. Railway, presiding. All railways in India were represented and Sir Sultan Ahmed, Railway Member, Sir Guthrie Russel, Chief Commissioner and members and other officers of the Railway Board and Sir James Pithkeatly, Chief Controller of Indian Stores Department, were also present.

Addressing the Conference Sir Sultan Ahmed said in part :

Time will not permit me more than briefly to refer to only some of the important recommendations, but I would particularly commend to you those relating to your dealings with the public in which I would include the speeding up of movement, both for passenger and goods, and the improving of your relations with the public. Though we may not agree with the comment that Railways are the most unpopular institutions in India, I think we all realise that there is something wrong with our methods that this idea should be prevalent and bound up with this aspect is the matter of incivility and dishonesty dealt with in Chapter VII of the report.

I consider the foregoing phases of the report to be most important. Indian Railways must secure the goodwill of the public they serve and this they can only do by giving the service which the public have a right to expect and giving it with courtesy.

Though railway officials are perhaps not yet quite as polite as they ought to be, particularly to third-class passengers, we must acknowledge that they are now more courteous than they were half a century or even a decade ago.

As regards improvement otherwise in their honesty, we cannot say anything either way, having almost no touch with the goods service of the railways.

Boycott of Japanese Goods, and Japanese Retaliation

There has been a minatory suggestion that, if Indians boycott Japanese goods, Japan will refrain from buying Indian cotton. That, if Indians do not buy Japanese goods, there will be a reduction in the quantity of Indian cotton sold to Japan is quite obvious. For, of the manufactures which Japan exports to India, cotton textiles form a large portion. If there be a decrease in the export of Japanese textiles to India, Japan will have to produce less textiles and will necessarily require less raw materials for the manufacture of such goods. If smaller quantities of Japanese textiles are sold in India, proportionately larger quantities of Indian and Lancashire textiles will be consumed in India. Indian cotton, to some extent, will be required for the manufacture of these additional quantities of Indian and Lancashire goods. So, somehow or other, some portion at least of the Indian cotton which Japan may cease to buy will be used in India and Lancashire. As regards what will remain unused, India must make special efforts to use it up by increasing the production of khadi and the establishment of more cotton mills. Though we have spoken of the probability of Lancashire using some of the cotton which Japan may cease to buy, our ideal should be to ourselves produce all the cotton goods we require and thus consume all our cotton. If we cannot immediately consume all our cotton, the area under cotton should and may be temporarily

reduced and some other valuable crops produced instead in the area so released.

We should bear in mind the immense loss which China has been suffering. The countless thousands of her killed and maimed and wounded and the woes of still larger numbers of Chinese should never be forgotten. If we are really in earnest in our desire to help China, should we not be prepared to bear the necessary loss, if any? If we really feel for others, we should be prepared to share with them their sacrifices and sufferings to the extent that may be necessary and feasible.

The Role of Museums in Education and Culture

Professor Kalidas Nag writes in his *Art and Archaeology Abroad*:

"History and literature, art and archæology are being studied with increasing enthusiasm by many of the rising nations of the New Orient like Egypt and Iraq, Turkey and Iran, ... similarly there are to be found in China, Japan and India a very hopeful awakening of interest in the collection, conservation and study of the patrimonies of art and culture. Japan in course of the last thirty years has given a noble lead in the museum movement within the country and exploration abroad. So China is equally enthusiastic, as is evidenced by the re-organization of the Palace Museum of Peking and by the recent International Exhibition of Chinese Art in London. French Indo-China and the Dutch East Indies also are showing splendid records in the domain of exploration and research."

Then the author proceeds to write in particular of India:

"India as the *traite d'union* between the Near and the Far East, between the Old and the New World, would always occupy a leading role in the domain of art and archæology, and recently with the rediscovery of her Indus Valley civilization, India is drawing the attention of the big Universities and research institutions of the world. Unfortunately for India, outside the official organization of the Archæological Survey of India, the museums and research societies under non-official management are still in a state of suspended animation, if not of positive stagnation, as was mercilessly exposed recently by Mr. Markham. [The museums under official management, too, in India cannot compare with the best of those abroad.—Editor, *M. R.*] A few of the progressive Indian States like Hyderabad, Mysore and Baroda are doing admirable work, but it seems to be insignificant when placed against the immense field of art and archæology as yet unexplored in this vast sub-continent of 350 millions. There may be found in India of today chance collections and treasure tombs to excite the rapacity or curiosity of foreigners: but we are lagging far behind Japan and China, so far as our museum movements are concerned."

The author then suggests what ideals we should keep before ourselves:

"In India, a living museum of History and Anthropology, of Arts and Crafts, we must have a systematic and progressive policy to ensure the conservation of our national patrimonies and the intensive study of our pre-historic and historic remains. Every cultural organization of India from the remote rural schools to the colleges and universities should co-operate in this national work of this countrywide exploration, collection and study of the artistic and cultural documents of India. Every province and every large linguistic and cultural unit should maintain a research library and museum, and above all the big universities should develop, without any more delay, their special museums according to the peculiar nature of their regional collections and specializations of study. Thus Prehistorics and Ethnology, Archæology and Art, Natural History and Anthropology, folk-arts or village crafts would find naturally their special museums to focus the attention of the public and help in the final synthesis in studies and research."

"Will Soviet Russia Intervene in Sino-Japanese War?"

An article in *The China Weekly Review* (October 2, 1937) which discusses this question concludes thus:

The Soviets realize very well that, if the Japanese wish to attack them, they do not need any pretext, or even an excuse. When Japan is engaged in war with China or any other country, Russia can well afford to assist that country by supplying arms, ammunition and volunteers, for it would be next to impossible for Japan to fight two countries at once. Some people feel apprehensive regarding the possible attitude of Germany, but Germany is neutralized by the Franco-Soviet agreement of mutual assistance, having the moral support of all European democracies.

"It appears, therefore, that, unless the internal situation in Russia is not too bad, and there is no reason to think that it is, there is no ground for Russia to discontinue her active support of anti-fascist forces. How this support will be forthcoming to Chinese in their present war against Japan is another question and can only be surmised, but it will."

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq's Threat

If any other person occupying the official position which Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq occupies in Bengal had made the sort of speech which he recently made at Lucknow, it would have been considered astonishing. But as the speaker was he, it is not astonishing. Nevertheless, it is shameful and deplorable. And it is not a little discreditable to the British Government that a man who, under it, occupies the position of the chief minister of a province should have felt quite safe in making the speech that he did. We do not just at present remember that any British official in India ever indulged in similar language and sentiment. It is a matter of shame for us Indians that any one of us should, as a servant of the rulers, give utterance to thoughts which officials of the ruling race do not express, if only for the sake of expediency and decency.

We do not wish to criticize Mr. Fazlul Huq's harangue in detail. We will simply quote some observations on it made by an Anglo-

Indian imperialist daily. Says the *Civil and Military Gazette* :

> Seldom can a more meaningless and, at the same time, more tendencious speech have been made at any important political gathering. From a lesser man than the Premier of an important province it would have been arrant tub-thumping. If Mr. Huq cannot see his way to explain away or, at least, to tone down the effect of the more violent passages of his speech, both Mr. Jinnah and Sir Sikander Hyat Khan would be well advised to dissociate themselves from the possibilities which the Bengal Premier adumbrated.

Mr. Huq uttered the threat that

> If ever they in the [Muslim] minority provinces terrorized the Muslims, he would retaliate in his own province. He added that he was not afraid of any one but *Allah* and could face 22 crores of Hindus, without moving a muscle, and that he had faith in God and hence confident that he would put them down in spite of their large numbers. "It was the Muslims alone who had a future. The *kafir* had no future, because he was so uncertain of his future life. The *kafir* had no future life at all."

This threat has been answered in a dignified manner by Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, chief minister of the United Provinces and by some Mussalman and Hindu ministers of U. P. and other provinces. The only definite allegation of oppression of Muslims in a Hindu majority province made by Mr. Huq in the recent past related to Bihar, and he was given the lie direct by Dr. Syed Mahmud, Education Minister of that Province, who related the true facts. Mr. Huq could make no reply to that contradiction. He has only indulged in fantastic mock-heroics of what he would do in the utterly unlikely contingency of Muslims being terrorized in the Hindu majority and Moslem minority provinces. But supposing such terrorism takes place, why should the Hindus of Bengal, who have not been and would not be parties to the misdeeds (if any) of others in other provinces, suffer for it? Evidently Mr. Huq thinks that his Allah by whom he swears will approve of such retaliation. Obviously he also thinks that Hindus appreciate being called Kafirs.

We do not know Arabic. but we have heard that in the Koran Allah is called the Merciful and that the words "Rahim" and "Rahaman" mean "merciful." We wonder if true Islam sanctions or even tolerates retaliation of the kind over the thought of which Mr. Huq appears to have gloated. We seek God's mercy, but not of Mr. Huq the pseudo-Ghazi.

In the chapter on the Brotherhood of Islam in *The Challenge of the North-West Frontier* Mr. C. F. Andrews has bestowed some well-deserved praise on Islam and its sincere and pious votaries. "My own religious outlook on life has been broadened and deepened by" Islam and Hinduism, says he. One paragraph in this chapter bears on the question of retaliation and non-retaliation. It is quoted below :

> I have very often pondered over the complex Hindu-Moslem problem and the parallel "military" and "pacifist" dilemma in modern Europe. The Hindu, in his ideal of Ahimsa, would go all the way with the pacifist : the Musalman would not. The Hindu believes in non-retaliation: the Musalman, speaking in general terms, does not. It is true that we have the remarkable instance in Islam of the Prophet's forbearance and magnanimity when Mecca was entered at last after weary years of struggle; and there is a nobility of forgiveness in the early literature of Islam which sheds a radiant light over that stormy period of war and conquest. But retaliatory justice has its place very near the centre of Islamic religion. Here it is closely akin to the military mind of modern Europe.

We do not know whether Mr. Andrews is right in holding that "retaliatory justice has its place very near the centre of Islamic religion." But assuming that he is right, it is retaliatory *justice* which Islam sanctions; it does not approve of or enjoin the punishment of persons unconnected with the commission of an offence.

We wonder what kind of retaliation for fancied terrorism outside Bengal Mr. Huq contemplates. Of the Dacca variety? Of the Chittagong brand? Of the Sirajganj sort; Of the kind that took place several times in Mymensingh? . . . .

Mahatma Gandhi has obtained a sort of promise from the British Government that the Governors of Provinces will not interfere with the constitutional activities of the Congress ministries. Perhaps this promised non-interference has been extended to non-Congress ministries also. But would retaliation *à la* Huq be considered "constitutional" by the British Government and by the outgoing and incoming governors of Bengal?

And would the Hindu 'colleagues' of Mr. Huq aid and abet and acquiesce in and tolerate such 'constitutional' activities of their chief?

The Muslim League's Ideal and Goal

The Muslim League at its Lucknow session has changed its creed. It wants independence, by which it means a federation of free democratic states, with adequate and effective safeguards for the rights and interests of Muslims and other minorities. Let the other minorities take care of themselves or go to the dogs. What the Muslim League wants is that the Communal Decision should substantially remain a permanent feature of the Indian constitution so

far as Musalmans are concerned. But that Decision strikes at the root of democracy. How can there be any democracy or democratic states if that Decision remains.

No doubt, the League communalists suggest that it can be replaced by an agreed settlement. But no true democratic and nationalist can tolerate any part of that Decision. So an agreed settlement with such nationalists and democrats can be arrived at only by scrapping that Decision lock, stock and barrel. Can Mr. Jinnah and his followers agree to such a settlement?

The kind of independence which the Indian National Congress desires involves complete severance of the British connection. The Muslim League is silent on this point, *viz.*, the British connection. Real independence means absence of even least degree of British or any other overlordships. Of course, there may be friendship with Britain (and it is hoped there will be,) when Purna Swaraj is attained, just as there will be friendship with many other independent countries :

Lucknow, Oct. 17.

"The Muslim League today is an institution which wants to perpetuate the slavery of India," declared Sir Wazir Hassan addressing a public meeting held last night at Aminabad. He added the rights and safeguards which the League was trying to obtain were most foolish obstacles to the country's progress. Time would soon come when the League leaders would find no body in India to support them because slavery could not be tolerated. The first question for every Indian citizen was to get off the yoke of foreign domination.

Lala Lajpat Rai's Biography

Servants of People Society wants information

Lahore, Oct. 5.

The Servants of the People Society has decided to issue a comprehensive and well authenticated biography of the late Lala Lajpat Rai. Mr. Feroz Chand, formerly editor of the 'People' who has been deputed to collect all relevant material and to write the biography has already started work, and it is expected that the standard biography of Lala Lajpat Rai may be available to the public a few month's hence. The numerous friends of Lalaji in India and abroad who may be in a position to give any useful information about Lalaji's various public activities and his personal habits that may already not be public property are requested to send on such information to Mr. Feroz Chand, Lajpat Rai Bhawan, Lahore.

As it is also proposed to issue a volume of selections from the speeches, publications and letters of Lala Lajpat Rai all letters that Lalaji's friends may have preserved would be particularly welcome.

Mr. Nariman's Case in Mysore

Mr. K. F. Nariman of Bombay was served with a notice in Mysore not to make speeches in public. He disobeyed the order and was arrested. This led to a violent outburst of public feeling. The local police opened fire, injuring many—some severely.

We are not in favour of men going from British India to the Indian States to preach socialism or communism, which cannot but stir up trouble, with no good result. No part of India is ripe for socialism. But, so far as we are aware or can surmise, Mr. Nariman did not want to make any explosive speeches. Hence there was perhaps no need to restrain him.

As the civil disobedience movement is now in abeyance, Congress leaders and workers in general have wisely refrained from precipitating matters by disobeying orders under Sec. 144 and the like. Why did Mr. Nariman act otherwise?

Enlightened States like Mysore, Travancore, etc., have in some cases anticipated the Congress constructive programme. So, Congress workers would be wise to think twice before trying to force the pace there. At the same time the authorities in these States should refrain from imitating the repressive policy in vogue in British India in the non-Congress ministry provinces.

Congress Enrolment

Enrolment of members of the Congress has been making more rapid progress this year than in the last. It is not specially necessary to tell the Hindus to join the Congress, as it is to tell the Musalmans. But those Hindus who are nationalists and at the same time think that Congress is not sufficiently mindful of Hindu interests and points of view may be reminded that the more they keep aloof from the Congress the greater would be the neglect, as they think, on the part of the Congress of what they consider Hindu interests and points of view. Those of them whose political goal is the same as that of the Congress would do well to join it and work from within it to gain their object.

Objections to Two of Bankim Chandra's Novels

Just as many Musalmans object to or have been led to object to the "Bande Mataram" song, including many who do not understand Sanskrit and Bengali, in which it is composed, so many of them have objected or been led to object to two of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's novels, "Ananda-Math" and "Rajsinha;" and have even asked, in public meeting assembled, that Government should proscribe them. Some Musalmans have gone the length of publicly burning "Ananda-Math." Many non-Bengali Musalmans, who cannot have read the books have joined in the outcry:

There are many English books which contain criticism of Islam, of the Koran and of the prophet Muhammad which give the reader a low idea of them. But there has not been

any Indian Moslem outcry against these books or a demand for their proscription. Bankim Chandra's two novels do not contain any such criticism of Islam, the Koran, or Muhammad, or of the Moslem community in general. Yet there has been an outcry raised against them. Why?

Because Hindus in general or Bengali Hindus are not a ruling people, because the objectors envy and hate them, and because they hope to please their British masters and patrons by such outcry?

Intolerance of criticism of their own community, or of some persons belonging to it, or of its scriptures and religious teachers, due to fanaticism or over-sensitiveness, does not at present characterize Christians. It did so in past ages. At present Christians do not demand the proscription even of books which revile Christ or the Bible, nor do they cut off the heads of their revilers. They simply answer criticisms and attacks, if it be worth while, or treat them with silent contempt. In consequence the Christ ideal has stood out in all its rightful effulgence, and what is true gold in the Bible has been separated from the dross. On the other hand, Muslim intolerance of criticism, instead of producing any such result as regards their scriptures and prophet and community, lead people to suspect that there may be much in them that is quite vulnerable. Such a suspicion does not do any good to Muslims or raise them and what they hold dear in the estimation of non-Muslims.

Nevertheless, if the books whose proscription is demanded by some Muslims abused their prophet and scriptures and their community in general, the demand could be understood as perhaps natural for a community not advanced in education and culture. But, as we have said above, Bankim Chandra's two novels are not books of that kind.

Bankim Chandra's "Ananda-Math"

It would not be at all difficult to show by the citation of all the passages in "Ananda-Math" which mention historical Musalmans or refer to Musalmans in any other way—such passages are not many, that the author's book is not an anti-Moslem work. But this cannot be done in a note. We must rest content with assuring the reader that the book is not anti-Moslem. That is our definite opinion.

The only two historical Musalmans mentioned in the book are the Nawab Mir Jafar, who was the ruler of Bengal only in name, and Muhammad Reza Khan, who was in charge of the collection of revenue at the time to which some incidents described in the book relate. Bankim Chandra has devoted only a few words to the portrayal of Mir Jafar's personality which no Musalman defends, and the author's picture of that man is not darker than what it ought to be. Just as a novel relating to a period of Hindu anarchy and misrule which mentions or portrays a despicable Hindu King cannot be called an anti-Hindu book, so "Ananda Math" cannot be called an anti-Moslem work. Of Muhammad Reza Khan it is said that he enhanced the rate of the land revenue by 10 per cent. in those hard times.

There are references in the book to the looting of both Hindu and Musalman houses and shops. Some characters in the book speak of Musalmans in bantering or contemptuous terms in some passages. Such passages are altogether necessarily very few. What the characters of a novel or play say should not be taken to be the views of the author.

The object of the Sannyasi rising as described in the book was the establishment of Hindu rule. It is not necessary here to consider how much of true history there is in that novel. Suffice it to say that as the novel relates to a period of decadence of Moslem rule and consequent anarchy and tyranny, it was natural for Hindus to desire to re-establish Hindu rule. The ideal of an Indian nation comprising all religious communities struggling for national freedom had not then emerged in the process of historical evolution. But the author does not support the desire of the insurgent Sannyasis. On the contrary, in the last chapter of the book he explains according to his lights why the establishment of British rule was necessary at that time and therefore providential.

Therefore, the book is neither anti-Moslem nor anti-British.

There are two sentences in the eighth chapter of part one of the book which indirectly prove that the author could and did take an unprejudiced view of Moslem rule. They are:

"সেই সময়ে ইংরেজের কৃত আধুনিক রাস্তা সকল ছিল না। নগর সকল হইতে কলিকাতায় আসিতে হইলে মুসলমান-সম্রাট-নির্ম্মিত অপূর্ব্ব বর্ত্ম দিয়া আসিতে হইত।"

"At that time the modern roads built by the English did not exist. In coming from the country-towns to Calcutta one had to travel along the unparalleled (or excellent) highway constructed by Musalman emperors."

No one likes criticism of or reflections on one's own community or things related thereto, however mild or just. We do not, therefore, say that "Ananda-Math" and "Rajsinha" do not contain things which Musalman will dislike.

They do contain such things. But no community is perfect and flawless, nor are things belonging to or connected with them so. Therefore, men of all communities must be prepared for just criticism and should even welcome it—particularly in India of the present day. Nay more, they must be prepared even for unjust criticism and abuse. We say this not to justify or extenuate them, but to indicate the attitude which every community should adopt for its own good. Of course, we are not against but rather for answering criticism.

Bankim Chandra's "Rajsinha"

The other book of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee to which Musalmans have objected is "Rajsinha." It is a longer work, and more historical than "Ananda-Math," though not entirely historical. In the preface to the fourth edition of the book the author points out what is historical in it and what the product of his imagination. What he calls historical must be judged in the dry light of history, what he says is the product of his imagination must be judged according to the principles of art, and the whole should be subjected to the canons of literary and artistic criticism.

The following paragraph from the "Conclusion" of the book helps one to discern the spirit in which the author wrote it and to decide whether it is anti-Moslem :

"গ্রন্থকারের বিনীত নিবেদন এই যে, কোন পাঠক না মনে করেন যে, হিন্দু-মুসলমানের কোন প্রকার তারতম্য নির্দ্দেশ করা এই গ্রন্থের উদ্দেশ্য। হিন্দু হইলেই ভাল হয় না; মুসলমান হইলেই মন্দ হয় না; অথবা হিন্দু হইলেই মন্দ হয় না, মুসলমান হইলেই ভাল হয় না। ভাল মন্দ উভয়ের মধ্যে তুল্য রূপই আছে। বরং ইহাও স্বীকার করিতে হয় যে, যখন মুসলমান এত শতাব্দী ভারতবর্ষের প্রভু ছিল, তখন রাজকীয় গুণে মুসলমান সমসাময়িক হিন্দুদিগের অপেক্ষা অবশ্য শ্রেষ্ঠ ছিল। কিন্তু ইহাও সত্য নহে যে, মুসলমান রাজা সকল হিন্দু রাজা সকল অপেক্ষা শ্রেষ্ঠ ছিলেন। অনেক স্থলে মুসলমানই হিন্দু অপেক্ষা রাজকীয় গুণে শ্রেষ্ঠ; অনেক স্থলে হিন্দু রাজা মুসলমান অপেক্ষা রাজকীয় গুণে শ্রেষ্ঠ। অন্যান্য গুণের সহিত যাহার ধর্ম্ম আছে—হিন্দু হৌক, মুসলমান হৌক,—সেই শ্রেষ্ঠ। অন্যান্য গুণ থাকিতেও যাহার ধর্ম্ম নাই—হিন্দু হৌক, মুসলমান হৌক,—সেই নিকৃষ্ট। ঔরঙ্গজেব ধর্ম্মশূন্য, তাই তাঁহার সময় হইতে মোগল সাম্রাজ্যের অধঃপতন আরম্ভ হইল। রাজসিংহ ধার্ম্মিক, এজন্য তিনি ক্ষুদ্র রাজ্যের অধিপতি হইয়া মোগল বাদশাহকে অপমানিত এবং পরাস্ত করিতে পারিয়াছিলেন। ইহাই গ্রন্থের প্রতিপাদ্য। রাজা যেরূপ হয়েন, রাজানুচর এবং রাজপৌরজন প্রভৃতিও সেইরূপ হয়। উদিপুরী ও চঞ্চলকুমারীর তুলনায়, জেব-উন্নিসা ও নির্ম্মলকুমারীর তুলনায়, মাণিকলাল ও মবারকের তুলনায় ইহা জানিতে পারা যায়। এই জন্য এই সকল কল্পনা।"

"Let no reader think that it is the object of this book to definitely declare any kind of superiority or inferiority of Hindus or Musalmans—this is the humble submission of the author. **One is not necessarily good because he is a Hindu; one is not necessarily bad because he is a Musalman; or, one is not necessarily bad because he is a Hindu, and one is not necessarily good because he is a Musalman. There is good and bad in equal measure in both. Rather, it has to be admitted that, since the Musalman was master of India for so many centuries, therefore in royal qualities the Musalman was certainly superior to the contemporary Hindus.** But this also is not true that the Musalman king was superior to all Hindu kings. In many cases it was the Musalman who was superior to the Hindu in royal qualities; in many cases the Hindu king was superior to the Musalman in kingly qualities. He is superior—be he Hindu or Musalman—who along with other qualities possesses righteousness ("dharma"). He is inferior—be he Hindu or Musalman—who does not possess righteousness, though possessed of other qualities. Aurangzeb was unrighteous; hence from his times began the downfall of the Mughal Empire. Rajsinha was righteous; hence, though the master of a small kingdom, he was able to dishonour and defeat the Mughal Emperor. This is what this book seeks to prove. The retainers, followers and household, etc., of kings take after the kings. This can be known from a comparison of Udipuri and Chanchalkumari, Zebunnisa and Nirmalkumari, and Maniklal and Mobarak. That is the reason for these creations."

Why Government Proscribes Some Books

The books proscribed by the British Government in India are for the most part such as are seditious or "subversive" in the opinion of officials. In some cases books by Indian authors which hurt Muhammadan religious feelings or susceptibilities because of their attack on the Koran or Muhammad, have also been proscribed. Just at present we cannot recall the name of any book which has been proscribed on account of its attack on Hinduism or Hindus. "Mother India" has not been proscribed. So the Governments' unwritten policy appears to be that those books are to be proscribed which go fundamentally against the imperial interests of Britain, or which hurt the *religious* susceptibilities of Musalmans. But a line has perhaps to be drawn somewhere. *Religious* susceptibilities are one thing, and every other kind of communal prejudice and susceptibility and hatred, envy and jealousy another. In the case of the Musalmans, will the British Government pander even to the latter ? Let the Government choose in its own interest. Hindus will not stand or fall by that choice.

As for "Ananda-Math" and "Rajsinha," they will continue to be read even if proscribed—perhaps they will gain in popularity because of proscription. They will not become extinct.

We do not desire to give the impression that they are flawless. Perhaps, if the author

had been now living, he would have made some improvements. But as he is no longer in the land of the living, no tampering with his work can be allowed.

The Viceroy's Panjab Tour

During his tour in the Panjab the Viceroy has been making nice speeches. He has been telling politically-minded persons to work the constitution, and praising all who have been "good boys." The exchange value of the rupee in British currency is to remain as it is, he has said. He was expected to say it.

"A Third Party"

Mr. Jinnah and his colleagues and followers say that in India there are three parties—the British Government, the Indian National Congress, and the Muslims. But the pity is, there are numerous Musalmans who are members of the Congress and their number is increasing. Most probably there are more Congressmen among Musalmans than there are Muslim-Leaguers. In any case, if anybody said that the Congress and the Muslims were two separate groups, that would be an example of what logicians call cross-division; for, as we have said, many Muslims are Congressmen.

Some Musalmans say they are a nation by themselves! Do they know the meaning of "nation." Indian Musalmans inhabit the same country, provinces, "States," districts, towns and villages as the Hindus and other non-Muslims; speak the same languages as the latter; live under the same government as they; nay, ethnologically, they are for the most part of the same stocks as the non-Muslims. It may also be added that the culture and temperament of Indian Musalmans are not the same with those of other Musalmans in the world. Mr. C. F. Andrews, not an unfriendly observer, writes in *The Challenge of the North-West Frontier*:

> "Islam has very gradually assumed a milder character in India, owing to the climate and the people. I have travelled in other Muhammadan countries as well as India, and have studied with diligence and sympathy the history of Islam. From all that I have seen and heard I can vouch for the fact that the tolerant and peace-loving spirit among Muslims in India is exceptionally high."—Page 141.

Mr. Andrews has also described the "meeting of two cultures," Hindu and Islamic, in India.

Mr. Nehru's tour in the Panjab & N.-W. F.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's tour in the Panjab and the N.-W. Frontier Province has been a triumphal progress which kings and emperors may envy. It is partly a personal triumph and partly a demonstration of the increasing hold of the Congress on the mass mind.

Terorism and Tegart in Palestine

In Palestine British imperialism has been following the policy it has developed in India. As in India advantage has been taken of Hindu-Moslem differences, so in Palestine advantage has been taken of Arab-Jew dislike and prejudice. If Arabs and Jews could mutually agree, that would be the salvation of both. But will they, can they agree? Will they be allowed to agree?

There has been a recrudescence of 'terrorism' in Palestine. Of course, it must be put down. Therefore, the services of Sir Charles Tegart, a former Police Commissioner of Calcutta who had to deal with some terrorists in Bengal, have been requisitioned for Palestine. Hard times are in store for the people of that country.

Bengal Civil Liberties Union

The Bengal Civil Liberties Union continues to render service to the detenus and other political sufferers by making their grievances and sufferings known to the public—and perhaps to Khwaja Nazimuddin and his colleagues.

Re-home-internment is taking place in some cases, as in that of Srimati Indumati Devi.

Minimum Age of Employment of Children

The September number of *International Labour Review*, published by the International Labour Office of Geneva, contains an account of the 23rd session of the International Labour Conference. In the sections of that account devoted to the minimum age for admission to non-industrial employment we read:

> The Office proposed in the Blue Report that the minimum age should be raised to 15 years but that national legislation, subject to certain guarantees, should be allowed to authorize exceptionally the employment of children between 14 and 15 years on work considered to be beneficial to them . . . . The text finally adopted by the Committee provides that children under 15 years, or children over 15 years who are still required by national legislation to attend primary school, may not be employed in any employment to which the Convention applies, except as otherwise provided in other articles.

As regards "Light Work,"

> The 1932 Convention authorises the employment of children over 12 years of age on light work outside the hours fixed for school attendance, provided that this work

is not harmful to their health or normal development, is not such as to prejudice their attendance at school or their capacity to benefit from the instruction there given, and does not exceed two hours per day, the total number of hours spent at school and on light work in no case to exceed seven per day. Light work is not, however, permitted on Sundays and legal public holidays, nor during the night, that is to say during a period of at least 12 consecutive hours comprising the interval beetween 8 P. M. and 8 A.M.

The Office proposed (1) to raise to 13 years the age above which children may be employed on light work; (2) to maintain the provisions laid down in the 1932 Convention for children between 13 and 14 years; and (3) to leave to national legislation the duty of deciding the daily number of hours during which children over 14 years might be employed on such work as well as of deciding the length of the rest period, provided that it should not be less than 12 hours.

The texts proposed by the Office were adopted successively without amendment.

The provisions printed above are not for India. There are special provisions for India:

The original Convention laid down special provisions for India, the main terms of which were as follows: fixing of the minimum age at 10 years in general and at 14 years for non-industrial employment declared to involve danger to life, health, or morals; and a requirement that national legislation should fix a higher age than 10 years for the admission of young persons to employment in itinerant trading in the streets or in places to which the public had access, to regular employment at stalls outside shops, or to employment in itinerant occupations, in cases where the conditions of such employment require that a higher age should be fixed. In spite of these special provisions India had not been in a position to ratify the 1932 Convention.

The Indian workers' member, submitted to the Committee an amendment fixing the minimum age at 13 years in general and at 17 years for dangerous employment. The Committee adopted by 25 votes to 15 the text submitted by the Indian workers' member, supplemented by the procedure of special amendment which had already been introduced into the Industry Convention, as explained above.

The general provisions agreed upon at the International Labour Conference may not be and are not legally applicable to India. But the social, educational, physiological and psychological reasons underlying them perhaps defy regional limitations. Whether they do so or not, the special provisions meant for India apply to India.

We are not here specially concerned with their legal aspect. The reason why we have printed these general provisions and the special provisions for India here is that as Gandhiji's scheme of primary education through handicrafts is going to be adopted in many places, Mahatmaji himself and those who agree with him will perhaps be pleased to consider why it has been considered necessary for the mental, moral and physical welfare of children to adopt these provisions.

Primary Education Centring Round Manual Work

Mahatma Gandhi's learn-while-you-earn-by handicrafts ideas were talked over and discussed last month at the educational conference at Wardha by some provincial chief and other ministers and educationalists. The resolutions adopted at the Conference run as follows:

In the opinion of the Conference free and compulsory education be provided for seven years on a nation-wide scale; that the medium of instruction be the mother-tongue; that the Conference endorses the proposal made by Mahatma Gandhi that the process of education throughout this period shall centre round some form of manual and productive work and that all other abilities to be developed or the training to be given should as far as possible be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child; and that the Conference expects that this system of education will be gradually able to cover the remuneration of teachers.—*A. P. I.*

With a view to framing a syllabus of primary education on the lines of these resolutions a committee has been appointed with power to co-opt additional members. Gandhiji's ideas will be more clearly understood when this syllabus is published.

Hand work undoubtedly develops the intellect, and education in some subjects can be made to centre round such work effectively and interestingly. But all the subjects which should be included in primary school courses cannot be taught in that way.

While there are laws in all civilized countries prohibiting or restricting child labour below certain ages, we do not see the appropriateness of expecting children in particular to earn by their labour enough to pay for their teaching, while students older than they are evidently to be educated at the expense of either their parents or other guardians, or of generous subscribers and donors to educaional institutions, or of the State, wholly or in part. Young men and women and adults are better able to earn and can do so with less risk of physiological injury or retardation of growth than children. Why then should children alone be required to earn their schooling and not older persons? We have not been able to answer questions like these.

In spite of what Gandhiji has written in *Harijan*, we are afraid there will be competition between primary school manufactures and other manufactures, and that the nation's sense of duty will move it to buy school manufactures to the extent that it has moved it to buy Khadi. Of course the State may be purchaser of these school-made things in the Congress ministry provinces. But for what use?

Harijan of the 16th October last contains some criticism which has not been effectively disposed of by what Gandhiji has written in the same issue of the paper. Such is the following criticism of Mr. J. G. Gibson :

I cannot agree with you that education can, or should, be made self-supporting by the work of the students. But the real reason why it cannot, has not yet been brought out in any of the discussions I have seen. The work of children can be made to pay profits. It is so made to pay by the exploiters of children in every country in the world. The way they do it is by keeping the children on repetitive work requiring little skill. If children are kept at such work for 4 hours per day under competent supervision, they can no doubt pay for their keep and perhaps for the supervision as well. But such work has no educational value. It may even become as dulling to the intellect as pouring over text-books and listening to lectures.

In order for the children's work to have educational value they must be given a variety of work to do, and as soon as they have learned one operation well they must be allowed to go on to something new. They must have a chance to experiment with their own ideas and to make new designs. If they are allowed to work in this way under a supervisor who knows how, by discrete questioning and encouragement, to keep them alert, they will develop many good habits and abilities. But the product of their work will not likely be sufficient to support the school. It may contribute something toward the costs of the school.

But I see no reason why schools should be expected to be self-supporting. The education of the children, and continued education of adults, is a responsibility of the community, and it seems to me that in the present condition of India it should be the first and largest claim upon the public funds.

Also the following from the pen of Prof. S. V. Puntambekar :

"But primary education must at least begin at the age of five or six. A child cannot be made to wait longer. We must have a ten years' curricula to take the child to the matriculation standard in addition to the polytechnical training we intend to give it. I am, however, doubtful about the economic value of the products of these children especially in their early stages. They will not be saleable in a country where free trade and advanced fashions prevail and when the products themselves will not be durable or finished ones. If the State were to purchase them or take them in return for the service or aid rendered, what will it do with them? It would be better for the State to spend money directly on the education of children than to adopt this process. Of course the products of advanced boys, say, between 12 to 16 may be made marketable and therefore become an important item of income.

"I would rather treat the problem of literacy on a different footing and face boldly the taxation and expenditure necessary for it."

"Only one danger will have to be guarded against, that cultural education of the body, mind and spirit does not become subordinated completely to the economic motive and economics of the school."

"I admit here that education was largely self-supporting in mediaeval times, and could be made so in a general way if our social, economic and political organization and outlook were to remain mediaeval, that is, addicted to the old and narrow values of class and caste economy, society and polity. But today in a democratic, national and socialistic conception of life which has pervaded us, it cannot become so."

"Therefore, two ideologies, one mediaeval and one modern, one pluralistic and functional, and the other unitary and territorial, cannot work together."

Congress Working Committee and All-India Congress Committee Sessions

While we write these notes, the Congress Working Committee and the All-India Congress Committee are holding their sessions in Calcutta. From the resolutions tabled for discussion and adoption, it is clear that many of the subjects to which the resolutions relate are of very great importance.

Political Plunder and "Ananda-Math"

In our note on "Ananda-Math" we have referred to the looting of Hindu and Muhammadan houses and shops mentioned in that book. There was also some plunder of public revenues. The author does not mention or describe these with even tacit approval. On the contrary, there occurs the following passage in the last chapter of the book :

"Satyananda, do not be dejected. Owing to error of judgment you collected money by robbery and won victory thereby. The fruit of sin can never be pure. Therefore you will not be able to regenerate the country. What else will happen, will be good."

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq's Belated Apologia

We have had something to say on Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq's speech at Lucknow as reported in the "Statesman" and other papers. In order that we may not seem unfair to him, we print below in full at the sacrifice of some space the statement he has issued through the Associated Press of India.

"My Lucknow speech," he states, "has evoked wild criticisms in the Press and I have been called upon to state what I actually said. I am not going to obey all these mandates, but I will say a few words as to what I did not say. False reports have been circulated that I referred to the Hindus as Kafirs and as men without a future, and that when I did talk of Kafirs and men without a future I had as my objective the great Hindu community of India.

"All these are mischievous perversions of what I actually said. I believe I have got sufficient religious instinct in me to be able to appreciate the religious sentiments and feelings of others and however harsh may sometimes be my expressions as a political speaker, I always take care not to say anything which may wantonly wound the religious susceptibilities of others. In all my life I have never referred to the Hindus as "Kafirs" or "men without a future." I issue this short statement, because although I do not object to legitimate criticism, I feel that I must repeal misstatement of facts.

"My speech was in Urdu and the word I used, in the matter of retaliation was "satana." I am sorry it

is difficult properly to transliterate what I actually said and this word means anything from mere teasing to active persecution. Even in the matter of retaliation I never said that my objective would be the Hindus as such. And then, I made it clear that retaliation might take various forms, and it is not necessary that I should be actually persecuting the Hindu community of Bengal. If the Hon'ble Mr. Govinda Ballav Pant can assume the guardianship of the interests of the Musalmans of U. P., I can assure him that I am prepared to accept the guardianship of the Hindu minority in Bengal, and I can also assure him and all whom it may concern that so long as we are in power there will be no wanton molestation of the members of the Hindu or any other non-Musli.a community."

This statement is not convincing. It would have been better if he had *condescended* to state what he did say. It is evident he spoke of some Kafirs and observed that they had no future. He says he did not mean the Hindus by that opprobrious word. Whom then did he mean? It is also evident that he threatened some people with teasing or persecution, but that these people were not the Hindus of Bengal. Who then were the people who were important enough to rouse his wrath and deserved to be threatened? He promises to play the role of guardian to the Bengali Hindus. But the Bengali Hindus would much rather be relieved of such guardianship.

Uniform Labour Policy for Congress Ministry Provinces

According to an official communique issued by the All-India Congress Committee secretariat, the Congress Labour Committee met the Congress ministers and parliamentary secretaries of Labour of some of the provinces in joint conference and considered with them the question of laying down a uniform programme in regard to Labour. The statement of Labour policy, issued by the Bombay Congress ministry was approved and was made the basis of discussion for detailed recommendations for action.

In other matters also, as far as practicable, consistently with the needs and conditions of different provinces, the policy followed by Congress ministries should be uniform.

Lord Rutherford

Lord Rutherford, whose death was announced last month, was a great scientific discoverer. He was a winner of the Nobel Prize in science. He was to have presided over the jubilee session of the Indian Science Congress to be held in Calcutta in January, 1938.

Professor Jacobi

Professor Jacobi, the famous Indologist, is no more. He was a great Sanskrit scholar. Years ago he usd to lecture in the Calcutta University.

Kshitindranath Tagore

Kshitindranath Tagore, a grandson of t Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, died Calcutta last month. He was for lo secretary to the Adi Brahmo Samaj of Calcutt and editor for years of its monthly organ, tl "Tattvabodhini Patrika." He was the auth of some books in Bengali.

Manilal Kothari

By the death of Manilal Kothari the Indi National Congress has lost an intrepid, entl siastic and indefatigable worker, who sacrifi his lucrative practice at the bar for the ca of the country's freedom. The loss of Guja and of many of the Indian States is the sor He tried his best to ameliorate the condit of the people of the States and obtain for th the fundamental rights of man. He had p haps to suffer more for his activities for States' people than for his work in connect with the Civil Disobedience movement for wh he had to suffer imprisonment. Many of t States passed orders to prevent him f crossing their borders to work in them, u undaunted by such orders he went on his duty.

Damodar Das

Last month also witnessed the death of Srijut Damodar Das, B.A., a depressed class leader of Bengal. Not much known to fame, he was a man of sterling worth. He belonged to the Mymensingh district. By caste he was a Bhuinmali. The hereditary occupation of Bhuinmalis is sweeping and conservancy. Self-help and native intelligence enabled Sj. Damodar Das to obtain education and become a graduate. He exerted himself throughout life in the cause of the uplift of his caste and other depressed class people. He joined the Brahmo Samaj in early youth.

First Flag of Indian Independence

POONA, OCT. 23.

The first tri-colour flag of Indian Independence, unfurled by the late Madame Cama, a brave pioneer of the Indian freedom movement, in Germany 30 years back, has been sent here by Mr. S. R. Rana, an Indian exile, from Paris.

The flag bears letters "Bande Mataram" on the central yellow strap. The green strap at the top bears a line of lotuses, while the red strap at the bottom bears figures of sun and moon.

This flag will be hoisted on Tilak Mandir by Mr. Savarkar on Tuesday, October 26, which is being observed as a "Bande-Mataram Day" on behalf of the Democratic party.—*United Press.*

Bhai Parmanand on Federation

The following passage is taken from Bhai Parmanand's presidential address at the Sind Hindu Conference, held last month at Karachi:

> I have not the least doubt that Parliamentary mentality having come to stay, the Congress cannot but accept Federation though Pt. Jawaharlal is most emphatic in opposing the scheme. . . . Hindus number three-fourths of the population; and had they been allowed representation according to their proportion in the population of the country, then there would have been popular control in the Federal Assembly inspite of the quota to the Indian States. The Hindus have been deprived of their just rights of representation by the Communal Award which the Congress has virtually accepted. Hence the complaint of the Congress leaders about want of popular control in the Federal Centre.
>
> According to the Communal Award, the Federal Assembly is to be composed of 375 seats out of which 125 go to the Indian States and 250 to British India. Pandit Jawaharlal hates the scheme because the scheme gives one-third of the seats to the nominees of the Indian Princes and therefore, according to him, deprives the Federal Assembly of the element of popular control. My view is different from this. I think that even if in the begining we give one-third of the seats to the Princes, this price is not too much to pay for bringing in the Princely India to join with British India. I do not think British India can develop full democracy leaving one-third of the country dragging behind it. Of course, [illegible] sometime the representatives of the Indian States [illegible] the nominees of the Princes. But it will not be long before the time comes when these representatives become the real representatives of the people of these States.

"Communal Award Deprives Federal Assembly of Popular Control"

Bhai Parmanand continued:

> While Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru finds fault with the Federation on account of the share of the Princes in it, my view is that it is the Communal Award that really deprives the Federal Assembly of popular control. Out of the 250 seats assigned to British India, the Hindus should get 187 if they are given their proper share according to population. And this means one-half of the total number of seats in the Federal Assembly inclusive of the Indian States. Supposing they were under the influence of the Congress, then surely the Federal Assembly could not have been accused of lacking in popular control. But the position of the Hindus has been reduced so low by the Communal Award that their representatives will have no effective voice in the Assembly. Instead of seventy-five per cent. the Hindus have been given forty-two per cent. in the Assembly; out of 250 they get only 105, and out of these 105, nineteen are reserved for the depressed classes. So, practically speaking the Hindus get only eighty-six seats while the Muslims, who form only one-fourth of the population, get eighty-three seats. Pandit Jawaharlal attaches no value to the question of number of seats in the legislature; he calls them a few crumbs from the table of British Imperialism. I think he would realize the importance of these crumbs if he just pays a little closer attention to the dodge played and the havoc done by the Communal Award.

"Make Petrol from Sugar-cane"

With reference to Sj. Chaman Lal's article in our last issue entitled, "Make Petrol from Sugar-cane," a distinguished Indian scientist writes to us that our contributor's fling against Indian scientists is unwarranted. Sj. Chaman Lal has asked:

> "Why can't our scientists and research scholars (who spend millions in experiments in laboratories) give lead to our industrialists in this behalf?"

The distinguished scientist who has written to us observes:

"In reply to this remark I wish to note that Mr. N. G. Chatterjee of the Harcourt Butler Technological Institute, Cawnpore, has actually demonstrated that molasses can be easily converted into power alcohol and placed in the market at competitive rates. His report was submitted to the U. P. Government, but was suppressed, and he was not permitted to publish it.

"Mr. Chaman Lal may say, 'where does the Government come in? The sugar manufacturers may use Dr. Chatterjee's method and put their power alcohol in the market.' The matter is more complex. No alcohol can be manufactured without Government licence, and the alcohol produced cannot be marketed unless it is made permissible by legislation that a certain percentage of alcohol may be mixed with petrol. So the Indian scientist is not at fault, but it is the Central Government which is unwilling to come forward with beneficent legislation.

"Mr. Chaman Lal is further wrong in saying that Indian scientists are spending millions on academic research. The Government gives some grant for researches in agriculture and allied matters, but no Indian scientist is helped with any funds for researches on fundamentals, or even on industrial subjects.

"I think Mr. Chaman Lal and many other writers are ignorant of the difficulties under which the Indian scientists work, and should be careful in making such fantastic remarks as the spending of millions by Indian scientists."

Subhas Bose Addresses Mammoth Peasant Gathering

The massive gathering of peasants, men and women, in Calcutta on the 27th October last was presided over by Professor N. G. Ranga and addressed among others by Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, who said in the course of his speech:

> "Congress wants to end all sorts of exploitation whether such exploitation be by Government or by vested interests. Congress wants to represent all classes. With the attain-

ment of political independence India will win her economic independence too. She will once again be able to come to the forefront among the civilized nations of the world and her economic and cultural conditions will grow from more to more."

The Nawab of Murshidabad's Exhortation to Muslims

His Highness the Nawab of Murshidabad, the premier nobleman of Bengal, has in a fine statement and appeal exhorted his coreligionists to join the Congress.

Scientific Gatherings in India

The coming session of the Indian Science Congress cannot but make us think what the ideal of such gatherings should be. At present, such gatherings are helped by Government, by some of the officially recognized Universities, and by some Indian States because such gatherings are held under Government patronage. They cannot do without financial help. Most of our scientists are, directly or indirectly, under the influence of Government. We cannot lose sight of these realities of the situation. But at the same time, there is no doubt that it would be better if science in India were free to develop on international lines. Would the public help it to do so? Would the help be adequate?

Some Congress Working Committee Resolutions

On October 27, the Congress Working Committee passed seven resolutions. The resolution on Federation called upon provincial and local Congress Committees and the people generally as well as the provincial governments and ministers to prevent the imposition of Federation. That on minority rights reiterated the Congress policy of protecting fundamental rights addopted at Karachi. In another resolution the Committee reiterated their opposition to the Communal Decision as anti-national, anti-democratic, and a barrier to Indian freedom. The resolution assured the minorities that the Congress wished to proceed by their co-operation and through their goodwill in a common understanding and for the realization of a common aim, which is freedom and the betterment of the entire population of India.

The Working Committee on "Bande Mataram"

The following statement has been issued by the Congress Working Committee:

CALCUTTA, OCT. 28.

A controversy having recently arisen about the "Bande Mataram" song, the Working Committee desire to explain the significance of this song. This song appears in Bankim Chandra Chatterji's novel "Ananda Math" but, it has been pointed out in his biography, that the song was written independently of, and long before, the novel and was subsequently incorporated in it. The song should thus be considered apart from the book. It was set to music by Rabindranath Tagore in 1896. The song and the words "Bande Mataram" were considered seditious by the British Government and were sought to be suppressed by violence and intimidation. At a famous session of the Bengal Provincial Conference held in Barisal in April 1906, under the presidentship of Mr. A. Rasul, a brutal lathi charge was made by the police on the delegates and volunteers and the "Bande Mataram" badges worn by them were violently torn off. Some delegates were beaten so severely as they cried "Bande Mataram" that they fell down senseless. Since then, during the past thirty years, innumerable insti[illegible] of sacrifice and suffering all over the country have [illegible] associated with "Bande Mataram" and men and women have not hesitated to face death even with that cry on their lips. The song and the words thus became symbols of national resistance to British imperialism in Bengal especially, and generally in other parts of India. The words "Bande Mataram" became a slogan of power which inspired our people, and a greeting which ever reminded us of our struggle for national freedom.

Gradually the use of the first two stanzas of the song spread to other provinces and a certain national significance began to attach to them. The rest of the song was very seldom used and is even now known by few persons. These two stanza described in tender language the beauty of the motherland and the abundance of her gifts. There was absolutely nothing in them to which objection could be taken from the religious or any other point of view. The song was never sung as a challenge to any group or community in India and was never considered as such or as offending the sentiments of any community. Indeed the reference in it to thirty crores of Indians makes it clear that it was meant to apply to all the people of India. At no time, however, was this song, or any other song, formally adopted by the Congress as the national anthem of India. But popular usage gave it a special and national importance.

The Working Committee feel that past associations, with their long record of suffering for the cause, as well as popular usage, have made the first two stanzas of this song a living and inseparable part of our national movement and as such they must command our affection and respect. There is nothing in these stanzas to which any one can take exception. The other stanzas of the song are little known and hardly ever sung. They contain certain allusions and a religious ideology which may not be in keeping with the ideology of other religious groups in India.

The committee recognize the validity of the objection raised by Muslim friends to certain parts of the song. While the Committee have taken note of such objection in so far as it has intrinsic value the committee wish to point out that the modern evolution of the use of the song as part of national life is of infinitely greater importance than its setting in a historical novel before the national movement had taken shape. Taking all things into consideration therefore the committee recommend that wherever the "Bande Mataram" is sung at national gatherings only the first two stanzas should be sung, with perfect freedom to the organizers to sing any other song of an unobjectionable character, in addition to, or in the place of, the "Bande Mataram" song.

But while there can be no question about the place that "Bande Mataram" has come to occupy in the

national life, the same cannot be said as to the other songs. People have adopted songs of tneir choice irrespective of merit. An authentic collection has long been felt as a desideratum. The committee therefore appoint a Sub-Committee consisting of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri Subhas Chandra Bose and Shri Narendra Dev, to examine all the current national songs that may be sent to it and those who are so inclined are invited to send their compositions to this Sub-Committee. The committee will, out of the songs so received, submit to the Working Committee the collection that it may choose to recognize as being worthy of finding a place in a collection of national songs. Only such songs as are composed in simple Hindusthani or can be adapted to it, and have a rousing and inspiring tune will be accepted by the Sub-Committee for examination. The Sub-Committee shall consult and take the advice of P Rabindranath Tagore.

The Working Committee recommends to P. C. C.'s to take similar steps in regard to songs in the provincial languages.

Cinemas as "Toddy Shop of the Mind"

Mr. T. Raghava, whom *The Guardian* of Madras describes as "a lifelong votary of the dramatic art," has contributed to *Triveni* an article on Art and the People, on education of the mass mind, in which he has much to say on the cinemas as they are today in India. Some extracts from his article are given below :

"Love of music and love of the fine arts in general are inherent in the make-up of all human beings. It is quite natural for a human being to turn to music and the stage for enjoyment, as it is natural for him to seek food. The food for the mind should be more carefully chosen than the food for the body. Indulgence in bad food for the body results in indigestion and the weakening of the physical condition. Similarly indulgence in bad food for the mind impairs its development and arrests its expansion. A society which cannot provide proper food for the development of man's mind cannot be said to be functioning healthily."

"The new order is facing grim facts. Its look is concentrated on the dumb millions who are ill-clothed, almost *nil* fed and suffering mutely. The first step is undoubtedly to find food and clothes for them, and to free them from the toils of indebtedness. Simultaneously, however, their *mental possessions* should be enlarged and they should be taught to develop a life of imagination, to appreciate the glory of life. This item should be considered in the re-organization scheme. The idea of education as a means to procure passes—pure and simple —should be knocked on the head. . . . ."

"It is a fact that at present our theatres and picture-houses by themselves occupy a prominent place in our world of art. The Government could easily obtain figures and facts to discover how much public money is spent on them. It is a considerable amount, though not as big as the amount that is spent on drink. Is it not the duty of the Government to ascertain whether these theatres and cinemas are really places for the development of the mass mind, or really toddy shops for the stupefaction of the mass mind? To take cudgels against such places where the mass mind is deliberately stupefied is as necessary as to take cudgels against toddy shops, because both the places cater only to the lower half of the human being, not to mention their rousing criminal instincts in him.

"It is well known that the original purpose of our drama was to impart knowledge to the masses in a kindergarten fashion, for provoking thought in them, for holding up a mirror to society that it may correct its errors and for inculcating principles of detachment in the actor as well as in the spectator. In the ancient days they were veritable halls of instruction which gave strength to the finer threads of the human fabric. The present state of affairs is regrettable. Without fear of any challenge it can be said now that our theatres and picture-halls exist only for the benefit of the exploiter and for obscurantism. The toddy producer is a saint compared to most of our drama producers and film producers at present. The sooner the Government attends to this matter and reforms our theatres and cinema-halls for the production of dramas of real artistic and real educational value, the better it will be for the progress of our masses.

"The schools and colleges are generally beyond the reach of the masses. Theatres and cinemas can admirably complement such work for the benefit of the masses. The problem of adult education in villages will not then present formidable difficulties. After all, the cost of such a task to the Government may not be noticeable.

"When the mass mind wakens to the bugle call of real art, the millions will get ready for the onward march with an ennobled and purified outlook. They will shed all that spelt vulgarity, all that made them heavy and unwieldy. Drink and an inartistic life would be abandoned."

"In my humble opinion every Union, every Municipality, and every District Board should encourage a theatre or a cinema-hall which can afford to place goods of real artistic and educational value within the easy reach of our villagers. In short, the Government must definitely recognize that our theatres and cinema-halls are regular places of instruction to the masses, and with a firm hand start the work of their reformation. Bad art must go. No producers should be allowed to take the people's money by catering to their ignorance and depravity . . . . Wholesome moral precepts are taught in schools, but the student goes to the theatre and cinema to learn that our very gods and heroes indulge in acts of indecent behaviour, abduction, rape and what not. I have no hesitation in saying that our present places of entertainment are proving obstacles in the way of the progress of the masses. I know there is a school of thought, which stands up for entertainment and recreation for their own sake it is true that a human being requires recreation, but be it noticed that the very word suggests that one should feel recreated after it, *i.e.*, re-equipped for better work. The word 'entertainment' is as misunderstood as the word 'pleasure.' Are we prepared to accept a tickling of the lower sense as entertainment? Could a representation of the unnatural and the grotesque be called a real entertainment? They may be funny for a time. The question, however, is whether our poverty-stricken country and our poor villagers can afford to waste money over such things. Mahatmaji's eye is now turned towards the race-course and the gambling hall. Why not our Premier's eye turn towards the Picture Palace? "

Mastery Over Plants

E. F. A. contributes to the *Journal of the Royal Society of Art*, October 1, 1937, an interesting and instructive article on mastery over plants, which up-to-date agriculturists and horticulturists would do well to read :

A chance visitor to any of the shows staged by the Royal Horticultural Society in London, or by other societies

elsewhere, will not fail to marvel at the achievements of the professional horticulturist, who seems to be able almost to ignore the seasons in producing his specimens for exhibition. Much of this success is due to a newly discovered ability to control many of the phases of plant growth and development by chemical means. In fact, substances are available which will cause a plant to wake up from a condition of dormancy, will cause it to blossom or form tubers, will make fruit ripen or delay ripening, will cause a plant to shoot out roots from its stem or, going to the other extreme, will anæsthetise the plant. This progress is due to an understanding of what may collectively be called plant hormones.

Prof. Radha Kamal Mukherjee on Economic Planning

Prof. Radha Kamal Mukherjee, who returned to India a fortnight ago after six months' sojourn in Europe and America, said in the course of a press interview in Bombay that it was important that the Congress Ministry in different provinces prevented the vicious circle from expanding and bridged the gap that had so far been the abyss of ruin of India's most economic and ameliorative projects.

He proceeded :

"Economic planning has been the chief implement in different countries in Europe for recovery from the depression and my experience of the new agricultural ~~ry in Great Britain, in Hitler's Germany and in Stalin's Russia, and of the vast public works and integral benefication carried on in Mussolini's Italy, or of the far-reaching and comprehensive measures of soil conservation, flood control and rural rehabilitation of the New Deal in America forces the conclusion that India must immediately launch far-sighted agricultural, industrial and social planned projects under the new regime of Provincial Autonomy, if she wants to take advantage of the tide of world recovery."

Prof. Radha Kamal then stressed the need of planned agriculture through better crop planning and organisation of marketing methods and recovery of rural industries.

Concluding he said :

In Russia, where the conditions and standards of farming have been as primitive as in India, collectivization brought about a phenomenal improvement, being more the victory of new agricultural techniques than of ideals of social justice.—*U. P.*

Sir M. Visvesvaraya on Economic Planning

Sir M. Visvesvaraya has published a pamphlet on economic planning in the provinces and in British India as a whole. His scheme is elaborate and would require a good many crores in each province to carry out. Perhaps the richer provinces under Congress ministries will seriously consider whether they are in a financial position to carry out his five year plan.

Bratachari Demonstrations At Hyderabad

According to an Associated Press com- nication,

The Bengal Bratachari Party led by Mr. G. S. D I.C.S. and K. S. Mitra, the Secretary of the Bratachari Movement, gave a domonstration at the Girl Gui Headquarters, Hyderabad, Deccan.

The Party was received by Mrs. Crafton, the Commissioner of the Girl Guide Movement of the State. The Girl Guides were "At Home" to the party, after which several educative demonstrations followed, in which Mr. Dutt took active part and explained the physical and moral significance of the movement.

Among those present were Hon'ble Sir Theodore Tasker, K.C.I.E., I.C.S., Revenue Member, Hon'ble Nawab Mohdi Yar Jung Bahadur, Nawab S. M. Moh Bahadur, the Commissioner of Municip---, Lady Hydari and other distinguished ladies and gentlemen.

At the conclusion of the demonstration, Miss Linnel, Girl Guide Commissioner for the West Division, expressed her appreciation and thanked the Bratachari Party for the very instructive demonstration they had given.

The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari and Lady Hydari gave an "After-Dinner" reception to the members of the Bengal Bratachari Party at his residence, "Dilkusha" Hyderabad, Deccan, among those present being the Prince and Princess of Berar, Walashan Prince Moazzam Jah and Princess Nileufor, the Hon'ble Mr. Gidney, I.C.S., Resident, The Hon'ble Sir Theodore Taskar, I.C.S., the Hon'ble Nawab Mohdi Yar Jung Bahadur, General Nicholson, Mrs. and Mr. Crofton, Col. Angarson, Lt.-Col. MacGregor, I.M.S., Major and Mrs. James, Nawab Ali Yavar Jung, Mr. Creagh Coen, I.C.S., Dr. Saheed Suhrawardy, Mr. K. S. Mitra and Capt. Ramsay.

Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S. Founder-President, gave a short and impressive description of the movement, after which several interesting items of demonstration followed. Mr. Dutt took part in all the demonstrations, explaining the meaning of the various movements. At the conclusion of the demonstrations, Their Highnesses the Princ and Princess of Berar, Prince Moazzam Jah and Princess Niloufer, Lady Hydari and others congratulated Mr. Dutt for having conceived a movement of such great educative and moral value and expressed the hope that it would be adopted in Hyderabad.

The guests were deeply impressed by the superb physical fitness of the members of the party.

Sir Akbar presented the youngest girl member of the Party, Miss Arati Sen, to Her Highness the Princess of Berar, Princess Niloufer and Lady Hydari.

Rabindra Nath Tagore in 1882

Tagore is now 76, in his 77th year, and we all are glad that he has recovered from his last serious illness. In 1882, he was but 21. The following extract from *The Statesman* of December 27, 1882, will be of great interest to all lovers of Tagore.

"A CONVERSAZIONE—A Conversazione of Bengali authors was held at the house of Babu Debendra Nath Tagore, at No. 6, Dwarkanath Tagore's Street, Jorasanko, on Saturday evening last. There was a large gathering of Bengali authors, editors, and other gentlemen. A short melodrama named *Kal-mrigaya*, or "The fatal hunt" was written for the occasion by Babu Rabindranath Tagore, *well-known to the literary world* [italics ours]. The drama was based upon a story from the *Ramayan*. The *dramatis personnel* were represented by the members of